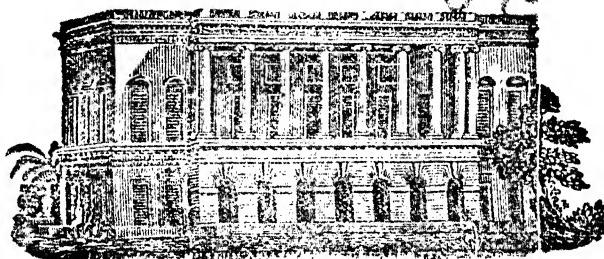


BIBLIOTHECA INDICA:
COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL WORKS

PUBLISHED BY THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.
NEW SERIES, No. 865.



MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWARIKH
BY
'ABDU-L-QADIR IBN I MULUK SHAH
KNOWN AS
AL-BADAONI
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

BY
SURGEON-LIEUT-COLONEL G. RANKING, M.D., M.R.A.S.,
Secretary to the Board of Examiners, Fort William;
Fellow of the Calcutta University.

VOL. I. FASC. I.

CALCUTTA:
PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,
AND PUBLISHED BY THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY, 57, PARK STREET.

1895.

LIST OF BOOKS FOR SALE

AT THE LIBRARY OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

NO. 57, PARK STREET, CALCUTTA.

AND OBTAINABLE FROM

THE SOCIETY'S AGENTS, MESSRS. LUZAC & CO.

**46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W. C., AND MR. OTTO
HARRASSOWITZ, BOOKSELLER, LEIPZIG, GERMANY.**

Complete copies of those works marked with an asterisk * cannot be supplied—some
of the Facsimili being out of stock.

BIBLIOTHECA INDICA

Sanskrit Series.

| | | |
|---|--------------|----------|
| Advaita Brahma Siddhi , (Text) Fasc. 1-4 @ /6/ each | Rs. 1 | 8 |
| *Agni Purána, (Text) Fasc. 2-14 @ /6/ each ... | 4 | 14 |
| Aitareya Áraṇyaka of the Rig Veda, (Text) Fasc. 1-5 @ /6/ each ... | 1 | 14 |
| Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, Vol. I, Fasc. 1-5 and Vol. II, Fasc. 1-2 @ /6/ ... | 2 | 10 |
| Anu Bháshyam; (Text) Fasc. 1-2 @ /6/ each ... | 0 | 12 |
| Aphorisms of Sánkhyá, (English) Fasc. 1 ... | 0 | 6 |
| Ashtasáhasriká Prajapáramítá, (Text) Fasc. 1-6 @ /6/ each ... | 2 | 4 |
| Ásvávaidyaka, (Text) Fasc. 1-5 @ /6/ each ... | 1 | 14 |
| Avadána Kalpalatá, (Sans. and Tibetan) Vol. I, Fasc. 1-5 ; Vol. II, Fasc. 1-4 @ 1/ each ... | 9 | 0 |
| *Bhámatí, (Text) Fasc. 2-8 @ /6/ each ... | 2 | 10 |
| Brahma Sútra, (English) Fasc. 1 ... | 0 | 12 |
| Brihaddevata (Text) Fasc. 1-4 @ /6/ each ... | 1 | 8 |
| Brihadharma Purána, (Text) Fasc. 1-5 @ /6/ each ... | 1 | 14 |
| Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (English) Fasc. 2-3 @ /6/ each ... | 0 | 12 |
| Chaitanya-Chandrodaya Náṭaka, (Text) Fasc. 2-3 @ /6/ each ... | 0 | 12 |
| *Chaturvarga Chintumani (Text) Vols. II, 1-25; III. Part I, Fasc. 1-18. Part II, Fasc. 1-10 @ /6/ each ... | 19 | 14 |
| *Chhándogya Upanishad, (English) Fasc. 2 ... | 0 | 6 |
| *Hindu Astronomy, (English) Fasc. 2-3 @ /6/ each ... | 0 | 12 |
| Kála Mádhava, (Text) Fasc. 1-4 @ /6/ each ... | 1 | 8 |
| Kátantra, (Text) Fasc. 1-6 @ /12/ each ... | 4 | 8 |
| Kathá Sarit Ságara, (English) Fasc. 1-14 @ /12/ each ... | 10 | 8 |
| Kúrma Purana, (Text) Fasc. 1-9 @ /6/ each ... | 3 | 6 |
| *Lalita-Vistara, (Text) Fasc. 3-6 @ /6/ each ... | 1 | 8 |
| Ditto (English) Fasc. 1-3 @ /12/ each ... | 2 | 4 |
| Madana Párijáta, (Text) Fasc. 1-11 @ /6/ each ... | 4 | 2 |
| Manutiká Sangráha, (Text) Fasc. 1-3 @ /6/ each ... | 1 | 2 |
| *Márkandeya Purána, (Text) Fasc. 4-7 @ /6/ each ... | 1 | 8 |
| Márkandeya Purána, (English) Fasc. 1-3 @ /12/ each ... | 2 | 4 |
| Mimáuśas Darśana, (Text) Fasc. 3-19 @ /6/ each ... | 6 | 6 |
| *Náradá Smṛti, (Text) Fasc. 1-3 @ /6/ ... | 1 | 2 |
| Nyayavártika, (Text) Fasc. 1 and 2 ... | 0 | 12 |
| *Nirukta, (Text); Vol. III, Fasc. 1-6 ; Vol. IV, Fasc. 1-8 @ /6/ each ... | 5 | 4 |
| *Nitísára, or The Elements of Polity, By Kámardaki, (Sams.) Fasc. 2-5 @ /6/ each ... | 1 | 8 |
| Nyayabindutika, (Text) ... | 0 | 10 |
| Nyaya Kusumánjali Prakarana (Text) Vol. I, Fasc. 1-6 ; Vol. II, Fasc. 1-8 @ /6/ each ... | 3 | 6 |
| Parísiṣṭha Parvan, (Text) Fasc. 1-5 @ /6/ each ... | 1 | 4 |

TRANSLATION

OF THE مُنْتَخَبُ التَّوَارِيخِ OF AL-BADAONI.

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL. *Vcl.*

Oh thou² from whose name spring all other names,
Kings at thy door are suppliant as I at theirs—
When once the impulse of zeal for thee was felt,
No foot remained shod, no head remained crowned.

Emperor of the world ! with this unprofitable soul of mine
which has become the abode of demons and wild beasts,³ in what
way can I conceive thy praises, and with this worn and foolish
tongue of mine, which has become as it were food for cats and
dogs, how can I chant thy eulogy.

How can the miserable dust proclaim the Unity of God.
How in this state of defilement praise the Divine Being.

Moreover, the foot of search limps feebly in this unknown
road, because of my constant anxiety and habitual fear, while in
this limitless desert, my stammering tongue finds the sphere of
speech always contracted.

That which my soul knows is but secondary,⁴ what my tongue
speaks are but particles—(and therefore unintelligible).
How can I know thee in my soul or express thee with my
tongue.

This seems best, that I should restrain my pen from travelling
 2. in this valley, and having hidden the head of bewilderment in the
 cloke¹ of meditation on men and regions² should open the eye
 of my understanding to the knowledge of Thy all-perfect works
 and unfading kingdom, and proceeding, through the vicissitudes
 of affairs of created beings, to the Unity of thy exalted personality,
 should end with the world of proclaiming and confessing the
 Unity of God,³ so that I may see with the eye of certainty—nay
 more that I may recognize that

In thy excellence there is no room for duality,⁴
 Thou and thy majesty make up the universe.

and I have moistened my lips with the pure water of the praise of
 that chieftain whose name is “praised”⁵ whose end is lauded;

حَدَثٌ حَدَثٌ ^{وَ حَدَثٌ زَمَانِي} is of two kinds which is A thing's being preceded by
 non-existence, and ^{وَ حَدَثٌ ذَاهِي} which is A thing's being dependent upon
 another for its existence. *Vide* Lane, art. **حدَثٌ**. 1.

گُریدان *Lit. Collar or hood.*

سُنْرِيهِمْ أَيَاتَنَا فِي الْأَفَاقِ وَ فِي أَنفُسِهِمْ وَ أَفَاقِي ^{وَ حَسَنَتْ} Cf. Qurán xli. 53 انفسي و آفاقي we will show them our signs in the regions and in themselves,

^{وَ حَسَنَتْ} 8 The Unity of God is the fundamental proposition of the faith of Islám

سُورَةُ الْإِخْلَاسِ - قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَ لَمْ يُوْلَدْ وَ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُواً أَحَدٌ ^{وَ حَسَنَتْ} Say. He is God alone. God the eternal. He begetteth not, nor is
 begotten—and there is none like unto him. Qurán—Súrat-ul-Ikhláṣ.

^{وَ حَسَنَتْ} 4 That is to say, no one can stand beside him in this position of excellence

Cf. Qurán xxvii. 61.

Lord of the promised fountain,¹ and of the praise which is on every tongue² (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family) because the mantle of the honour of eternal and everlasting empire lies gracefully upon his noble figure, and the proclamation³ and stamp of undiminishing power and glorious sovereignty of right belongs to his exalted name.

The monarch of Arabia of whom the world is a manifestation,

The Lord of the earth, whose servant he is, swears by his name.

He was the near neighbour of the Truth for this reason had no shadow⁴

To the end that no one should place a foot on (the shadow of) his head—

Countless⁵ praises and eulogies on the elect family and the truth-perceiving companions of the Prophet, especially upon the rightly-guided Khalifahs⁶ (may the favour of God be on them all) who, for the elevation of the standard of religion and the promulgation of the word of evident truth⁷ risked their lives and laid down their heads as a ransom, and thus cleared the thorns

¹ M.S. (A) has, &c. حوض کوثر و ورد مورد ملى —a river in Paradise.
 کوثر إِنَّا أَعْطَيْنَاكَ الْكَوْثَرَ Verily we have given thee al-Kausar. Qurán cviii. 1. literally means "abundance."

² مورود.

³ خطبه و سکه.

The coronation ceremony of Muhammedan monarchs consist chiefly in the recital of the *khuṭba* and issuing coin (*sikku*) stamped with his name.

⁴ Muhammed was said to have no shadow.

⁵ Thousands upon thousands.

⁶ خلفای راشدین The four immediate successors of Muhammad, Abú Bakr, A. H. 11. 'Umar, A. H. 13. 'Uṣmán, A. H. 23. 'Alí, A. H. 35, acknowledged by the Sunnis. The first three of these are rejected by the Shi'as who hold that 'Alí was the first legitimate Khalifah.

⁷ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّكَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ الْبَيِّنِ Cf. Qurán xxvii. 81. حَقٌّ مُّبِينٌ

Rely then upon God. Verily thou art standing on obvious truth.

of infidelity and the undergrowth of heresy from the plain of the kingdom of the sacred law.¹

- After the praise of God and of the Lord the protector of the divine missive (may the blessing of God be upon him, his family and his companions, a blessing safe from all termination), we have to declare that the science of History is essentially a lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountain-head of the learning of the experienced, and the source of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live, have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works, and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain lukewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent, shortsighted as they are, are wont to affirm—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family), or become the entry into and way of ascent to the fountainheads of scepticism, and drinking places of defilement of the licentious and heretical, and those who have gone astray; because for a body of men who in the very essence of their constitution are devoid of any share in religious principle, the reading of the eternal word which is the key of evident happiness and “*a healing and a mercy for the worlds,*”² becomes a cause of misery

الشرع ^١ لِكُلِّ بَعْلَتْنَا مِنْكُمْ شَرْعٌ وَّ عِنْهَا جَأَ.

The sacred law. Cf. Qurán v. 52
For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway. The Mosaic law
is always called التوراة At-Taurát (Hebrew תּוֹרָה.)

The word in the text is always used for the sacred canon of the Qurán
is divisible into five sections اعتقدات beliefs—عبادات moralities—
devotions معاملات transactions—عقوبات punishments. Cf. Kashsháf. Isṭi-
lāhát-ul-Funún, art شرع.—

وَنَزَّلْ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ مَا هُوَ شَفَاءٌ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ
and we will send down of the Qurán that which is a healing and a mercy to the
believers. Vide also Qurán xli, 44.

and everlasting loss "and if they are not guided by it they say—
“this is an antiquated lie.”¹

If this is the case with the Qurán² what chance has History?

“When any man has lost his hearing through melancholia,³
He cannot participate in the music of David and its harmony.”

But I address my words to those who are endowed with the qualities of sound intellect and brilliancy of genius, and natural equity—not to those who are not led by the sacred law and who deny all principle, fundamental or derivative,⁴ because such men are not worthy of this discourse, nor are they within the pale of the wise, and discreet, and understanding, and how can one absolutely refuse to admit a science which is one-seventh of the 4.

^١ Qurán xlvi. 10. In the original we read— فَسِيقُوْنَ In both this and the former quotation there are verbal errors which lead to the conclusion that the author was not thoroughly at home in the Qurán..

² I have inserted these words as the only means of giving an adequate rendering of the phrase قابلاً ربح چه و سد.

³ مَا يخوْلِيَا μελαγχολία. The orthography of this word is Sadídí خلط الاسود † the black humour, but gives no hint of deafness as one of the symptoms of the disease. Deafness is not a concomitant of melancholia as known to modern medicine, but the cases of so called hysterical deafness with mental depression are not uncommon. The *Bahr ul-Sawáhir* says إنما يقال ما يخوْلِيَا لـما كان حدوثه عن المجرى الطبيعي إلى الفساد السوداء غير محترقة وهو تغير الظنوـن والفكـون المـجـري الطـبـيعـي إلـى الـفـسـاد وـالـخـوف لـمـزـاج سـوـدـاوـي يـوحـش الرـوـح It is only called “málikhúliá” where it is the result of (the humour called) “Saudá” (black bile) which is not inflammatory. It takes the ideas and thoughts out of their proper channel and tends to despondency and fear because of a melancholic temperament which depresses the mind.

⁴ اصل و مرجع The two chief divisions of علم الفقہ Jurisprudence. According to the *Iṣṭiláhát-ul-Funún* علم الفقہ treats of the soul and of all that appertains thereto, thus including all theological science; (*Kashsháf Iṣṭiláhát-ul-Funún* art. إلـا شـبـاه وـالـذـطـائـر cf. *Fiqh al Ashbáh wa'l Nazáir* by Zainul Abidín bin Najím, (H. K. 774)..... وأصولـة ثـابـتـه وـفـرـوعـة ثـابـتـه i.e. Its fundamentals are firmly established and its derivatives evident.

seven sections¹ upon which the foundation of the establishment of Faith and Certainty is laid.

"And all that we relate to thee of the tidings of the prophets with which we have established your hearts"². tells us of this, and a large body of the learned expositors of the traditions and commentators on the Qurán, as for example Imám Bukhári³ and Qází Baizáwí⁴ up to our own times have occupied themselves in writing about this heart-enthralling science, and their words and practice have become an authority for the nations both East and West, in spite of the diversity of their origins and the distinction of their various degrees. While on the other hand an insignificant band of innovators and inventors who with the disgraceful partisanship of greedy mindedness and importunate desires, and shortsightedness as regards both outward and inward qualities, have placed their feet in the valley of audacity, and have introduced interpolations and errors into true and memorable histories, and having abandoned

سبع المثاني¹ سبع المثاني The first chapter of the Qurán which contains seven verses; so called in Súra xv. 87. وَلَقَدْ أَتَيْنَاكُمْ سَبْعًا مِّنَ الْمُثَانِي وَالْقُرْآنُ الْعَظِيمُ .

مثاني¹ مثاني being plural of *mawzil* *repeating* or *reiterating*. The number seven relates to the *mawzils* or divisions of the Qurán each one of which is to be read so that the whole is completed in a week. See also *Tafsir ul Baizáwí* آل

² Qurán xi. 121. This quotation is correctly given.

³ Hásíz Abú-'Abdullah Muḥammad ibn Abí Ḥasan Ismá'íl ibn Ibráhím ibn-al-Mughair ibn-al-Ahnaf Yezdibah, or Yezdezbah according to Ibn Makúla a Mauda of the tribe of Jáfi. (Slane Ibn Khalliqán, ii. 595.) The last named was a Magian and died in that religion, his son Al Mughairat embraced Islám.

He was the author of *Sahíh al-Bukhári* *صَحِيفَةُ الْبَخْرَى*, a collection of authentic traditions—in which an account of Imám Bukhári is given. He was born A.H. 194 and died A.H. 256, and was buried at the village of Khartang

near Samarcand leaving no male issue. The *صَحِيفَةُ الْبَخْرَى* is held in great esteem by Muslims.

⁴ Qází Naṣir nd-Dín Abú Khair Abdulláh Baizáwí, ibn Umar ibn Muḥammad, was born at Baizá, a village of Shíráz, and was appointed Chief Qází. He was the author of many works, among others *Alyháyatu fil fíqh*, *Sharh ul-Masabih wal manájih*. His most celebrated work was a commentary on the Qurán called *Anwáru-t-tanzíl*. He died A.H. 685 and was buried in Shíráz. See also De Sacy: Anth: Gram: Arab: notes on Baizáwí, p. 37. See also Elliott and Dowson, Vol. II., 252 and note.

recognised constructions¹ and explanations, and interpretations of obvious nature, and estimating the conflicts and discussions of the noble companions and mighty followers (of the Prophet) by their own condition, attributed them to mutual contradiction and hatred, and to rivalry in the splendour and amount of their property and family, and having seduced simple minded people of elementary belief, have led them, by their own error and by attributing error to others, to Gehenna, the house of perdition.

“ When the crow² becomes leader of a tribe, he will surely lead them along the path of destruction.”

And if the eye of a man be instilled with the collyrium of the Divine guidance, and illuminated by the light of truth, and guarded from every calamity which happens in the world of existence and evil, he passes to the Unity of the Creator, the Ancient of days, the Glorious, freed from the stain of innovation, and purified from the blemish of change and alteration. And when I look carefully, I see that the world is itself an ancient archetype which has neither head nor root, its pages are a confused record, and in each page there is a list of the affairs of a section of mankind who have had the reins of the management of affairs entrusted to their hands.

5.

This ancient Sháhnáma relates the affairs of the kings of the world,

Do thou always look and read therein with circumspection.

حَمْلَهُ أَكْسَنْ مَحْمَلٍ is the plural from **مَحْمَلٌ** an inf. e.g. **حَمَلَهُ أَكْسَنْ مَحْمَلٍ**.

He put the best construction upon it, namely a saying (Lane, s.v. حمل.)

* **غَرَابٌ** The Arab proverb runs thus:

مَنْ يَكُونُ الْغَرَابُ لَهُ دَلِيلٌ يُمْرِيهِ عَلَى جَيْفِ الْكَلَابِ

“ He who has the crow for a guide will be led by it to the carcasses of dogs.”

The crow was considered as the most inauspicious thing on earth, thus the

Arabs say **أَشَّأَمُ مِنَ الْغَرَابِ** More ill-omened than a crow.

Its appearance is thought to be ominous of separation, therefore they say also **غَرَابُ الْبَيْنِ** The raven (or crow) of separation.

The spell of this narrative brings sweet sleep to him
Who is in delirium, and has become distracted with mad-
ness of the brain.

But it also wakens him who on account of pride, has fallen
into the slumber of carelessness and whom the devil has
deceived.

And inasmuch as the invoker of blessing upon all mankind, 'Abdul Qádir ibn Mulük Sháh Badáoni (may God erase his name from the book of sins) in the beginning of the year 999¹ in accordance with the fateful order of his excellency the Kbalifah of the time, the shadow of the Deity, Akbar Sháhí² when he had finished his selection from the History of Kashmír³ which, by the soul-inspiring order of that world-conquering Emperor whose throne is the heaven, one of the incomparable doctors of India had translated from the Hindí into Persian, yielded to a liking which he had for this science from youth to maturity, and as it was seldom that he had not been occupied in reading and writing it, either of his own free will and accord or in obedience to orders, it used often to occur to him to write as well an epitome of the affairs of the Emperors of the metropolis of Dehli, from the time of the commencement of Islám to the time of writing, in a concise manner,—

All the world is but a village that (city of Mecca) is the central point⁴ (of Islám).
that it might be a memorandum comprising a portion of the events of each reign in brief form, and a memorial for my friends, and a conspectus for the intellectual, and although it

¹ 999 of the Hijra (1590 A. D.)

² The Emperor Akbar, who about this time employed Badáoni "to make translations from the Arabic and Sanskrit as in the case of the Mu'jamu-l-Buldán, Jámiu-r-Rashídí, and the Rámáyana," (Elliott and Dowson, v. 478).

³ Said to have been translated from the original Hindí by Mullá Shah Muhammad Sháhábádí—but not apparently the Rájá-taranginí, for the translation of that work is usually attributed to Mauláná Imád-ud-dín. Cf. Kín-i-Akbarí, Blochmann, I. pages 105-106—footnote 1.

⁴ Mecca, as being the central meeting place of all Muslims. The Arabic phrase is السواد الاعظم من المسلمين سواد The collective body of the Muslims.

might not be a book to be relied upon, or a notable composition, still in accordance with the saying —

“These ancient pages of the sky whose beauty the stars are, 6.
Are an ancient history of many Emperors whose armies
excel the stars in number,”

it may be that from the perusal of this book a messenger from the world of spirits and invisible mysteries may cast a ray of light upon the receptive mind, and thus being a cause of abstraction and seclusion, may wean the soul from the love of this transitory world, and may aid the compiler of these pages in the prosecution of his task, and his hopes may not be blighted ; and inasmuch as each day some new grief used to appear, and some vexatious annoyance used to shew itself, helps being few and hindrances many ; moreover by reason of fresh toils and temporal changes it was difficult to remain in one place.

“Each day would bring a different place, each night a different roof.”

And besides all this, my sustenance was by no means assured, hanging as it were between heaven and earth, and my heart utterly distracted by separation from kindred and friends ; accordingly that commission was only accomplished by fits and starts,¹ until a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed, and happily furnished with this world's goods, who was very devoted to me, and for whom I too entertained an indescribable affection, having completed the writing of the *Tárikh-i Nizámí*² which is a bulky volume, and which is here being completed by me—removed the furniture of life to the sublime abode of Paradise.

در حیز تعریق و تسویق می افتاد ۱ Lit. used to fall into the region of holding back and pushing on.

۲ Khwájá Nízámú-d-dín Ahmad, son of Khwájá Muqím Haráwí díwán of the household of Bábar, is said in the *Zakhírátu-l-Qavánín* (E.D. v. 178) to have been appointed díwán of Akbar's household. He was subsequently appointed *bakhshí* of the province of Gujrát.

The history referred to in the text is one of great repute and authority, it was called by the author *Tabaqát-i-Akbar-sháhí* by which title Badáoni himself also styles the work. Its name is also known as *Tabaqát*.

"He has departed—I too follow him.
Each one at last must go the self same way."

At this juncture, when Time departing from its usual custom, has treated me in the matter of leisure with some sort of liberality, it has come about that I have been able to steal a morsel of the chequered¹ hours of my life from his grasp, so that I renewed my intention and confirmed my purpose, and on this ground that there is no bygone event which has not left something for the present,

"If the peasant thoroughly clears under the sheaves of wheat
He leaves the sparrow's portion on the ground."

I have selected and transcribed accurately a portion of the circumstances of some of the autocrat Emperors of Hindustan from the *Tárikh i Mubárak Sháhí*² and the *Nizámú-t-Tawáríkh* of Nizámí³ which is as it were a drop in the ocean and a bubble of the turbulent floods, and have also added somewhat of my own, and have kept before me the desirability of conciseness and have

i.Akbari. Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted this is the only one he found complete. (Elliot and Dowson, v. 177-178).

Nizámu-d-dín died in 1003 A. H., 1594 A. D. From the author's preface in the text above it would appear that he had had the work in hand some considerable time, but had not been able to give his undivided attention to it until after the death of Nizámu-d-dín. In the space of a year from that event he had completed his abridgment so that, it must have been fairly far advanced at the time of Nizámu-d-dín's decease.

¹ مَعْوِجْ see Lane, *Art.* مَعْوِجْ. The days are apt to decline from the right course apt to return رَاجِعْ (رواجِعْ) and مَعْوِجْ (الْأَيَّامُ مَعْوِجْ). The days.

² This work was written by Yahyá ibn-‘Ahmad ibn-‘Abdullah Sirhindí according to Firishta with the express purpose of recording the reign of Mubárak Sháh. It commences with the reign of Muhammád Sám, founder of the Ghorí dynasty; the only known MS. terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultán Sayyid Muhammád, 852 A. H.—(1448 A. D.).

⁸ This must be the work already referred to, i. e., the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí* although the name *Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh* does not appear to be given to it elsewhere.

The name Nizámú-t-Tawárikh is generally restricted to the work by Baigáwí (*vide* Elliott and Dowson II, pp. 252-253.) Its date is about 674 H. (1275 A. D.)

imposed upon myself the necessity of avoidance of all affectation of style and metaphor, and have named this model composition • *Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh*.¹ I hope that this imperfect collation and composition, whose object is the perpetuation of the auspicious names of the Emperors of Islám, and the transmission of a memorial thereof in this changing world until the final consummation, may lead to the pardon of the author in the world to come, and not be an augmentation of the crimes laid to his charge.

“ And do thou, O Nightingale, as thou roamest through this garden,
With all thy sweetness, abstain from blaming the defects of
the crow.”

Since the object of my ambition is to write correctly, if I should by accident let fall from my pen the instrument of my thoughts, or commit in my thoughts, which are the motive agent of my pen, any slip or error, I hope that He (may He be glorified and exalted) in accordance with his universal mercy which is of old, will overlook and pardon it. 8.

By speaking evil do not change my tongue,
And do not make this tongue of mine my wrong.²

And since the first of the Emperors of Islám who were the cause of the conquest of Hindustán—(after Mahomed Qásim,³

¹ This title is common to works by many other authors (Elliott and Dowson, v. 477) specially given to a history by Haran ibn-Muhammad al-Khákí ash-Shirází, completed A. H. 1019 (1610 A. D.). The work of Badáoni is known better as Tárikh-i-Badáoni.

² There is a play on the words *wuj* wrong and *wuj* tongue which cannot be preserved in translation.

³ The incidents of Muhammad Qásim's engagements and victories are related in the *Chach Náma*, extracts from which will be found in Elliott and Dowson (Vol. i. pp. 131-211.) See also *Futúhu-l-Buldán* of Al-Bilázuri (E. and D. i. 113). His full name was Muhammad ibn-Qásim ibn-Muhammad ibn-Hakim ibn-Abi 'Uqail, and he was sent during the Khalifatí of Walíd-ibn-Abdul Malik 705-715 A.D., to command on the frontiers of Sind. (E. and D. Al-Bilázuri Vol. i. p. 119.)

See also E. and D. Vol. i, Appendix 432, &c.

consin and son-in-law of Hajjáj-ibn-Yúsuf Saqfí,¹ who in the year, 93 A.H., (711 A.D.), conquered the countries of Sind, Multán and Gujrát, and, by the order of Walíd ibn-'Abdul Malik Marwání² who on an important occasion wrote to him from Damascus and summoned him to his presence, starting from Oodypur in India, and wrapping himself in a raw hide, while on his journey yielded up his life to God, and after him the affairs of Islám in that

¹ Abú Muhammád al-Hajjáj was son of Yúsuf-ibn al-Hakam ibn-'Uqail ibn-Masúd ibn Aumir ibn Miattib ibn Málík ibn Ka'b, ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'd ibn 'Auf ibn Qassí (called also Saqif). He was governor of Irák and Khorásán for 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwán (692-705 A.D.) and was confirmed in that office by Walíd ibn Abdul Malik (705-715 A.D.) For an account of him see I. K. (Slane) I. 356 and seqq. He founded the city^{*} of Wásit between Basra and Kuфа (75 A.H.) He died on 21st Ramazán A.H. 95, at the age of fifty-four and was buried at Wásit. Ibn Khalliqán states, "His malady was a cancer in the stomach for which he called in a physician, who, having examined into his case, tied a piece of meat to a string and passed it down his throat; after a lapse of some time he drew it out, and found a swarm of worms adhering to it: God gave also a cold ague power over him and although vases filled with lighted coals were placed around him so close as to scorch his skin he felt them not. (I.K. Slane *loc. cit.*).

He was a brutal ruler, and at his death it was said in thanksgiving "O my God ! thou hast caused him to die : let his example also die from among us."

"The tribe of Saqif was a great and well-known tribe dwelling at Táif, who before their conversion to Islám were devoted to the special worship of the idol Lát ; the founder of the tribe was Qássí (called also Saqif) whose descent from Ma'dd is supported by two different genealogies." (Caussin de Perceval, Hist. des Arabes, i. 272). After refusing to hear the prophet in a personal appeal made to them, they made war against him, but eventually embraced Islám in 630 A.H., shortly after the return of Muhammad to Medina.

² Walíd ibn-'Abdul Malik Marwání, became Khalífah in the year 86 A. H. and died in the year 96 A. H. His father was his predecessor in the Khalífaté, his name was 'Abdul Malik ibn-Marwán whence Walíd is called Marwání. It was during the Khalífaté of Abdul Malik that al-Hajjáj pulled down the Ka'bah and restored it to the condition in which it was in the time of As Suyútí. Walíd was ignorant, despotic and tyrannical, but withal discharged the duties of Khalif well, he built the mosque of Damascus and during his Khalífaté many foreign conquests were achieved. (See Jarrett's translation of As Suyútí's Tárikhu-l-Khulafá, pp. 227-230.)

The incident in the text relates to the vengeance taken for their father's death by the two virgin daughters of Rájá Dáhir, who were taken captive when he was killed at the siege of the fort of Ráwar, 93 A. H. Muhammád Qásim had sent them to Baghdád under the charge of his negro slaves.

country lost all order) were *Násiru-d-dín Subuktigín*¹ whose son was *Sultán Mahmúd Ghaznáví* who every year used to make incursions into India with the object of plundering and engaging in religious warfare, and in the reign of whose sons Lahore be-

When they were summoned before the Khalífah Walíd ibn-Abdul Malik, he became enamoured of them and desired to retain them. They however assured him that Muḥammad Qásim had kept them with himself for three days before sending them to the Khalífah and that consequently they were not worthy to become his concubines. Walid being very indignant wrote a letter commanding Muḥammad Qásim at whatever place he might have arrived when he received the mandate, to suffer himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and sent to the Capital. Muḥammad Qásim received the letter at "Udháfar" (*Odyopúr*) obeyed its orders and was brought before the Khalífah dead.

The Khalífah taking a bunch of green myrtle in his hand, shewed the corpse to Dáhir's two daughters, who thereupon told him that they had falsely represented the facts in order to be revenged on the slayer of their father. They were accordingly by his order "enclosed between walls." (Elliott and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 210-211, Appendix 437, *Aín-i-Akbarí*, Vol. II. 345, and *footnote*). Muḥammad Qásim was succeeded in the sovereignty of Sind by the descendants of the Banú Tamím Ansárí from whom it passed to the Súmrá Rájputs.

¹ "In A. H. 107 (A. D. 725-26) under the Khalífate of Hishám b-Abdul Malik Amín b-Abdullah Kashari, governor of Khurásán, conquered Ghor Gharjistán, the territory of Nímróz and Kábúl, and made the latter his capital. From that time continuously under the dynasties of Umayyah and Abbás it was held by the governor of Khurásán until under the Sámání, Alptigín, a slave of that house, withdrew from their obedience took possession of Ghazní and Kábul and asserted his independence. On his death Subuktigín, father of the great Mahmúd, succeeded to the kingdom and it continued under the house of Ghazní."

I have quoted this *verbatim* from Jarrott's translation of the *Aín-i-Akbarí* Vol. II. p. 414, because it shews in a few words the changes which occurred during the period intervening between Muḥammad Qásim and Subuktigín.

Násiru-d-dín Subuktigín is affirmed by historians to have been a Turk by descent who was brought by a merchant as a boy to Bulkhára where he was sold to Alptigín, who from being governor of Khurásán had by revolt against Mansúr (A. H. 351) established his sovereignty over Ghazní.

Subuktigín some fifteen years later married the daughter of Alptigín and was acknowledged king by the chief of Ghazní, Alptigín having died two years previously, during which period his son Abú Isháq was governor till his death. He then became founder of the Ghaznívide Dynasty or the Kings of Lahore. (See Briggs *Ferishta*, Vol. I. pp. 11-96,) also (Elliott and Dowson, Vol. VI. 207-221.) See also *Tubagál-i-Násiri* (Raverty) page 70 and *footnote*.

came the seat of Government, so that Islám never again lost its hold on that country—accordingly I deemed it right to commence this history with an account of that monarch whose end was glorious, so that it may be fortunate from the first, and lauded at the last—and God is the best of helpers and defenders.

THE GHAZNIVIDE DYNASTY.

From Sultán Násiru-d-dín Subuktigín to Khusrau Malik, who, prior to the conquest of Dehli, proclaimed Islám in Hindustán, from the year 367 A.H. (977 A.D.), to the year 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.). Their sovereignty thus lasted two hundred and fifteen years under the sway of fifteen monarchs.

SULTÁN NÁSIRU-D-DÍN SUBUKTIGÍN

Was of Turkí origin, the slave of Alptigín who was a servant of Amír Manṣúr-ibn-Núh Sámání.¹ In the year 367 H. after the death of Abú Isháq, the son of Alptigín, by common consent of the soldiery and populace he succeeded² to the imperial throne in the city of Bust³ and raised the standard of conquest, and

¹ The eighth prince of the Samání dynasty who reigned 22 years. (D'Herbelot).

The Sámání dynasty was founded by Asad bin-Sámán. It held sway over Khurásán and Transoxiana, holding its court at Bukhárá—from 279 A. H. to 395 A. H. See *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Raverty pp. 26, 27 and 53. Amír Abul Hirṣ Mansúr died at Bukhárá 366 A. H. and was succeeded by his son Abul Qásim-i-Núh. (*Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Raverty 44.) For an account of the Sámání dynasty, see D'Herbelot III. 193. Abú Isháq was appointed by Mansúr as governor of Ghaznín upon the death of his father Alptigín in the year 365 A. H., and died in 367 A. H.

According to the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Alptigín died in 352 A. H. and Isháq in 355 A. H. upon the death of Isháq Balkátigín, the slave of Alptigín succeeded him, dying in 362 A. H. after him again Pírey obtained the government, but was deposed in 367 A. H. when the Government passed to Subuktigín. (See Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, pp. 71-73.)

² The *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* states that Subuktigín succeeded Alaptagín in Ghaznín (Raverty pp. 46-74.)

³ Bust, the capital of Zábulistán (*vide Abul Feda* II., ii. 201) which includes Kábul and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond. Derived by Yákút from Zábúl, grandfather of Rustam. (*Aín-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) Vol. II. p. 115, and p. 408). “According to the Qánún Bust is situated in 91°33' long: and 32°15' lat: according to the Átwál in 90° long. and 33° lat. Third climate [see *Aín-i-Akbari*. Vol. II. 115, footnote 4.] Chief

girding up the loins of energy and effort for foray and religious war, he invaded Hindustán on the frontiers of the country of Koh-i-Júd¹ and having fought a severe battle with Jaipál who was the ruler of Hindustán, concluded peace with him. Jaipál, however, broke the treaty. Accordingly Náširu-d-dín Subuktígín equipped an army composed of 10,000 cavalry and numberless elephants huge as mountains, and engaged in conflict with him a second time, fought a great battle with him in the neighbourhood of Lamghánát,² the breeze of victory stirred the banners of Amír Náširu-d-dín, the army of Jaipál suffered defeat, and he himself took to flight and sought refuge in Hindustán. Thus Lamghánát came into the possession of Amír Náširu-d-dín, the Khutbah was read and the coin struck in his name.³ Then he proceeded to the assistance of Amír Núh-ibn-Mansúr Sámání⁴ and was the means of procuring notable victories in Khurásán and the regions beyond the river.⁵ Finally in the month of Sha'bán⁶ of the year 387 A.H. (997 A.D.,) he obediently submitted to the summons of the Almighty, having reigned for twenty years.

YAMÍNU-D-DAULAT SULTÁN MAHMÚD IBN NÁŠIRU-D-DÍN GHAZNAVÍ.

When Subuktígín, in the month of Sha'bán 387 H., while on the road to Ghaznín, receiving the summons of the Almighty

place of the district of Bost. Bost is situated on the banks of the Hendmand and is part of Sijistán. From Bost to Ghazna one reckons about 14 marches (Abul Feda II., ii. 108) Abul Feda further states that at Bost on the Hendmand (Helmund) there is a bridge of boats similar to those of the rivers of Iráq. (II. 76).

¹ The Koh-i-Júd, includes the mountainous region between Ghaznah and Lahore.

² Lamghán. See Abul Feda II. ii. 201. According to the Lobáb this is the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznah. (See Abul Feda I. ccxlvii.) Lamghán. Long 104°50' Lat 34°3' Áín-i-Akbarí iii. 89.

³ The reading of the خطبہ (Khutba) and striking the سکہ (sikka) that is stamping the currency, were the usual accompaniments of the accession of the sovereigns of Islám, and constituted a proclamation of their authority.

⁴ See History of the Caliphs As Sayútí (Jarrett) pp. 432-433.

⁵ مَا وَرَاءَ النَّهْرِ Máwará-un-nahr. Transoxiana.

According to Yaqút in his Muqátarík, Túrán is the name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus. See Abul Feda "Transoxiana," for a full account of the countries included under this name.

⁶ The eighth month of the Muhammadan year.

responded "Here am I," he appointed his young son Isma'il as his successor.¹ When this news reached Maḥmūd who was the elder son of Subuktigin, he wrote a letter of condolence to his brother and sought a peaceful solution of the difficulty on the following terms: That Isma'il should give up Ghaznī to Maḥmūd, receiving in its stead the governorship of Balkh: Isma'il refused these terms, and eventually war was declared between the brothers. Maḥmūd was victorious, and after defeating Isma'il,

10. kept him closely besieged in Ghaznī for a space of six months, at the expiration of which time certain of their friends intervened and made peace between them. Isma'il then came and had an interview with Maḥmūd, and the sovereignty devolved upon Yaminu-d-Daulat Maḥmūd. After this a quarrel arose between Maḥmūd and Mansūr ibn-Nuh Sámání and also his brother 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn-Nuh.² Eventually Maḥmūd got the upper hand. The Amírs of 'Abdu-l-Malik also, Fáiq and Baktúzún, who engaged in contest with Maḥmūd, were defeated by him, and the sovereignty of the whole of Khurásán, of Ghaznī, and the frontiers of Hindustán came into the hands of Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Zábul³

¹ The question of the right of succession of the two brothers admits of some doubt. From the text it would appear that it was the intention of Subuktigin to nominate his younger son Isma'il. The author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* ignores Isma'il's succession (see Raverty, note 6, page 75, and Briggs, note on Ferishta, page 29). Subuktigin died in 387, and Maḥmūd succeeded according to Fanákatí in 388. It appears uncertain how long Isma'il held the Government, but probably the six months during which he was besieged by Maḥmūd in Ghaznī, represents his whole reign.

² The origin of this quarrel is stated by Ferishta to have been a protest lodged by Maḥmūd against the nomination of Bak-Túzún to the governorship of Khurásán (see Briggs, p. 84, see also Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, pp. 49, 50).

Mansūr was deprived of his sight after dethronement by Fáiq and Bak-túzún who then by agreement with Maḥmūd were to hold Merv and Níshápúr.

Shortly after this (in 388 A. H.), the Sámání dynasty came to an end after the defeat of Abd-ul-Malik by Ilák i-Nasr. It had lasted one hundred and eight years. See Raverty, pp. 53, 54. (see also D. Herbelot iii. 194).

Maḥmūd is related to have assumed the title of Sultán and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term (Thomas, Coins of Kings of Ghaznī, J. R. A. S. IX. 270. see also Elliott II. 480-481).

³ She was the daughter of Alptagín, governor of Ghaznī, which is here meant by Zábul, the words "that is Qandahár" only occur in one copy and are probably interpolated.

[that is to say Qandahár *] accordingly, he is called Maḥmúd Zábulí—as Firdausí¹ says:

The auspicious court of Maḥmúd Zábulí is an ocean,
An ocean such that no shore can be found for it:
I went to the ocean—I dived but found no pearl
The fault is my fortune's—not that of the ocean.

In the early part of his reign he had some unpleasant correspondence with the Khalífah of Baghdád Al-Qádir billáhi 'Abbásí.² Eventually the Khalif despatched a magnificent robe of honour, and many presents of precious things and gems, and conferred on him the title of Amíru-l-Míllat Yaminu-d-Daulat.

Leaving Ghaznín he went to Balkh and Herát, and in 387 A.H., (997 A.D.) he returned to Ghaznín after having settled those provinces, and thence made repeated incursions and forays into Hindustán, and took several fortresses. 'Asjadí³ composed the following *qasida* in honour of this expedition:

When the king of kings marched to Somnát⁴

He made his own deeds the standard of miracles.

In the month of Shawwál, 391 A.H., (1000 A.D.) Maḥmúd returned to Hindustán from Ghaznín with ten thousand cavalry,

11.

* Not in MSS (A) or (B).

¹ Firdausi. For an account of this famous poet see this volume page 32, Note 1, and Majma'ul Fuṣahá I. 382.

² Al-Qádir billáhi Abú 'Abbás Al-Ḥmad ibn-Ishák ibn il Muqtadir was born in 336 A.H. His Khalifate lasted from 381 A. H. to 422, the year of his death, a period of forty-one years. As Suyútí quoting from Al-Khatíb says that he was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character. (History of Caliphs (Jarrett, p. 431.)

³ Hakím Abu Nazar 'Abdul 'Azíz ibn-Mansúr contemporary of Hakím Ansúrí, Hakím Farrukhí, and Hakím Firdúsí. He died in 432 A. H. (Majma'ul Fuṣahá, Vol. I. p. 340.) The *qasida* in which the lines quoted occur is given at length in the Majma'ul Fuṣahá, loc. cit. MS. (A) quotes them wrongly, MS. (B) is the same as the text which reads  for ل. 'Asjadí was a celebrated poet of Merv. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* gives another couplet in addition to the above and attributes the poem to 'Ansúrí (p. 82, note 1).

⁴ Somnát. Situated according to the Qánín in 97° 10' long. and 22° 15' lat. Somnát is on the shore, in the land of pirates which is part of India. Ibn-Sáid says that travellers often speak of it, and it forms part of Guzerát or the country of Lar. (See Bayley, History of Gujerat, p. 18, etc., *Aín-i-Akbarí* Vol. II. (Jarrett) 246, etc. Abul Feda II. ii. 116.)

See also Albirúní India (Sachau) I. 205, and Index *Somanátha*.

See also p. 27 of this volume, &c.

and reduced Pesháwar. He also again drew up his forces on these frontiers for battle with Jaipál who confronted him with large forces of cavalry and infantry and three hundred elephants. Sultán Maḥmúd gained the day and Jaipál was taken prisoner together with fifteen of his relatives, his brothers and his sons; and five thousand infidels fell by the sword. Great spoils fell into the hands of the Gházis, among them a pearl necklace which was on the neck of Jaipál, which was worth some hundred and eighty thousand *dínárs*,¹ and the necklets of the others too, on the same

¹ Note 1. *Dínár.*

There is some uncertainty as to the actual value of the *Dínár*, as there were different coins, one of silver and the other of gold bearing this name.—

It was during the Khalifate of Abdul Malik ibn Marwán (A.H. 73 to A.H. 86, A.D. 692 A.D. 705) that a separate coinage was introduced. Thus As Suyútí gives the following account: “Yahyá-b-Bakayr narrates:—‘I heard Málík say that the first who coined *dínárs* was Abdul Malik and he inscribed on them a verse of the Qurán. Musa:b states that Abdul Malik inscribed on the *dínár* “Say, God is One.” (Qur. cxii.) and on the reverse, “there is no God but God;” and its circumference was a rim of silver and he inscribed outside the rim, “Muhammad is the Apostle of God, whom he hath sent as a guide unto Salvation and the true faith.” (Jarrett, History of the Caliphs p. 222.)

Abdul Malik had introduced the custom of writing at the head of letters the formula, “say there is one God.” This was a cause of offence to the Grecian Emperor who wrote saying that unless Abdul Malik abandoned this habit “there will reach you on our *dínárs* the mention of what you will not like.” Abdul Malik consequently decided upon coining his own *dínárs* which he did in the year 75 A.H. (A.D. 694.)

The origin of the word *dínár* is attributed to the Latin *denarius* the words فلس *fals* and درهم *dirham* being in the same way derived from *follis* and *drachma*. (Prinsep I. 19-246.)

The *denarius*, a silver coin was worth approximately 8½d. its average weight being according to the authorities 60 grains. It was first coined B.C. 269.

Its relation to the *drachma* was at first as 8·5 to 9·75, but owing to a falling off in weight of the *drachma* they at one time were practically equal in value. The *drachma* was a silver coin and occupied among the Greeks the place of the *denarius* among the Romans. Both these coins then, the *dínár* and the *dirham*, were silver originally, and were in all probability of equal values, but there is another *dínár* mentioned in the Rájá Taranginí and elsewhere which was a gold coin—this answers almost exactly to the Roman *denarius aureus* of which Pliny speaks, the average weight of which was 120 grains. The gold coins of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanchí inscription weigh from 120 to 180 grains and are indubitably copied from Greek originals in device as well as in weight. Prinsep I. 246.

scale. This victory was won on Saturday,¹ the 8th of Muḥarram, 392 H., (1001 A.D.) Leaving this place Maḥmūd proceeded to the fortress of Tabarhindah² which was the residence³ of Jaipál, and conquered that country.

After this in the month of Muḥarram 393 A.H. he left Ghaznín, and proceeded to Hindustán by way of Seistán and assaulted Bhátia⁴ which is in the vicinity of Mulián. The Rájá of that place, Bejí Rái, fearing the punishment of the Sultán killed himself with a dagger, and they brought his head to the Sultán. Many Hindús, more than one can number, were hurried along the road to non-existence by the pitiless sword, and Maḥmūd took as spoil two hundred and seventy elephants while Dá'úd ibn-Nuṣr⁵ the renegade ruler of Multán, being reduced to submission by the Sultán, agreed to pay twenty times twenty thousand dirhams⁶ annual tribute.

We may thus take it that the golden *dínár* was double the weight of the silver *dínár* and taking the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1 this would give us the relative values of the gold and silver *dínár* in terms of *dínárs* of silver as 20 to 1.

This relative value is rendered more probable still by a comparison of our author's statement of the tribute paid by Dá'ud ibn Naṣr (page 11, line 18 of the Text) with that of Firishta (see note 6 below).

Against this however is the statement in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann I. p. 36) that "the Dínár is a gold coin weighing one *mīqál*, i.e., 1½ dirhams" but as both the *dirham* and the *mīqál* were variable the accuracy of this statement is open to question.

See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. (Art.) *Denarius*.

¹ Firishta says Monday, the 8th of Muḥarram.

² *Tabarhindah*. Firishta calls this Batindah which is also the name given to Jaipál's capital in a history of the Rájás of Jamú. As to the identity of this with Waihind, see Raverty's *Tabaqát-i-Akbari*, pp. 76-80 footnote; see Tieffenthaler's map, Vol. III. See also E. and D. II. 438.

³ MS. (A) has جای بوده ^{جای} Text has مکمل which is evidently an "improvement" on the author.

⁴ MS. (A) has بھاتا MS. (B) has بھٹا Bháta. The real name of this place is according to Elliott *Bhera*, which lies on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range—see E and D., Vol. II., Appendix, pp. 439-440.

⁵ Grandson of Shaikh Hamíd Lodí, first ruler of Multán (Briggs, p. 40.)

⁶ Firishta says 20,000 golden dirams. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. 35, the *dirham* is a silver coin, and no mention is made of a golden dirham. Taking the value of the golden dirham at twenty times that of the silver dirham the text would give the same amount as that given by Firishta (see note 1 p. 18).

As he was advancing to Multán, Anandpál, son of Jaipál, rose up against him to oppose the advance of the Sultán, but fled after the battle to the mountains of Kashmír, and the Sultán reached

12. Multán by way of Hindustán.¹ Those events occurred in 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) In the following year 397 A.H. (1006 A.D.) a battle was fought at Balkh between Mahmúd and Ilak Khán² king of Máwará an-Nahr.³ Sultán Mahmúd was victorious; Ilak Khán finally died in the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.)

In the year 398 H. (1007 A.D.) Mahmúd entered Turkistán, and having settled the affairs of the Turkís, pursued Súkhpál⁴ Nabsa, Rájá of Sind, (who having embraced Islám had been released from his captivity to Abú 'Ali Siujúrí but had again joined the idolators and apostates) overcame him and threw him into prison where he died.

In the year 399 A.H. (1008 A.D.) Mahmúd a second time entered Hindustán and engaging in battle with the aforesaid Anand Pál defeated him, and betaking himself with his vast spoil to the fortress of Bhímnagar⁵—which nowadays is known

¹ Firishta says by way of Batindah. In the text we find by way of Hindustán and MSS. (A) and (B) have the same. According to Elliott (II. 438) we should here read Bihand or Waihind, a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock.

² See Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nasirí*, p. 52 and note. Ilak son of Bughrá Khán took Bukhárá 10th Zí-Qá'dah, 389 H. See also pages 84-85, footnote 9.

See also Briggs' Firishta, pp. 42-44.

³ Transoxiána.

⁴ Firishta calls him Sukhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India. MS. (A) and (B) have Súkpál Naba سوکپال نبا. According to Elliott his name was Sukhpál-Nawásá Sháh, the name Nawásá denoting his relationship to Jaipál whose grandson he in all probability was (see E and D, II. App. 444.) He is called Rájá inasmuch as Mahmúd when leaving Multán to fight Ilak Khán had (according to Firishta) left his Indian possessions in his charge. See also Elphinstone, Hist. of India, p. 280.

⁵ This fortress is situated about a mile from the town of Bhím. The fort itself was called Nagarkot (Firishta) and is the same as Kot Kangra. In Tieffenthaler's map Nagarkote is placed some 25 miles N. W. of Kot Kangra, but at page 107, Vol. I., he says, "Cotgangra nommée aussi Nagar cott est une ville munie d'une forteresse et située dans les montagnes." See E and D, Vol. II. 34 and App. 445.

"The Town of Bhím which is about a mile from the fort, is now on a spot called Bhawan which means a temple raised to a Saktí or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím."

as the Thána of Bhím—reduced it by promising quarter to the garrison, and gained possession of the treasure and valuables which had been buried and stored there since the time of Bhím, and in the early part of the year 400 H. he caused several golden and silver thrones to be placed in his court, and ordered that all that boundless and incomputable wealth should be scattered at the foot of his own throne that the people might gaze on it. In the year 401 H. (1010 A.D.) he left Ghaznín and again marched towards Multán, and took possession of the remainder of the country and put to death the greater part of the Karmatians¹ and heretics of that region, and sent the remainder whom he did not put to death to the fort,² where they died. He took Dáúd ibn Nasr, the heretic ruler of Multán, to Ghaznín and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Ghorí,³ where he died.

In the year 402 H. (1011 A.D.), he set out for Thánesar⁴ and Jaipál, the son of the former Jaipál, offered him a present of fifty elephants and much treasure. The Sultán, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose; so refused to accept his present, and seeing Thánesar empty he sacked it and destroyed its idol temples, and took away to Ghaznín, the idol known as Chakar-

13.

¹ A heretical sect of Muslims, so called from the founder Karmat, who rose about the year 278 H. They sought to attain their ends by violence and in the year 319 H. under Abu Táher, took the city of Mecca with fearful slaughter, plundered the temple and took away the black stone which they retained for twenty years.

(Elliott and Dowson II. 573). (See also Sale's Qurán, Prel. Discourse, pp. 130-131) D. Herbelot (*Carmate*).

² MS. (A) در قلّاع

³ Firishta غورک مس. (A) عدی

⁴ Thánesar. 76°62 E. 29°30 N. *vide* Map, Tieffenthaler, Vol. III.

Tieffenthaler describes it as a large and populous town one mile in length, having a pond surrounded by buildings towards the east. The Hindus he states, claim that when gold is thrown into this lake it increases in weight. He naively, goes on to say, however, "Mais c'est un fable ridicule car celui qui y jette son or n'en recouvre rien." The water is accounted holy.

He places Thánesar at a distance of 66 miles from Dehli giving the stages,— Narela 12 miles, Sonpat 6, Gonor 6, Panipat 12, Carnal 14, Asamabad 7, Thanessor 9. It lies N.W. of Dehli and is now called Thaneswar. See Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India, pp. 330-332. See Alberuni, I. 199.

sám,¹ on account of which the Hindús had been ruined; and having placed it in his court, caused it to be trampled under foot by the people. In the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.), he conquered Ghurjistán,² and in the selfsame year an ambassador arrived from the ruler of Egypt, and when the Sultán heard that he was of the Bátini sect,³ he exposed him to public ridicule⁴ and expelled him.

In the year 404 H. (1013 A.D.), he prepared an expeditionary force to attack Nandana,⁵ a city situated on the mountains of Bálnáth. Jaipál II⁶ left a force to defend that fortress, and himself proceeded to the Kashmír pass. The Sultán gained possession of that fortress with promise of quarter, and left Sárégh Kotwál to defend it, while he pursued Jaipál. He took the vast spoils of that mountainous region and put many infidels to death by the sword of holy war, and honoured the rest by admitting them to Islám—a certain number he led captive to Ghazní.

In the year 406 H. (1015 A.D.), he contemplated the conquest of Kashmír, and besieged the fortress of Lohar Kot,⁷ which was a very high fort, but was forced to abandon the siege on account of the severity of the cold and rain, and the constant reinforcements available to the Kashmíris, and returned to Ghazní. In that year he entered into a contract for the marriage of his sister

¹ Chakrasvámin, or the lord of the Chakra. For an account of this idol, see Alberuni, I. 117.

"The city of Taneshar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called Cakra svámin, i.e., the owner of the Cakra."

² Ghurjistán, or Gharhistán, the country bounded on the west by Herát, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghazní. See Jácut in voc. Gharhistán.

³ Esoterics, a sect of the Shí'a Muslims. For an account of them see Cureton's page 147 —They were variously called كتاب الملائكة لباطنية - الـقـرـاءـةـ طـهـ لـبـاطـنـيـةـ وـالـعـلـىـ وـالـمـذـدـدـةـ - الـتـعـلـيمـيـةـ - الـمـزـدـيـةـ

⁴ Exposing to ridicule by seating on a donkey with the face to the tail, and thus leading him through the city.

⁵ Nandana, a fortress of brick situated on a mountain. Tieffenthaler I. 105, in lat. 32°. (Alberúni, Sachau trans, 317). In Rennell's map (1782) the Belnát mountains are placed in long. 72° E., lat. 32° N. For a full description of this mountain, see Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India, pages 164, 165.

⁶ Son of Anandpál, grandson of Jaipál I.

⁷ Called also Lohkot by Firishta. MSS. (A) (B) have لوهـرـكـوـتـ

with Abul Abbás ibn Mámún Khwárazm Sháh,¹ and sent her to Khwárazm.

In the year 407 H. (1016 A.D.), a band of ruffians murdered Khwárazm Sháh, and Maḥmúd leaving Ghazní, proceeded first to Balkh and thence to Khwárazm, where a furious battle took place between his forces and those of Khamártásh, the commander-in-chief of Khwárazm. The Sultán's forces gained the day and Maḥmúd appointed Altún Tásh governor of that country, investing him with the title of Khwárazm Sháh, he also took vengeance on the murderers of Khwárazm Sháh, and returned (to Ghazní) after having arranged those important affairs.

In the year 409 H., he marched with the object of subduing Qanauj,² and having crossed the seven³ dangerous rivers of Hindustán, upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, Kúrah,⁴ the ruler of Qanauj, offered his submission, and sued for quarter, offering presents. Leaving that place he arrived at the

¹ For a full account of this dynasty, see Raverty's *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, pp. 231 &c., (note 2.) Khwárazm is a country on both banks of the Oxus of which the capital is Gorgang (Jurján) see Abul Fedá II. ii. 209. Chorasmii of Strabo, Herodotus, &c. The Chorasmii are coupled by ancient authors with the Dace, Massagetae and Soghdī. (Smith's Dict. of Geog.)

² Qanauj or Qanaj, was for a long time the Hindú capital of Northern India. Firishta states that when Maḥmúd approached Qanauj, "he saw there a city which raised its head to the skies and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled." (Briggs. I. 57). See also Alberúni (Sachau tr. I. 199). (For a full account of this city consult Cunningham, op. cit. 376, &c.).

Tieffenthaler states that in ancient monuments Qanauj is called "Cannia coubadj" ce qui signifie *la vierge bossue*. Vol. I. pp. 193, 194.

³ These in the order Mahmúd met with them were the—

Indus *Skst.* Sindhu Gr. "Indos" "Indus incolis Sindus appellatus" (Pliny.)

Jhelam Hydaspe or Bidaspes *Skst.* Vitastá (Vihut) or Viyatta.

Chenáb Acesines called in Sanskrit Chandrabhaga.

Ráví Hydraotes (Arrian) *Skst.* Iravatí. Hyarbtis (Strabo).

Biāh Hyphasis or Hypanis *Skst.* Vipásá.

Sutlej Zaradrus. Hesydrus (Pliny) *Skst.* Shatladar.

Jamuna Jaun or Yamuná.

(See also *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett), ii. 310.) Alberuni, Chaps. xxiv, xxv.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) گورہ Kúrah. According to Firishta the name of the prince of Qanauj was Kúñwar Rái, see Elliott, Vol. ii. p. 461.

fortress of Barnah¹ whose governor Barwat, having entrusted the defence of the fortress to his kinsfolk, retired into seclusion.

The garrison of the fort not being able to withstand Maḥmūd's assault sent a present of a lakh and fifty thousand² rupees, with thirty elephants, and thus obtained quarter. From thence Maḥmūd proceeded to the fortress of Mahāyun³ on the banks of the river Jon,⁴ where the governor of the fort named Kal Chandar⁵ attempted to escape by crossing the river riding on an elephant, but in the meantime the troops of the Sultān arrived, and he destroyed himself by stabbing himself with a dagger—

By that same watery path he went to Hell.
When to live is to fulfil the desires of one's enemies
Death is infinitely preferable to life.

At the taking of the fortress of Qanauj eighty-five elephants and a boundless amount of spoil fell into the hands of the troops. From thence he went to Māthra⁶ which is a place of worship of the infidels, and the birth place of Kishan, the son of Basudev, whom the Hindus worship as a divinity—where there are idol temples without number; and took it without any contest, and razed it to the ground. Great wealth and booty fell into the hands of the Muslims, among the rest they broke up by the orders of the Sultān, a golden idol, the weight of which was

15.

¹ Barnah. Firishta gives Hardat as the name of the governor and calls the place Mirath. Baran. See Elliott II. 458, on the reading بَرَنَه MS. (A.) has بَرْتَه Bardah and gives بَرْدَه Bardat as the name of its ruler.

² According to Firishta 250,000 silver dinars. This gives the value of the silver dinár as $\frac{1}{5}$ of a rupee. In the *Ain-i-Akbarī* we find no mention of a silver dinár, but the dirham is stated to be $\frac{1}{6}$ of a dínár; as the dirham varied in weight it seems almost certain from the above that the dirham and silver dínár were identical. (see note 1 p. 18.)

³ *Vide* Tieff. 166. Mabában avec une forteresse en brique.

⁴ The river Jumna. Alberuni "the river Jauñ (Yamuna) p. 199.

⁵ Kul Chand (Firishta) Elliott I. 462. MS. (A.) كُلْ‌چَانْد Kulchand.

⁶ *Vide* Tieffenthaler I. 201 et seq.

Muthra or Māhura, celebrated as a holy place, the birthplace of Vasudeva, see Alberuni, ii. 147 i. 199; famous also in the history of Krishna as the stronghold of his enemy Rājā Kansa. Arrian calls it *Methoras* while Pliny states that the river *Jomanes* (Jumna) passed between the towns of Methora and Clisobora (Kalikavarta or Vrindāvana) Cunningham *op. cit.* pp. 374-375.

ninety-eight thousand three hundred *misgáls*¹ of refined gold and a piece of sapphire² whose weight was four hundred and fifty *misgáls*: besides a celebrated elephant of huge size, like a mountain, belonging to Rájá Gobind Chand, one of the Rájás of Hindustán, which the Sultán had long earnestly sought to buy, but which was not to be had. By chance one night, when they were returning, this elephant broke loose and came into the Sultán's camp without a keeper. The Sultán was greatly pleased with its capture, and gave it the name of Khudádád.³ When the spoil reached Ghazní it was found to amount to over twenty million and fifty-three thousand dirams, and three hundred and fifty odd elephants.⁴

In the year 410 H. (1019 A.D.); Mahmúd again turned his footsteps towards Hindustán and encountered and fought on the banks of the river Jon with Nandá the Rája of Kálínjar,⁵ who

¹ The Misqál = 1½ dirhams = 6 dangs = 96 barley grains in weight. It is a weight used in weighing gold and is also the name of the coin. (*Afn-i-Akkarí*, I. 36.) Cf. Hebrew *shekel* לְבָשׂ see also Alberuni I. 160–164.

² ياقوت ازرق Firishta says a blue gem. The stone was in all probability a sapphire. There are four kinds of احمر ازرق ايض — ياقوت كحلي آسمانچوئي i.e. red, blue, white, and coerulean.

³ The gift of God.

⁴ From collating the MSS. A. and B., I think the reading here is quite plain. It is

و چون بغزینن رسید شمار آن غنایم بیست و اند باز هزار هزار درم و پنجاه و سه هزار برده و سیصد و پنجاه و اند فیل بود -

Both MSS. have بود but we must read بود as in Firishta, Vol. I p. 51, line 9, *et seq.* we read thus:-

و چون بغزینن رسید غنائم سفر قنوج را شمار کردند بیست هزار دینار و هزاران هزار درم بشمار درآمد و پنجاه هزار برده و سیصد و پنجاه فیل و دیگر نفائس خارج این بود -

and when he reached Ghazní they counted the spoils of the expedition to Qanauj, twenty thousand dínárs and thousands of thousands of dirams, and fifty thousand slaves and 350 elephants, besides other booty in addition to these. (Firishta, Vol. I. p. 51, l. 9 *et seq.*).

⁵ Kálínjar in Dangaya, Bundelkhand. A description of this fortress with two plates will be found in Tieffenthaler, Vol. I. p. 244. He states that the fort was taken by Sher Sháh and passed into the possession of the Rajah of Dangaya (Bundelkhand) from the time of Muḥammad, king of Dehli. (1718 to 1748). Lat. 25 N, Long. 85° 5' E. (See *Afn-i-Akkarí* (Jarrett) II. 158–159).

had with him 36,000 cavalry and 45,000¹ infantry and 640 elephants, and who had put to death the Rájá of Qanauj on the occasion of his submission to the Sultán, and who had also come to the help of Jaipál, who had several times fled from before the Sultán. The servants of the Sultán who had gone forward to

16. the attack, found the city deserted, and sacked it. A terrible dread overwhelmed the heart of Jaipál, so that leaving all his property and material of war just as they stood, he took to flight with some selected companies. Five hundred and eighty elephants during the pursuit, emerging from a forest, fell into the hands of the Sultán's troops. He then returned to Ghaznín.—Many regions passed from the possession of the infidels to the Muslims, moreover the people of that country, either willingly or perforce, made profession of Islám.

In the year 412 H. (1021 A.D.), Máhmud proceeded to Kashmír and laid siege to the fort of Loharkot for a month, but it held out being exceedingly well fortified. Leaving Loharkot he went to Lahore, and in the beginning of spring returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 413 H. (1022 A.D.), he again made an attempt on the country of Nandá, and when he arrived at the fortress of Gwálíár, having reduced it peaceably and accepted presents from its governor, confirmed him in his governorship. As part of that present there were thirty-five elephants. Leaving that place he went to the fort of Kálinjar, the commander of which first made an offering of three hundred elephants and sought his protection.²

He also composed a poem in Hindí in praise of the Sultán, and sent it to him, whereupon the Sultán read the poem in the presence of the eloquent men of Hindustán and the poets of his own country. They were all loud in their praises of the poem, and the Sultán was so proud of it, that he wrote a patent conferring upon him the governorship of fifteen forts as a reward for the poem. Nandá also sent large quantities of property and jewels,

Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 412 A.H. See Elliot, Vol. I. 462, for an account of the various statements.

¹ The text has مدد و چهل و پنج هزار Firishta says 45,000. MS. (A) likewise says 45,000. MS. (B) is same as the text, which says 145,000, but 45,000 is no doubt correct.

² Abul Fazl (*Afn-i-Akbari*, Text I. 423) says this was in 416 A.H.

and countless articles of value as an offering to Maḥmúd. The Sultán victorious and triumphant returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 414 H. (1024 A.D.), Maḥmúd went to Balkh, and passed the river Jaihún.¹ The chiefs of the regions beyond the river,² hastened to meet him, and Yúsuf Qadr Khán king of the whole of Turkistán, came out to receive him, and visited the Sultán. They held great banquets and gave presents to each other, and Alí Tagín, of whose oppression the people of the regions beyond the river had complained, learning what was happening took to flight. The Sultán pursued him and having captured him sent him a prisoner to one of the fortresses of Hindustán, then he returned and spent the winter in Ghaznín.

Once more³ he led his army against Somnát, which is a large city on the coasts of the ocean,⁴ a place of worship of the Brah-

¹ The Amú Daryá or Oxus. *Jaihún* is the name of the great river which separates Khwárazm and Khurásán from Bokhárá, Samarcand and that country: all the region on the Bokhárá side of the river is called the country beyond the river (má wará annahr) I. K. iii. 229. According to Abul Fazl Balkh is situated in Long 101°40' Lat 36°41'. The Jaihún, is also called "the river of Balkh." See also Abul Feda: (Reinaud) II. ii. 198-199.

² مَارِنَة - Transoxiana. The country lying between Khwárazm on the west and the Oxus on the south from Badakhshán to the frontiers of Khwárazm. See Abul Feda: (Reinaud) II. ii. 212 and seq.

³ The accounts of this celebrated expedition are given in great detail by most authors. Those who follow (Ibn Asír and) Mirkhond make it commence with 416 H. Those who follow Firishta with 415 H. (Elliott, II. 68).

⁴ Somnát, South-west of the peninsula of Guzerat, Long. 107°10', Lat. 22°15', *Atn-i-Akkari*. (J.) iii. 58,) on the sea shore. At a distance of 50 farsakh from azána, (*Alb.*) The river Sarsuti falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somanath (*Alb.* 261). It was here that the Yádavas killed each other (*Alb.* 405).

The idol of Somanáth is stated by Alberuni to have been the linga of Lahadeva erected to remove the leprosy of the moon. The word Somanáth means master of the moon. "The image was destroyed by the Prince Maḥmúd, may God be merciful to him! — A. H. 416." Alb. II. 103. Alberuni gives an account here of Somanáth, and states (p. 176) that the day of full moon in the month Srávana is a fast day holy to Somanáth.

See also Elliott, II. 468-476, also Elphinstone 286, note 16-17, Briggs' Fir. I. 8, 73, 74. *Atn-i-Akkari*, Vol. II. 246, and note.

Qazwíní in his *Asrár-ul-Bilád* gives an account of the idol of Somnát and states that it was suspended in mid-air without support of any kind, and

mans who worship a large idol. There are many golden idols there. Although certain historians have called this idol Manát, and say that it is the identical idol which the Arab idolators brought to the coasts of Hindustán in the time of the Lord of the Missive (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him), this story has no foundation, because the Brahmins of India firmly believe that this idol has been in that place since the time of Kishan, that is to say four thousand years and a fraction. Its name too, in the Hindí language, is really Sobha Náth, that is to say Lord of Beauty, and not Manát.¹ The reason for this mistake must surely be the resemblance in name, and nothing else. In this expedition, having taken the city of Patan² which is known as Naharwála, a city of Gujerát, and having obtained a great supply of provisions from thence, he arrived at Somnát where the garrison closed the gates of the fort against him, and reaped their reward in rapine and plunder.³ The fort was taken and Maḥmúd broke the idol in fragments and sent it to Ghaznín, where it was placed at the door of the Jámí Masjid and trodden under foot⁴.

18. At the time of his return, not considering it expedient to fight with Bairám Dev,⁵ one of the mighty Rájás of Hindustán who stood in his way, Maḥmúd turned towards Multán by way of

further states that it was supposed to be kept in this position by magnetic action. Qazwíní died A. H. 682, (A. D. 1284).

¹ Cf. Qurán LIII: 19, 20. Zamakhshari in the *Kashsháf* states that Manát was an idol worshipped by the tribes of Huzail, Khuzáa and Saqíf, and that it was called Manát مانات کائنات تمنی علی (Calcutta Edn., Vol. II., page 1422).

² Pattan. Tieffenthaler I. 385, states that Pattan was a very ancient city founded even before Guzerát, 20 miles from Radhanpur, 40 miles north of Guzerát. Its ancient name was Nehróála. It was originally called Anhalpur. See *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J) II. 262, III. 59, 60. Compare Briggs' Firishta, I., 69, &c., Anhalwára (Elphinstone).

³ Cf. Alberuni II. 103.

⁴ Firishta calls this Rájá Brahma Dev, and states that having fled from Maḥmúd he shut himself up in the fort of Gandaba (Kandama *Tárikh-i-Alfi*). Briggs states that the position of this place has not been ascertained, but it appears to me to be the place Canda mentioned by Tieffenthaler I. 402. "Canda est une bonne forteresse à 40 milles de Somnath elle est entourée d'eau comme une île: mais on peut y aborder à gué en quelques endroits." This description tallies so exactly with Firishta's that there can be little

Sindh.¹ His army suffered great hardships from scarcity of water and forage, until with great difficulty he reached Ghaznín in the year 417 H.

In that year Al Qádir billáhi² the Khalífah, despatched a flag with a letter appointing the Sultán³ to the Governorship of Khurásán and Hindustán, Nímroz and Khwárazm, and conferred titles of honour upon his brothers and sons, and in the same way assigned the titles of Kahfu-d-Daulat wal Islám to the Sultán, and to his elder son Amír Mas'úd that of Shahábu-d-Daulat wa Jamálú-l-Millat, and to Amír Muhammád his younger brother that of Jalálú-d-Daulat, and to Amír Yúsuf that of 'Ażdu-d-Daulat—and so forth.

In this year by way of punishing the Jats⁴ of the vicinity of Multán, who had committed many acts of disrespect, Maḥmúd brought an army to Multán—and four thousand (some say eight thousand) boats belonging to the Jats laden with their families and property, were sunk in the Multán river on the occasion of a victory obtained by the boats of the Sultán, on which they had arranged some especial contrivance,⁵ and the Jats were drowned and sank in the whirlpool of destruction, and the rest became food for the sword, their families were taken captive, and the Sultán, victorious and triumphant, returned to Ghaznín.—

In the year 418 H. (1027 A.D.) marching towards Báward⁶, he

doubt as to the identity of Gandaba with Canda. Cf. Elliott II. 473, note 1 Elphinstone Hist. of India, 289.

In the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí* this rájá is called Parama Dev.

¹ For particulars of this march see Briggs' *Firishta* I. 78. Elph. 290, and note. *Tabaqát-i-Nasírí* (Raverty) p. 83, cf. Elliott II. p. 192 from *Jámi'u-l-Hikáyát*.

² History of the Caliphs (Jarrett) p. 431, Al Qádir billáhi Abul 'Abbás Alymad-b-Isháq b-il-Muqtadir. A. H. 381-422.

³ See Elliott II. pp. 480-481 on the assumption by Maḥmúd of title of Sultán, see also p. 16 of this volume note 2.

⁴ Cf. Elliott II. p. 477, and I. p. 507. The Jats.

⁵ Cf. Elliott II. 477. Briggs' *Firishta* I. 82.

The contrivance alluded to was fixing spikes on the prows and sides of the boats like the *rostrum* or *κυθολός* of ancient warships. This instrument the origin of the modern ram is said to have been invented by the Tyrrhenian Pisæus. (Smith, Dict of Antiq). See also Elph. 291, and note.

⁶ Báward. MS. (A.) has بجانب ماروا آندر باورد رفته MS. (B.) is same as the text. Abiward ville du Khorásán est située selon l' *Aṭwāl* par 84° de longi-

utterly destroyed the Türkomans of that country, and thence he hastened to Rai¹ and laid hands on the treasures and hidden valuables of that country which had been there for many years, and exdicated 19. the false religionists and Karamanians of that place, and bestowed Rai and Isfahán on Amír Mas'úd his elder son. He then returned to Ghazní and shortly afterwards became attacked by consription,² his weakness day by day increased. Nevertheless he wd to take great pains to pretend that he was well and strong, and in that condition went to Balkh and in the spring came to Ghazní, and died of that disease on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi'ul Awwal,

tudo et $37^{\circ} 20'$ de latitudo. On la nomme encoro, dit le Lobâb, Abâward et Bâward (Abul Feda (Reinaud) II. ii. 185-186). Firishta calls it Badward (see also Meynard (Dict de la Perse) p. 13, Abiwerd).

1 A district of Persian 'Irâq, situated according to Abul Feda quoting from the *Atwâl*, in long. $76^{\circ} 20'$ and latitude $35^{\circ} 35'$. Its original name was he states, Râzî.

Ibn Hauqal in his article on Dailam, speaks of Reyy as a large city at a distance of eight marches from Azarbaján. It is the ancient Rhages or 'Payâd' of Arrian, the capital of the province of Rhagiana, first known to us in history as the place to which the Jewish exiles were sent. It was the birth place of the famous physician Abu Bakr Muhammâd ibn Zakarîya Ar-Râzî, familiar to the medical world as Rhâzé who lived in the tenth century. His treatise (في الجدري وأحصنة) was published in a Greek translation περὶ λοιμῶν in 1548, and an English translation from the Arabic by Dr. Greenhill. (Sydenham Society, 1847) It was ten days' march from Ecbatana (*Hamadân*). It was called at different periods Europus and Arsacia. In modern times the ancient name has returned, and its ruins lie now to the south of Teherán and north of Ispahán. The famous jurisconsult Muhammâd ibn al-Hasan, and al-Kisâyî the reader of the Qurâن, are buried ther. Persian Irâq comprised the regions of Reyy, Qâshán, Ispahán and Hamadân. (Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog., Vol. II. art Rhagæ), (Abul Feda, (Reinaud) II. ii. 169, &c.) also see I. K. (Slane), iii. 311 et seqq.

2 Briggs, Vol. I. p. 83, states that Mahmûd died of stone, but a reference to Firishta in the original shows that this is not the case. The words are مرض سوآلقنية يا سل بهم وسانیده &c.

The disease سوآلقنية Sû-ul qinya which literally means an undesirable acquisition, is thus defined by Vüller *sub voce* قبیت "pravus habitus corporis, gr. κακέξια, while the following translation from the MS. copy of *Bijavâhir* in this Library will show how it is there defined :

"The disease is so called because the skin which surrounds a man and changes with his changes (i.e. contracts and expands as necessity arises) is diseased, it is the beginning of dropsy, but inasmuch as the term dropsy is specifically

421 A.H.¹ and was buried at Ghaznín. His age was sixty years, and he had reigned thirty-one years. They say that when he was

restricted to another disease, this term *Sú ul qinya* is made applicable to this condition."

In the *Iqtiláhátu-l-Funún* we find the disease described as "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness of liver and derangement of that organ." The quotation however is an erroneous transcription from *Al Mújaz* of *Sadídí*, a translation from which follows,—he writes "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness and derangement of the liver, with resulting pallor and whiteness owing to defect in the formation of good blood from disorder and weakness of the liver, it also arises from disorder of the stomach and weakness of that organ.

The face and extremities, that is the hands and feet, and especially the eyelids, become swollen owing to the weakness of digestion and the rising of moist vapours, and their effect upon the eyelids and extremities, and at times it extends to the entire body, so that the body becomes like dough. One of its symptoms is flatulence and borborygmus, with irregularity of the bowels. All of these are due to indigestion. The gums also are affected with pustules from the evil vapours which arise.

Its cure is a gentle course of treatment for the dropsy. Means must be taken at first to secure a minimum of excrementitious products, and drinking much water must be forbidden, and the patient directed to bathe in borax and alum water, or in sea water, as bathing in fresh water is harmful. Drinking wormwood and *dinárt* and *wardí* is beneficial. The food must be appetising and strengthening to the liver, as for instance partridges; Cantharides flavoured with cloves and cinnamon and mastic and saffron are beneficial. If vomiting must be treated with aperients, when it will cease, but if more energetic treatment be required we may add agaricum and rhubarb which do no harm in this disease." (*Al Mughní fí Sharhí Mújaz* by *Sadídí*).

It is evident from the above description that the disease from which Maḥmúd died was not either hectic fever (*Bádáni*) or phthisis *Qas* (*Firishta*), but an anaemia, very probably "idiopathic anaemia" or "progressive pernicious anaemia." The condition of the gums points to a possibly scorbutic taint, though it was probably ulcerous stomatitis so common at the close of wasting disease. Malaria may have shared in the causation of the illness. There is just a possibility that the disease may have been myxoedema, the increase in bulk of the body with the alteration and sweating of the skin, the turgescence of the mucous membrane of the mouth—all point in this direction. Against this supposition however, is the sex and the age, both of which are in favour of pernicious anaemia. His age was 61.

The question of stone nowhere appears in the original authorities, and it is difficult to see why Briggs should put forward such a statement. See also Elliott, IV. 188, note 1.

¹ This date is the same as that given by Firishta.

Raverty in the *Tabaqát-i-Násírī*, p. 87, note 9, gives Thursday, the 14th of

dying he ordered them to bring all his wealth and treasures and property before him, he lay looking at them from time to time regretfully sighing at having to part with them. He would not give the smallest trifle to any one.

He had made the journey to Hindustán and engaged in holy war, twelve times. Verily his reckoning is with his Lord ; and the story in connection with him and Firdausi¹ the poet is well known, and the holy Jámí² says :

It is well to recognize merits for when the arched sky
At last discharged the arrows of misfortune,
The glory of Maḥmúd passed away, nothing remained in the
world
Save only this saying “ He recognized not the worth of
Firdausi.

Rabi'u-s-sanf, 421 H. (A.D. 1030) quoting the *Maqámát of Amíd Abú Naṣr* by Al-Baihaqí as his authority.

The *Tabaqát-i-Nasirí* gives his age at the time of his death as 61, and states that he had reigned 33 years.

¹ Abul Qásim Firdausí the celebrated poet, author of the *Sháh Námah*, was a native of Tús in Khorásán where he was born about 339 A.H. (950 A.D.) He died in 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.) or 416 A.H. (Guzida). He was appointed by Maḥmúd to complete the *Sháh Námah*. As a reward for this labour he was promised a thousand *mīqáds* of gold for every thousand distichs. However by the machinations of Aiyáz one of Maḥmúd's favourites who bore Firdausi a grudge for a fancied slight, the poet was represented to Maḥmúd as being a schismatic and heretic, and eventually was put off with 60,000 silver *dirhams* instead of the promised 60,000 *mīqáds*. This so enraged him that he divided the 60,000 dirhams among the attendants of the bath where he was at the time of receipt. Finally he wrote a brilliant satire on the Sultan in the very copy of the *Sháhnamah* which he had presented to him on its completion, and fled from Maḥmúd's court to Mázinderán and thence to Baghdád. Maḥmúd at last relented, and sent Firdausi the 60,000 *dinárs* with a robe of state and apologies for his former harsh treatment, but when the presents arrived the body of Firdausi was being carried out for burial. See *Atashkada 'Ażur* p. 92 et seqq, also Atkinson's *Sháhnamah*, Preface : also Elliott, IV. 191. See also Hunter's Indian Empire, p. 219. and Beale's ^r of Oriental Biography.

² Mulla Núrud-Dín Abdur Rahmán (Jámí) author of “ Yúsuf and Zulaikha Beháristán, &c., was born at Jám in 817 H. (?) He died in 898 H. See *Atashkada-i-Ażur* p. 78.

He was called عارف the holy from his position as one of the greatest divines of his day. He was the spiritual guide of the Vazír Amfr Alí She He performed the Hajj in 877 A.H., and died at Herát twenty years later.

And in the *Tazkira* of Muḥammad Ufí,¹ the following *Qīta'*^h has been attributed to the Sultán Maḥmúd.

From the dread of the world-winning sword and the fear of the fort-crushing sceptre,

The world became subject to me as I am subjected to reason,
At one time there would I sit serene in my splendour and riches

At another time following Avarice roamed I from country 20.
to country;

Oft would I boastfully say Lo ! I am a man of importance,
But now I clearly perceive that the King and the beggar are equals.

I, with one wave of my hand, have conquered a myriad of castles

With one firm plant of my foot I have broken lines without number

When Death made the final assault, naught then did my splendour avail me

Nothing continues but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom.

SULTÁN MUHAMMAD IBN SULTÁN MAHMUD GHAZNAVÍ,

Who was styled Jalálu-d-Daulat, in the aforesaid year, by the provisions of his father's will, and with the acquiescence of Ibn Arsálan² a relative of Sultán Maḥmúd, succeeded to the royal throne in Ghaznín, and a month and a half after his accession Amír Aiyáz³ came to terms with the servants, and having mounted horses from the royal stables, took the road to Bust with the object of entering the service of Shahábu-d-Daulah Mas'úd who was at

¹ Muḥammad Ufí, author of a biography or "Tazkira" *Lubábu-l-Albáb*, and of another work called *Jámiu-l-Hikáyát*. The latter he compiled in 1228 A.D. (625 A.H.). He was a native of Merv which under the Saljúq princes was the capital of Persia. He was also known as Núruddín Muḥammad Ufí. (Beale, O. B. D.). See also J. R. A. S., Vol. IX. 113.

Hájí Khalfa calls him Jamálu-d-Dín Muḥammad al Ufí. See J. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 111.

² Called in the *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, 'Alí son of Iyal Arsálan a relative of the late Sultan Maḥmúd. (Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* 89 note 8).

Firishta calls him Amír 'Alí, son Kizil Arsálan father-in-law of Maḥmúd. (Briggs, 93). See Elliott, IV. 193. Alí Kurbat (Raverty), or Alí Khisháwandí.

³ Abul Najm Amír Aiyáz (Firishta).

Sipáhán.¹ Amír Muḥammad despatched Súndlí² Rái the Hindú with a large army in pursuit of them, Amír Aiyáz was victorious in the fight, and put to death Súndhí Rái the Hiudú with a large number of Hindús, and sent their heads to Amír Muḥammad. Amír Aiyáz joined Amír Mas'úd at Níshapúr,³ and four months later Amír Muḥammad moved his camp in the direction of Bust,⁴ and came out in full force from Ghaznín with the intention of fighting with his brother, and when he reached Takínábád⁵ all his Amírs having revolted against him, put out his eyes and threw him into the fort of Bajj⁶ in Majbaristán⁷ and having gone over to Amír Mas'úd with the whole army and treasures, went to Herát and met him there. The blinded Amír Muḥammad reigned five months, but according to Qázi Baizáví⁸ it was fourteen years, and the period of his imprisonment was nine years. God knows the truth. The author of the⁹ *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh* writes that Muḥammad ibn Mahmúd wielded sovereignty in Ghazna for four years in the first instance, during the reign of his father, afterwards he was imprisoned for nine years by the command of his brother Mas'úd, and after the murder of Mas'úd he reigned for another year and then died.

An Amír in whose palace thou seest thousands of sentinels
Now on the vault of his tomb thou seest ravens keeping watch ;

¹ Jspáhán, see Ábul Feda II., ii. 170. (Reinaud).

² Sewand Rai (Firishta).

³ The finest city of Khorásán situated at an equal distance from Merv, Herát, Jurján and Damaghán. See Abul Feda II. ii. 189. (Reináud).

⁴ Fourteen marches from Ghazní in Sijistán, between Herát and Ghazní. Abul Feda II. ii. 108. (Reinaud).

⁵ Takínábád, see Elliott ii. pp. 271, 293 iv. p. 193 note 1. Briggs places it 30 miles N. of Ghazní; see *Ain-i-Akbari* (J) III. 68. Long. 101° 5, Lat. 33°.

⁶ The reading جبرستان in the text is absolutely without authority judging from the two MSS. I have before me. These both read,

در قلعه فوج که از بحر ستاب میل کشیده I am unable to elucidate this but it certainly gives no countenance to the reading in the text which, how ever I have translated, as it stands, *faute de mieux*.

⁷ Variously called Walaj (Firishta) Māngsál (*Nizámu-t-Tawárikh*) See Elliott IV. 193 note 3.

⁸ Abú Saíd Abdulláh ibn Abú Hasan Alí Baizáví. See Elliott, II. 252.

⁹ Yahyá ibn 'Abdul Laṭif Qazwiú Dimishqí. Died 960 A. H. (18th December, 1552) (Háji Khalfá).

Thou didst see the head of Alp Arslán¹ reach the sky in its
grandeur,
Come to Marv that thou mayest see the body of Alp Arslán
beneath the dust.

SHAHĀBU-D-DAULAT SULTĀN MAS'ŪD IBN MAHMŪD.

By the consent of the Amírs and Vazírs of Maḥmúd he ascended the imperial throne, and having come from Hari² to Balkh, spent the winter there, and summoning Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan Maimandí whom Sultán Maḥmúd kept a prisoner in the fort of Kálinjar, made him a Vazír.³ Then leaving Balkh he came to Ghazní and thence started for Sipáhán and Rái, and arriving at Herát engaged in war with the Turkománs, and not overcoming them, but on the contrary suffering defeat at their hands, turned back. The Turkománs increased in power day by day owing to his weakness, till affairs assumed the aspect which they eventually did.³

In the year 423 H. Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan Maimandí died, and in 2⁴
the year 424 Sultán Mas'úd having undertaken to conquer

¹ Abú Shujá' Muḥammad, son of Chákirbeg Dáud, son of Mikášl, son of Șaljúq, son of Duqáq surnamed 'Ażdu-d-Daulat Alp Arslán (arm of the Empire the hero lion) was the third monarch of the Saljúqiyah dynasty who ascended the throne of Khorásán in 451 A. H. (see Raverty 132, note 2). Born 424 A. H., murdered 465 A. H. The lines are attributed by the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* to Ḥukím Saná'i a celebrated poet of Ghazní. His most celebrated work is the *Hadíqat-ul-Haqiqat wa Sharfatu-t-Tarqat* otherwise known as *Fakhrínámah*. His full name was Abú Muḥammad ibn Adam Saná'i Al Hakím. He died in the year 525 H. (4th December, 1130) (H. K.).

See also *Majma'ul Fuṣahá* I. 254 and *Ātashkuda-i-Āżur*, p. 108. cf. I. K. Slane) iii. 230.

² Herát. The well-known city in Khorásán, the ancient Aria ('Aρεια) (see J. G. R. G. 2¹⁰) (Abul Feda II. ii. 193,) founded by Alexander. Meynard *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 592, note 1, says :

L' opinion générale des Persans est qu' Herat doit son nom et son origine à des officiers de Nerimân le Pehlevân et qu'elle fut rebâtie par Alexandre ... لهراسپ نهاده است هریزا بنیاد گشتاپ زنو بنای دیگر بنهاد بهمن پس ازان عمارت دگر کرد اسکندر رومیش همه داد بنا

Le nom d'origine qui en dérive est Harawí.

³ i.e. The establishment of the dynasty of the Saljúqiyah in 429 H. by ľughrl Beg.

Hindustán marched towards the fortress of Sarsatí¹ which is situated in the way to Kashmír, laid siege to it and reduced it, and made his way to Ghaznín with great booty. Then in 425 H. Sultan Mas'úd reduced Amal² and Sári³ and sending legates to Kálínjar and Tabaristán established his authority there⁴ and sent Tughdí Beg and⁵ Husain ibn 'Alí ibn Maikál with a large army from Níshápúr against the Turkománs, and a severe battle ensued in which Husain was taken prisoner and Tughdí Beg fled and returned to the Amír Mas'úd.

Amír Ahmád Niyál Tigín⁶ the treasurer of Sultán Mas'úd whom Mas'úd had fined and had sent to Hindústán,⁷ on arriving in Hindústán revolted⁸ and the Amír Mas'úd nominated a general of the Hindús named Náhir⁹ to oppose him. Ahmád being overcome in battle fled to Manṣúrah¹⁰ in Sindh and was drowned — his head they sent to Ghaznín. In the year 427 H. (1035 A.D.) a new palace was completed in which they erected a throne inlaid with jewels, and suspended above it a jewelled crown. The

¹ Sursatí. (Firishta) a fortress situated among the hills of Kashmír.

² 'Amol the capital of Tabaristán, birthplace of at-Tabari. Abul Feda (R) II. ii. 177-179.

³ Sári or Sáriyah in Tabaristán (according to *al-Lubáb* in Mázindarán.)

⁴ Lit. had coins struck and the Khungbah read in his own name.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) (جندی پیگ و).

⁶ Cf. *Tírikh-n-s-Subuktigín*. Elliott II. 116. He was supposed to be a natural son of the Amír Mahmíd.

⁷ As governor, with kettle-drums and banners and all things usually given to generals of the army.

⁸ Elliott II. 125. Baihaqí says, In this interval letters were constantly arriving with the news of Ahmád Niyál Tigín having reached Lahore with the Turkománs, and that numerous turbulent fellows of Lahore had flocked to him.

⁹ Baihaqí says, Tilak the Hindu was sent: while Firishta states that Mas'úd sent Náth one of the Chiefs of Hind, and that upon his death in battle Túlak ibn Husain was sent who killed Ahmád.

Briggs translates "Tilok the son of Jye Sein"—and remarks upon the fact that he was an unconverted Hindú.

¹⁰ Al Manṣúrah in Sindh: the former city of Bahmanwá, conquered and renamed by Muhammad ibn ul Qásim ibn ul Munabbih. It is situated at a distance of 20 *farsakh* from Bháti, situated between the arms of the Mihráī river. (Alberúní) Almanṣúra. Tieffenthaler, Vol. III. Map. Known later, and up to the present time as Bukkur, see Impe. Gazetteer. Also Abul Feda. II. ii 113. *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II. 327 and note. also III. 58, and note.

Sultán took his seat upon that throne and having placed the crown upon his head gave a public audience. And in this self same year he bestowed upon Amír Maudúd ibn Mas'úd (his son) the drum and ensign,¹ and despatched him to Balkh while he himself proceeded with an army against Hindústán—captured the fort of Hánsí² and thence proceeded to the fortress of Sonpat.³ Deipál⁴ the commander of that fortress fled to the forest and lay hid there. They reduced the fort and captured immense booty putting to the sword the greater part of Deipál's army, but he himself escaped alone. From thence Mas'úd turned his steps towards the valley of Rám⁵ who sent a large offering accompanied by a written apology for his non-appearance. Amír Mas'úd accepted his excuses and giving the Amír⁶ Abúl-Mujáhid son of Mas'úd,⁷ the drum and standard (of commission) sent him to Lahore and retraced his steps to Ghazní.

23

In the year 428 (1036 A.D.) he left Ghazní for Balkh intending to crush the rebellion of the Turkománs who evacuated Balkh and retired into the surrounding country. The Sultán then

¹ As tokens of his commission as a general of the army.

² According to Baihaqí this fort had been hitherto known as "The Virgin" as no one had yet been able to take it. It was taken ten days before the close of Rabí'-ul Awwal. Hánsí, a city with a ruined castle 11 miles to the east of Hissár. Tieffenthaler I. 134.

³ Sonpath, a city with a brick fortress. Tieffenthaler I. 133. It lies North of Delhi. MSS. (A and B). read قلعہ سپت دنبال

⁴ MSS. (A and B). دنبال

⁵ Firishta's account is almost identical here.

⁶ Firishta writes فوزند خروش ابوالمسجد ودری His son Abúl Majdúd. See also Raverty p. 95, note 7. In the text we should read ابوالمجاہد بن مسعود

⁷ Here I follow MS. (B). The readings of the MSS. vary here very considerably. MS. (A) reads (agreeing with the text) سلطان ازاب جیخون گذشته تمام مأوا النهر را متصرف شد و داده ترکمان که تعدي بیگ و امیر حسن

قبل ازین شکست داده بود بجمعیت تمام قصده بلخ نموده

و سلطان ازاب جیخون گذشته تمام قصده بلخ نمود

Preference must be given to MS. (A), the copyist evidently having mistaken its place after the first 恒河 and instead of continuing مأوا النهر را he has gone on that he was a careless and incompetent copyist is drawn by the next line where he writes دراز کرد

و درین آننا تعدي بنواحی کورکان دراز کرد

crossing the Jíhún occupied the whole of Transoxiána. Dáúd the Turkomán, who had previously defeated Tughdí Beg and Amír Husain, marched with a large force towards Balkh. Amír Mas'úd thereupon returned from Transoxiána to Balkh and Dáúd the Turkomán¹ leaving Balkh went to Merv. In the meantime Tughdí Beg² had been acting oppressively in the neighbourhood of Gurgán. When the Amír Mas'úd perceived the symptoms of his rebellion he ordered him to be impaled. The Amír Mas'úd then exacted a stipulation and promise from Béghú³ the Turkomán who was the chief of that tribe, that henceforward they would never attempt any lawlessness, and having delimited their boundaries in a suitable way left for Herát. While on his way thither a body of the Turkománs fell upon the army of Mas'úd, killing some and plundering the baggage. The soldiers of the Sultán who were told off to attack them made the whole of that party food for the sword, and brought their wives and families together with the heads of the slain into the presence of Amír Mas'úd who sent asses laden with the heads to Béghú. Béghú apologized, and it so happens that this is the very same Béghú in praise of whom the poet Ziáí⁴ of Persia has composed several odes from which the following verses are selected—

24. It is wrong for me to bewail the misfortunes of others than thee,
 It is wrong not to weep with thy sorrow.
 My occupation day and night is to lament and bewail thy sorrow.

¹ See Raverty, p. 94, note 2.

² MS. (A) has تغدی بگ not تغدی بگ.

³ Isráíl-i-Béghú. See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Nágírl*) p. 94, note 2, page 116, note 3, for an account of the rise of the Saljuqíyah dynasty. See also Ibu Khall: (Slane) iii. 225 and seqq.

⁴ Ziáu-d-Dín Khajandí Al Fáreí, a native of Shíráz who left Shíráz in his youth and took up his abode at Khajand. He was a contemporary and panegyrist of Sultán Malik Sháh Saljúqí, and died at Herát in the year 522 H. (In the *Majma'-ul Fusahá* from which these particulars are taken, the date of his death is 622 H., but this is an error as Malik Sháh died in 491 H.)

Beale (Oriental Biographical Dictionary) gives the date as 622 H., but this is in all probability copied from the above authority.

Thou did'st say, "Thou did'st weep for love of me," but
verily there is a difference in shedding blood and shedding
tears.

At all hours I suffer a thousand pangs for the grief of the
love of thee, nor do I weep alone.

I cannot but melt with love of thee, nor is there any remedy
for the pain I suffer for thee, save weeping.

Apart from thee Fate has nothing in store for me

Save vexation, one day, and weeping the next.

From thy era discord springs, for if not how comes it to pass
that the whole world should weep from my time to that of
the king?

Béghú Malik Sháh, he who by his sword made the brave
warriors to weep openly on the field of battle.

The King Nizám Dín to whom at the time of his conflict
Came from the tombs of Rustum and Dárá the sound of weep-
ing.

The gems in the depths of the sea or in the heart of the
flinty rock were compelled to weep for shame at his elo-
quence,

The inhabitants of the world above were compelled to weep,
cast down by the destroying arrow of his wrath.

From envy of his splendour, which surpasses the sun in its 25.
zenith,

The Gemini were forced to weep constantly in the heavens.

Oh! thou in presence of whose pearl-scattering hand the
ocean weeps like a cloud from every pore!

Who in view of thy majesty would dare or desire to weep
over the corpse of thy enemy?

Thy sword from very fineness of temper weeps tears of blood
over thy enemies in the field of battle,

What is prepared for thine adversary in either world?

There is the torture of hell, here he must weep.

Lo! one who in the madness of his fear at thy displeasure
Seeks to hide himself in a corner and prepares to weep.

Thy enemies have many manifest and hidden projects
But the wound is hidden, the weeping is manifest.

I believe that this must have come into your exalted mind,
After all what use is praise to me with weeping.

When I recite any poem in separation from thee

Both the first and last verses weep for anguish.
 Till lovers pass from excess of grief to endurance and to weep
 like Wámiq and 'Azrá¹
 May it be thy lot to smile after a happy life,
 May it be the fate of thy enemies perforce to weep.

26. The following is also by him :—

Oh thou whose lip distils sugar² at the opening of each
 smile !
 Thy ruby lip when thou smilest, rebukes the soul.
 In every movement thy curling locks ravish the heart
 In every smile thy ruby lip scatters the life blood.
 The trade of thy hyacinthine ringlets is to scatter perfume,
 The habit of thy delicate lips is to smile sweetly.
 Till thou seest not the cheek of gold thou smilest not,
 Every flower smiles from the enjoyment of the gold.
 When thou smilest a whole world smiles looking towards thee
 For no one before this has seen the sun and moon to smile (at
 one time.)
 I have a great sorrow and lamentation, and endless grief
 and pain,
 I have in separation from thee all of these, but no smile.
 What could man kind have learned of the shape of thy mouth
 Had'st thou not given them from thine own mouth the news
 of a smile.
 Because of thy cruelty I do not smile, for at the time of
 mourning
 The wise and excellent do not approve of smiling.

All my disorder is due to grief on thy account,
 Why then do you smile at me disordered as I am ?

It may be that from the crown and canopy of kings thy locks
 and cheek have learned to smile both morning and evening.

27. King of the East Malik Sháh who in his feasting is careful
 always to smile from joy and pride.

¹ The loves of Wámiq and 'Azrá form the subject of two Turkish romance
 one by Mahmúd bin Aşmán, Lamáf; and the other by Mu'íd, a native
 Tarkhán. (D'Herbelot).

² ای لب شکریون must be read here.

Conqueror of infidelity, Nizámu-ud-Dín, whose friends are always engaged in enjoyment, and only vary it by smiling.
 If the seed could receive the good tidings of his approbation, even from the loins of his father would one begin to smile.
 A father to whom a son is essential to do him service, smiles from the pleasure he experiences at the success of his son.
 It is not strange that from the excess of his joy, the cloud of weeping which shrouded his moist eyes gives place to smiling.

Oh ye obedient ones, since the beauty of the rose is added to your own charms, ye are smiling in this garden¹ of two doors.
 Thy charms have power to add sweetness to sugar
 Thy words have power to add brilliance to the jewel.
 Thy shaft when fitted to the bow has established the custom In the array of battle to smile at the helmet and shield.
 Following after victory when thy sword is furious
 There comes to it from the sorceries of heaven, a smile.
 Doubtless the enemy of thy grandeur, smiles sweetly
 If scattering his heart's blood (in envy) be to smile.

In order that the saffron² may fulfil the promise of its properties, namely to bring smiles to the lips of all conditions of men; may the lips of thy enemies be saffron, that their lips may always from fear of thee smile from his want of success.

¹ i.e., the world. Birth and death are the two doors.

² Saffron was held by the Greek physicians to cause smiling when taken internally.

It is its property of inciting to mirth and laughter which is here alluded to.

With regard to Saffron the مخزن الأدوية says.

افعال و خواص آن مفرح و مقوی حواس و مغزی و منضم و محلل و مصلح
 عفونت خلط بلغمی ومانع وحافظ آن از تغیر و فساد و مدربرول و باق
 قابضه و محرك باه و مقوی جوهر روح حیوانی و جگر و اجشا و الات تنفس
 موثر نشاط و ضمیک و منفی گرده و مثانه ربشره و رسانندگ قوت ادویه به قله
 و سایر اعضا و مفتح شده دماغ و جگر و سپر ز *

Actions and properties of Saffron. Exhilarating and tonic to the senses, aperient and digestive, laxative and corrective of the impure humours of the phlegm, and preventing and preserving them from alteration and idness. It is diuretic and constipating, aphrodisiac and strengthening to the essence of the animal spirits, to the liver; and bowels and respiratory

28. Then Amír Mas'úd marched from Herát to Níshápur and thence to Tús¹ and a body of Turkománs giving him battle met their death, the people of Báward gave up that town to the Turkománs and the Sultán having overcome that fortress and having put them all to death spent the winter at Níshápur.²

Then in the year 430 H. having set out to attack Tughral³ the organs. It produces mirth and laughter, purifies the kidneys and bladder and skin. It carries the virtues of medicines to the heart and to all viscera—removes obstructions of the brain, liver and spleen.

The following extract from the بحر الجواهر gives a further account of its properties.

يمنع سيلان الوطوبات الى العين بظوخا و اكتئلا [يلين المواة] حارفي الثالثة يابس في الاولى مفتتح محلل قابض منتصج محسن اللون ويسترمم الشراب جدا حتى يرعن وبصدع وينوم ويجلو البصر ويسهل الولادة والنفس ويقوي القلب ويدرك ويسقط الشهوة وينفع من الارجاع الباطنة واجحاج الرحم وينذهب الحمار ويزيد في الباها ويوافق امراض الطحال —

It prevents the flow of moist humours to the eye when used either as an ointment or a collyrium. It is hot in the third degree, dry in the first degree, laxative, or constipating, digestive, improving the complexion, and very intoxicating with wine causing heaviness, headache, and drowsiness, clears the sight and facilitates parturition, and respiration, is a cardiac tonic and is diuretic and controls the animal passions and cures internal diseases and uterine complaints; dispels the effects of debauch, and is a sexual tonic and cures diseases of the spleen.

أ ولد خاصية عجيبة في تقوية جواهر Sadídí, p. 143, says of Saffron, الروح و تدریجه لها يحدث فحة من نورانية و انبساطه مع متانة و يعينها العطرية الشديدة —

It has a wonderful power as an exhilarant increasing the brilliance and strength of the mental powers. It is assisted by strong perfumes.

¹ Tús, a district and city of Khorásán, one of the dependencies of Níshápur, distant from the city of Níshápur about 10 farsakhs.

See Abul Feda II. ii. 190. Dict. de la Perse, p. 396. According to Ibr Khalliqán the Saljúqs gained possession of Tús in 429 A. H., and in the month Ramaḍán of the same year they took Níshápur. I. K. (Slane) iii. 226.

² MS. (B) has گنراييند shewing clearly that the copyist was a native of Hindustán. A line or two lower he writes قرار نمود for فرار نمود This MS. is quite worthless for purposes of comparison. It abounds in errors and is plainly the work of an inferior copyist.

³ Tughral Beg. Abú Tálib Muḥammad Ibn Mikál Ibn Saljúq Ibn Dukák Rukn-n-d-Dín Tughral Beg was the founder of the dynasty of Saljúqs (cf. Raverty, pp. 94 and 122, and also I. K. (Slane) iii. 224.

Turkomán who had raised a rebellion in Báward, when Tughral took to flight Amír Mas'úd turned back and came to Sarakhs¹ by way of Mahnah² and gave orders to rase the fortress of Mahnah. Then he put to death some of the inhabitants of Mahnah, and cut off the hands and feet of many more and thence went in the direction of Zírqán³ in which place the Turkománs brought together a large army and fought a severe battle with the Sultán. In this battle the majority of the generals of the army of Ghaznín mutinied and went over to the enemy. The Sultán remaining all alone on the field, felled several of the Turkomán leaders with sword, spear and mace, and eventually came out of that engagement safely. This event took place on the 8th of Ramazán, 431 H. (1039 A. D.). From thence Amír Mas'úd came to Merv, and several of the soldiery from the neighbouring country having come in at last sided with him. He went to Ghaznín by way of Ghaur,⁴ and having fined these chiefs who had not fought and had fled, sent some of them, as for instance 'Alí Dáya and Hájib-i-Buzurg,⁵ and Beg Tughdí to Hindustán and imprisoned⁶ them in fortresses. All of them died in imprisonment. Amír Mas'úd now desired to go to India and collect some forces there, and to come from there with a large army against the Turkománs to punish them. With this intention he made Amír Maudúd⁷ Amír of

¹ Sarakhs or Sarkhas (Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, 307) said by the Persians have been founded by Kaikaús, a city situated between Níshápúr and Merv, a plain. Abul Feda II. ii. 193.

² Mahnah. Firishta says مهنه Mahtaks but مهنه is undoubtedly the right reading. In Persian this name is spelt مهنه Maihana, a small town in the district of Khaberán between Abíward and Sarakhs. See Meynard, et. de la Perse, 558.

³ Zírqán is not mentioned by other authors I have consulted and may be a scribal error. The name of the place where this battle was fought was Dangán a town in the vicinity of Merv, cf. Raverty, p. 94, note 3. Also Abul da II. ii. 197. Meynard, p. 239. It seems to me most probable that we could read زند خان though all MSS. give زیر خان. Zandkhán, زند خان is a fortified town situated at the distance of one farsakh from Sarakhs (Meynard, 3).

⁴ Abul Feda II. ii. 201. A province lying between Herát, Karáwán and rjistán.

⁵ Firishta حاجب شیبدانی Hájib Shaibání.

⁶ MS. (B) در قلعه حبس کرد.

⁷ Shihàbu-d Daulat Maudúd his eldest son. Compare the account given by Firishta.

Balkh, and having appointed Muhammād ibn Abdus Samad as his Wazīr despatched them thither. He then appointed the Amīr Muhammād¹ with two thousand soldiers to proceed to Multán, and sent the Amīr of that district² to the foot of the hills of Ghaznín to restrain the Afghāns of that district who had broken out into rebellion; and having laden camels with the whole of Maḥmūd's treasures which were stored in Ghaznín and the neighbouring fortresses started for Hindustán and despatched messengers *en route* to bring his brother Amīr Muhammād who had been blinded³ and was then confined in the fortress of Bazghand.⁴ When Sultān Mas'ud arrived at the frontier fort⁵ of Márikala,⁶ his slaves plundered all the treasure-camels. In the meantime the Amīr Muhammād arrived there, and the slaves who recognised that this violence would have no successful issue unless another governor were appointed⁷ perforce, approached the Amīr Muhammād, raised him to the Sovereignty and breaking into open riot assaulted Sultān Mas'ud who had taken refuge in that fort. The next day the whole army becoming violent brought Amīr Mas'ud from within the fort of Márikala and made him prisoner confining him within the fortress of Kíri,⁸ till at last in Jamádiu-l-Awwal 432 H. they sent a false

¹ Firishta says امیر مجدد دود Amīr Majdūd—the second son of Mas'ud MS. (A) has امیر مخدودہ Amīr Maḥdūda, which should in all probability be read مجدد دود Majdūd. MS. (B) agrees with the text, both are probably wrong.

² The words in the text appear to be a misprint for the following امیر ایزدیار which is Firishta's version. The Amīr Izad Yár was Mas'ud's fifth son. Both MSS. however have امیر ابن دیار را

³ See page 21.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) برغنه.

⁵ رباط Dozy quoting from de Slane gives casernes fortifiées qu'on construisait sur les frontières de l'empire as the meaning of رباط

⁶ Márikala. Firishta says Márkala which according to some is on the Jhilam river which in those days was called the Behát. Raverty in his *note* 4, page 95 says: A pass somewhat difficult situated between Ráwal Pindi an Attock—See Elliott II. 273, *note* 2.

⁷ MS. (A) این تعدادی از پیش (B) این تعدادی پیش In the text .re مان دانستند که این قسم تعدادی از پیش Cf. Firishta تعدادی او for تعدادی از وارد رفت

⁸ Firishta reads کیری Kíri. Cf. Raverty 95 (5). MS. (B) MS. (A) ری See Elliott II. 273, *note* 3.

message purporting to emanate verbally from Amír Muḥammad ordering him to kill Amír Mas‘úd and to send his head to him. The Kotwál in obedience to this order severed Mas‘úd's head from his body and sent it to Amír Muḥammad.

Of the vicissitudes of time, this much pleased me
 That I saw good and bad, right and wrong, pass away
 He who at morning time wore on his head a jewelled crown
 Him I saw, at the time of evening prayer, with a brick 30.
 underneath his head (in the grave).

This story is according to the relation of Nizámi,¹ but the Qází Baiżáwí relates that in the year 432 Mas‘úd fled defeated from before the Seljúqs to Ghaznín, and Amír Muḥammad who had consolidated his power during Mas‘úd's absence sent him to a fortress whither his son Aḥmád ibn Muḥammad followed him and murdered him.² The Government of Sultán Mas‘úd ibn Maḥmúd lasted eleven years, but we ought to note that the Qází Baiżáwí (may God's mercy be upon him) assigns the year 433 H. as the date of the death of Mas‘úd, and writes that Muḥammad ibn Maḥmúd reigned in Ghaznín for fourteen years after his father,³ one year after his father's death, nine years in the lifetime of his brother, and four years after his brother's death, as has already been stated. God alone knows the truth. Apparently this is due to the mistake of a copyist. Among the poets who flourished in

¹ Nizámú-d-Dín Aḥmád, author of the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*; Elliott, v. 177. Died 1003 H.

² Baiżáwí's account is as follows:—

Mas‘úd after his arrival at Ghaznín sent Yúsuf to prison and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Seljúqs crossed the Jíhún and invaded Khurásán. He fought with them and made peace with them several times but being defeated in A. H. 432, he returned to Ghaznín where his brother Muḥammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort, and Aḥmád, the son of Muḥammad, went direct from his father to the fort, and there slew him, A. H. 433; Elliott II. 256.

³ That is from 421 A. H. to 434 A. H. with interruptions during the supremacy of Mas‘úd. Maḥmúd died in 421 A. H. Mas‘úd was murdered on the 1st of Jamadí-ul-Awwal, 433 H. (Ravefty, pp. 95-6.)

Muḥammad was put to death by Maudúd in revenge for his father's murder the year 434 H. Maudúd reigned seven years and died in 441 H. (1049 A.D.)

the time of Sultán Mas'úd is Manúchihrí⁴ who speaks as follows in a *qasidah* concerning his Wazír.

Couplet.

Shah Mas'úd is as proud of his rectitude
As is the prophet of Naushirwán⁵ the upright.

SULTÁN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD,

Ascended the throne of Empire (after the murder of his father in Bámián¹) with the consent of the Wazírs and Amírs, and with the object of avenging his father purposed to march towards Mári galah, but Abu Nasr Ahmád ibn Muhammád ibn Abdus Samad opposed his projected expedition and brought him to Ghaznín, whence he proceeded with a large army to attack his uncle the blind Amír Muhammád. On arriving at Dípúr² he engaged in a severe battle with the Amír Muhammád and thus passed the whole day till nightfall when both fell back upon their positions. The next day Sultán Maudúd induced the Amír Saiyyid Mansúr who was one of the trusted (generals) of the Amír Muhammád to side with him, and engaging in battle took prisoners the Amír Muhammád and his son Ahmád and put them all to death. The Amír Maudúd founded there a city which he

⁴ Manúchihrí Dámaghání. Hakím Abunnajm Ahmád, a pupil of poet 'Unṣuri, whom he is said to have surpassed in sweetness and facility of expression. He was called شاشت galla because of his possessing numerous flocks and herds. He died in 432 H. (Majma'-ul-Fuṣahá).

⁵ Naushirwán. Chosroes I. son of Kóbád, one of the Sassanide dynasty, ruled over Persia from 531 A. D. to 579 A. D. (See Dict. G. and R. B., p. 720, Vol. III). The prophet Muhammád was born in the fortieth year of his reign, April 20th, 571 (Sprenger) or August 20th, 570 A. D. (Caussin de Perceval I. 283). Muhammád used to boast of his good fortune in having been born during the reign of so just a king. Cf. D'Herbelot III. 57.

¹ Bámián. "Situated ten days' march from Balkh and eight from Ghaznín, There is a building there of a prodigious height ornamented with painting of all the birds created by God, and containing two enormous images called سرخ Bud, the Red idol, and بی کن Khing bud, the White idol Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, p. 80.

Abul Feda II. ii. 203, between Balkh and Ghaznín. The district in which Ghaznín and Kábúl are situated.

² Text has Deipúr (MS. A دینور Dínár). For the locality of this place see Raverty 96, note 2. The name is in all likelihood Dínúr as in Baihaqí.

named Fathábád.¹ This victory was gained in the month Sha'bán of the year 432 H., or according to another account in the year 434 H.² And in the year 433 H. being angry with Khwája Aḥmad ibn Abduṣ Ṣamad he imprisoned him in Ghazní where he died in prison, and in this same year he sent Abú Naṣr Muḥammad bin Aḥmad towards Hindustán to fight with Námí ibn Muḥammad³ and Námí was killed in the course of that war. And in the year 434 H. Artagín at the order of the Sultán proceeded with an army to Tabaristán against Dá'úd⁴ the Turko-mán, and having lost in battle a large number of his men came to Balkh and established the coinage and proclamation of sovereignty in the name of the Amír Maudúd. Afterwards when the Turko-máns attacked him several times in force not being able to contend with them, he quitted Balkh and came to Ghazní. Then in the year 435 H. Amír Maudúd imprisoned Abú 'Alí the Kotwál of Ghazní for a time, but eventually appointed him as the Díwán of the kingdom and Kotwál of Ghazní, and imprisoned Yasúrí ibn Iyamghúr the Díwán, till at length he died in confinement; he also punished Altigín⁵ and in the year 436 H. Khwája Táhir who had succeeded Khwája Aḥmad as Wazír, died, and was succeeded by Khwája Imám Abul Fath 'Abdur Razzáq.⁶ In this same year he sent Tughral Hájib in the direction of Bust, who took prisoner Abú Mansúr Zangí,⁷ the brother of Abul Fazl and brought him to Ghazní, he then departed for Seistán and having

¹ Raverty 96, note 2.

² The latter date must be the correct one as Mas'úd was not put to death till 433 A. H. See note 3, page 45.

The Tárikh-i-Mas'údí, however, writes as follows:—

و امير مودود درين شعبان ۴۳۲ که شاه ملک خطبه بگردانید [۴۳۲] بدینور
آمد و جنگ کرد و عم را بگرفت با پیروانش و کسانی که با آن پادشاه یار
بودند همگان را بکشت

See Thomas' Coins of kings of Ghazní, J. R. A. S., ix. 279.

³ Firishta describes him as ولد محمد مکحول the son of the Blinded Muḥammad.

⁴ See note 1, p. 38.

⁵ Alptigín Hájib.

⁶ Grandson of Hasan Maimandí.

⁷ Firishta says also Zangí. Briggs in his translation has said "Oozbuky."

engaged in conflict with the Turkománs at the Ribát Amír,¹ put most of them to death after which victory he went to Garm Sír, where he put to death the Turkománs of that district who were known as Red-caps² and took many of them prisoner, and brought them to Ghaznín.

In the year 438 H., he sent Tughral to Takínábád who on arrival there revolted. Accordingly Alí bin Rabí' was nominated to proceed thither and Tughral fled with a few followers. Alí plundered his army, and having captured some of them brought them to Ghaznín. In the year 439 H. the Amír Qazdár raised a rebellion³ and suffered defeat at the hands of Hájib Buzurg Bártagín⁴ and after a time tendered his submission.

And in the year 440 H. having conferred upon his two sons Abul Qásim Maḥmúd and Manṣúr on the same day robes of honour and the drum and ensigns of commission sent one of them towards Lahore and the other towards Parshúr⁵ and he sent Abú Alí Hasan Kotwál of Ghaznín to Hindustán to punish the rebels there, and when Hasan returned to Ghaznín after having done good service Maudúd made him over to Mírak ibn Hasan with orders to imprison him. He died in prison. As a sequel to this, Mírak ibn Hasan the Vakíl who had murdered Abú 'Alí Hasan without the orders of Amír Maudúd and had kept it secret, incited the King to

¹ Firishta امیر ریباط ریبát Amír, Long. 105, Lat. 34, *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J.) iii. 68.
Both MSS. have ریباط اسیر

² Firishta also says سرخ کلاہ قزلباش and does not mention the word though Briggs translates "called Kuzil Básch, owing to their wearing red caps" Briggs, Vol. I., p. 121. قزل باش Qizil Red is Turkish Básch. Head is Turkí.

³ In one copy we find باغی قصده ورزید Firishta has the following امیر قزدار باغی ورزید so we should read here امیر قزدار طغیان ورزید

⁴ According to Firishta مS. (A) reads Báiṭigín, MS. (B) reads Bábtiqín. Briggs says, "In the year 439 he was sent against Khoozdár, the ruler of which paid the usual tribute" but in the original of Firishta we find these words: ورزید جنگ کردہ شکست یافت which looks as if Amír Qazdár was his name. Elliott V. App., p. 558, states "Kusdar lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khuzdár of our maps the capital of Jhálawán in Bilúchistán."

See pp. 557-559 from which the above is quoted.

⁵ Parshúr, the modern Pesháwar, called originally Parasháwara. Cunr. Anc. Geog. of India, p. 78.

proceed to Kábul so that that misdeed of his might remain concealed. When the Amír Maudúd reached the fortress of Siálkot¹ he was attacked with colic² and was forced to return to Ghaznín, and ordered Mírák to release Abú Alí Kotwál. He accordingly prayed for a week's respite, and in the interim Amír Mandúd departed this life on the 24th of Rajab A. H. 441, having reigned nearly nine years. The *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh*³ states that Sultán Maudúd asked in marriage the daughter of Chughz⁴ Beg Saljúqí, by whom he had a son whom he named Mas'úd, that he reigned seven years, and that in the month of Rajab 441 he attempted to go to Khorásán to visit Chughz Beg, but died on the journey of colic.

33.

¹ Firishtha writes سانکوت Sánkot. Both MSS. read very plainly written.

² قولنج قولنج. Probably intestinal obstruction which is included under the term Qúlinj of which there are stated by Sadidí to be five varieties. Cf. Sadidí Art. قولنج.

i القولنج الحقيقى True or spasmodic colic.

ii القولنج المدوى Obstructive colic—due as he says to an accumulation of بلغم or mucus in the cæcum or colon.

iii القولنج الريحي Flatulent colic.

iv ورم حار او بارد امعاء و ما يجاورها مثل الكبد و الكلية An acute or chronic swelling of the bowels and neighbouring parts such as the liver and kidneys.

v القولنج اللتوائى Twisted colic which he defines as a twist of the distal end of the small intestine. Volvulus.

In the بحر الآثار we find the following definition of the disease : "A disease in which the bowels become disarranged on account of some unnatural obstruction (الاحتباس غير طبيعي) It is very painful and increases in violence and is fatal."

اکثر تولد القولنج فيها و قولنج يشنق منها Defining the Colon the author says:

Colic principally arises in this bowel and is a strangulation of part of it.

³ *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh*, "The marrow of History." The author was Yahyá ibn 'Abdul Latif Quzwíní who composed it in 1541 A.D.

He died 18 Dec. 1552. See H.K. *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh* also Elliott, Vol. iv. p. 293.

⁴ Jaghar Beg. See Raverty *Tubaqát-i-Násirí* p. 97, notes 3-4.

MS. (A) چغزیگ Chaghz Beg. MS. (B) Chaghz Beg. MS. (C) Chaghz Beg.

SULTAN MAS'UD IBN MAUDUD IBN MAS'UD IBN MAHMUD.

Ascended the throne in the third year of his age by the machinations of 'Ali ibn Rabí', however his affairs did not prosper and they raised his uncle to the throne 'after he had reigned only five months.¹

SULTÁN 'ALÍ IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

Ascended the throne by the consent of the nobles, and when 'Abdu-r-Razzaq ibn Ahmād Maimandī who had been sent by the Amīr Maudūd towards Seistān arrived at a fort between Bust and Isfīrār,² and learned that Abdu-r-Rashid ibn Maḥmūd was confined in that fort by the orders of the Amīr Maudūd, he brought him back and placed him upon the throne, 'Alī having reigned for a period of about three months. This event took place in the year 443 H. (1051 A. D.).

SULTÁN ‘ABDU-R-RASHÍD IBN MAHMÚD.

Came to the throne, and with the consent of 'Abdu-r-Razzáq proceeded to Ghaznín. 'Alí ibn Mas'úd fled without engaging in battle, and Tughral Hájib who was one of the household slaves of Sultán Mahmúd having conquered Seistán turned his steps towards Ghaznín. Amír 'Abdu-r-Rashid fortified himself there till Tughral obtaining an opportunity in the year 445 H. (1053 A. D.) put the Amír Abdur Rashíd with all the descendants of Sultán Mahmúd⁸ to death and married the daughter of Mas'úd against her will. One day when he was on the throne a body of determined wrestlers inspired with hatred against him tore him to pieces. 'Abdu-r-Rashíd's reign lasted for four years,

¹ The account given by Firishta differs slightly from this—he says—that on the death of Maudúd 'Alí ibn Rabí' who laid claim to the throne placed Mas'úd the son of Maudúd, who was then a boy of four years of age, upon the throne of Ghazní; this arrangement was opposed by Báshtígín Hájib who fought with 'Alí ibn Rabí' whereupon the whole populace of Ghazní rose in arms, and eventually Báshtígín Hájib succeeded in deposing Mas'úd ibn Maudúd after a reign of five or six days, raising his uncle Abul Hasan 'Alí to the throne. Compare also: *Tubaqát-i-Násirí* (Raverty, p. 97 and foot note).

* اسپیراں MSS. (A) (B) Firishta says Isfirain which is in the neighbourhood of Nishapúr, see Meynard, p. 34. (Abul Feda II. ii. 188).

کھ نہ نظر بودندہ 8 Nine people in all. (Firishta).

but in the *Nizamu-t-Tuwárikh* his reign is said to have lasted for seven years,¹ and in the *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh* his death is said to have occurred in the year 445 H. God knows the truth.

SULTÁN FARRUKH ZÁD IBN MAS‘ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

Being released from confinement succeeded to the kingdom by consent of the nobles. A body of Saljúqs came up against Ghazní, and Farrukhzád put most of them to death and overcame them, and made many of them prisoners and sent them to Ghazní. Alp Arsalán² the Saljúq king brought an army against Ghazní from Iráq and Khorásán, and being victorious in fight conveyed a large number of the notables of Ghazní to Khorásán. Eventually upon the arrangement of terms of peace the prisoners of both sides obtained their release, and since Zábulistán had been laid waste the Sultán remitted the usual tribute, and treated the inhabitants with kindness. He used to fast three months, and used to spend the greater part of the night in prayer. He died of colic in the year 450 H.³ The period of his reign was six years.

35

SAIYYIDU-S-SALÁTÍN IBRAHÍM IBN MAS‘ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

Ascended the throne. He was a just and devout king, and used to write each year a Qurán with his own hand and despatch it to the holy city of Mekka. He built no house for himself with the exception of a temple and a school to the honour and glory of God. When the affairs of state devolved upon him, he made peace with the Saljúqs and being free from apprehension, went to Hindustán and conquered many fortresses and districts.

¹ Firishta says "less than one year." *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says two and a half years.

² Alp Arsalán son of Dáud, son of Mikál son of Saljúq was the second Sultán of the family and dynasty of the Saljúqs. He succeeded his uncle Tughral Beg in 456 A.H. (1068 A.D.) He was born in 421 A.H. and was murdered 466 A.H. and was buried at Merv.

For a full account of this prince see D'Herbelot, pp. 198-203.

See also Ibn Khalliqán (Slane) iii. 230 and *seqq.*; where it is stated that Alp Arsalán was born in the year 424 (A.D. 1032-3) and died on the 10th of Rabí'u-l Awwal 465 A. H. (1072 A.D.)

³ Firishta mentions that a year previous to his death an attempt was made upon his life while he was in the hammám

From one city¹ the inhabitants of which were of Khurásánían descent, whom (Afrásiáb) had expelled, and who had become a populous community in Hindustán, he took prisoners a hundred thousand persons,² and sent them to Ghaznín, with other spoils on the same scale. He built a number of towns, among them Khairábád, and Imánábád and others. He has been described by the title of Saiyyidu-s-Salátín, and enjoyed the reputation of being a Wálí.³ In his reign in Ghaznín, the Dárú-i-Chashm (eye medicine) and other mixtures and medicaments and dietaries for all diseased folk used to be obtainable from his store-house. His death took place in the year 472 H.,⁴ after a reign of thirty years. Qázi Baiżáwí says that his reign extended from the year 450 H. to the year 492 H. Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán⁵ flourished in his time and the following verses are taken from an ode which was written in his honour.

که افراستیاب از سور کشی
ایشان بشک آمدہ بازب و فرزند از ولایت خراسان اخراج کرده بود و بهندوستان
فرستاده
و آخر ایشان را اخراج کرده

¹ Named "Darra." (Firishta) where we read

In our author's text we read — — — which is evidently corrupt. The words in the *Tubaqát Akbarí Sháhí* are almost identical with those quoted from Firishta and some such change as the substitution of the word افراستیاب for the words آخر ایشان which may easily have arisen from a copyist's mistake, seems necessary in our text. (MSS. (A) and (B) are like the text).

² Because they were idolaters and refused to embrace Islám, according to Firishta.

³ والی Wálí. Abul Fażl (*Aín-i-Akbarí*) (Jarrett) iii. 350 gives the following definition of a wálí: "In ancient works many significations have been given the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being: a lofty soul will indeed love God alone..... A wálí in my opinion is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceits. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it."

⁴ Firishta says 482 H. or 492 H. *Tubaqát-i-Náṣirí* 492 H. with a reign of forty-two years.

⁵ Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jurjání. Known sometimes as Hamadání. The son of Khája Sa'd ibn Salmán. A famous poet native of Jurján who attained

Abúl Qásim Malik Maḥmúd Ibrahím ibn Maṣ'úd
 In whom four things exult, each of them glories in him
 Firstly, his expanded canopy, secondly, his flaunting banner,
 Thirdly his golden pen, fourthly his brilliant dagger.

This ode he finished completely in the same style, and in another place he says :—

Emperor of the higher world, from the blessings of whose reign
 The sword's lofty occupation is the control of things temporal and spiritual.
 Maṣ'úd (Fortunatus) because from the fortune of the expanse of kingdom's conquest
 He has gone beyond that which comes within the scope of the sword.

Ode.

Oh thou that hast formed the design of travel and girded the loins of conquest,
 Right and left of thee the heavens have opened for thee the doors of conquest,
 Maṣ'úd, the world-conquering, for whom the age of fortune Has sent forth every moment the heralds of conquest,
 Like a lance point thou hast placed thy head in the direction of battle,
 Like an arrow thy waist girds up the loins of conquest,
 In sooth, a hundred victories thou winnest, and a hundred years hence
 In Hindustán in all directions will be seen the traces of thy conquest. 37.
 So many are thy conquests, that in the expanse of the world
 Every day in every place they tell the tale of thy conquests.

high distinction in the service of Maṣ'úd bin Maḥmúd and Sultán Ibrahím of Ghazní but was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Nái owing to the spiteful rancour of Abul Faraj Rúní. He obtained his release upon the death of Maṣ'úd ibn Maḥmúd. He was however again made prisoner for some years and upon being released left the court and went into retirement in Ghazní where he died. There is a very long account of him with copious extracts from his various poems in the Majma'ul Fuṣahá, Vol. I. pp. 514 and seqq. See also Beale (O.B.D. p. 173.) and *Atashkada-i-Azur*, p. 162.

Thy spear and thy arrow and thy sword will be
 If my fancy limns a line, the painter of the forms of con-
 quest

When thy sword said I will deal a light blow
 Its oath lay not heavy save on the head of conquest.

The Ustád Abul Faraj Rúní¹ too was eulogist of Sultán Ibrahím, and also the panegyrist of Sultán Mas’úd, and many odes in their honour are to be found in his Díwán, and Rúní² is the name of a village of the dependencies of Lahore, and in these days it is as one may say in ruins, because not a trace of it remains, and the following *qīta’h* in praise of Sultán Ibrahím is by the Ustád Abul Faraj.

Hail to the might of thy powerful sword
 Precious as the breath of life, and rare as wisdom itself.
 Thou hast imprisoned that lifeless one, as one seizes the
 throat,
 Thou hast made orphan this^{*} which has no issue like a
 peerless pearl. . .

And Mas’úd Sa’d Salmán with that envious nature which is peculiar to poets, bore a grudge against Ustád, who became the cause of Mas’úd’s imprisonment for ten years, he wrote this rubá’i (quatrain) in prison.³

¹ Abul Faraj Rúní, a celebrated poet. The name Rúní is from the village of Rúma (روما) in Nísápur. He was a great favourite and companion of Sultán Ibrahím, and we learn from Mas’úd Sa’d Salmán Jurjání that he fell under the displeasure of that king and was imprisoned in the fortress of Nái by the calumny of Abul Faraj, as is stated in the text a few lines further on. Abul Faraj lived for some time at Lahore, so that he is known to a few as “Láhorí.” His writings were very elegant and served as a model for the poet Anwari. A Díwán of his containing about 2,000 verses is extant (Majma’ul Fuṣahá I. 70). See also *Atashkada-i-Azur*, pp. 187, 188.

² Beale (O.B.D., p. 15) says that he came from “Rún a place near Lahore. It would appear from the text above that Badáoni attributed his name o Rúní to his connection with the village of Rúin. The author of the Majma’u Fuṣahá gives no authority for the statement above quoted so that it is difficult to decide which of the places is to be given the honour.

³ He was imprisoned in the year 572 H. by Maḥmúd ibn Ibrahím in the fortress of Nái. (Majma’ul Fuṣahá loc. cit.). See note 5, page 52.

For thy prison such a prisoner as Malik Sháh is necessary
 So that thy fetter may chafe the foot of monarchs.¹
 That one who springs from the loins of Sa'd Salmán
 Even were he a serpent would not sting thy realm.

The following verses are also by him :

My heart has become rent in all directions like a comb from
 regrets
 Because I saw a white hair in the tooth of the comb.

There are extant also Diwáns by him in Arabic, Persian and Hindi.

'ALÁU-D-DÍN IBN IBRAHÍM IBN SULTÁN MAS'ÚD,
 Succeeded after the death of his father and died in the year
 508 H. (1114 A. D.), having reigned seventeen years.

SULTÁN SHERZÁD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM,²

By his father's order became king, and reigned for one year.
 His brother Arsalán Sháh revolted against him and killed him in
 the year 509 H. (1115 A. D.).

SULTÁN ARSALÁN SHÁH IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM,

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and seized upon the whole
 of his brothers with the exception of Bahrám Sháh who fled and
 went to Sultán Sinjar³ who was the son of his maternal uncle.⁴
 In spite of all the apologies for Bahrám Sháh which Sultán Sinjar

بند تو پایی تا حداران شاید ۱

2 Cf. Raverty, *Tubaqát-i-Násiri*, page 107, note 7. Firishta also mentions the accession of Kamálú-d-Daulah Sherzád, and calls the preceding monarch 'Aláu-d-Daulah also Elliott II, 278.

3 Sultán Sinjar Muizzuddín Abú Hárís Sinjar was the third son of Sultán Malik Sháh and the last of the Saljúq dynasty in Khurásán. He was born A. H. 479 (1086 A. D.) in the environs of Sinjár and it was on account of this circumstance that he received this name. See I. K. (Slane) I, 600. He governed the province of Khurásán for 20 years. He died in 552 A. H., at Merv of a "colique compliquée avec un deveyement." D'Herbelot.

See also Beale (O.B.D., p. 236).

4 The sister of Sultán Sinjar called "Mahd-i-'Iráq" was married to 'Aláu-d-Dín Mas'úd father of Sultán Arsalán Sháh. Cf. Raverty *Tubaqát-i-Násiri*, p. 107, note 6.

made the subject of several letters, Arsalán Sháh would not listen to him, and eventually Sultán Sinjar raised an army against him. He gave battle with thirty thousand cavalry and being defeated went to Hindustán. Sultán Sinjar remained forty days in Ghaznín and after presenting that country to Bahrám Sháh retraced his steps. Arsalán Sháh having collected a large army in Hindustán proceeded thence to attack Ghaznín, and Bahrám Sháh not being able to withstand him sought refuge in the fortress of Bámián and with the assistance of Sultán Sinjar having again seized Ghaznín and taken Arsalán Sháh captive put him to death in the year 510 H. (1116 A. D.). The reign of Arsalán Sháh had lasted for a period of seven years.¹

SULTÁN BAHRÁM SHÁH IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM

Succeeded to the throne. Hakím Sanái² was his panegyrist. *Kalílah Dumnah* and many other books were composed in his reign and on the day of his accession Saiyyid Hasan Ghaznaví³ declaimed an ode of which this is the opening couplet.

A shout went forth from the seven heavens, saying
“ Bahrám Sháh is Lord of the world.”

And this ode he wrote in his honour, and despatched it from the sacred city of Mekka.

Should it ever be that I again behold the face of the king
I will apply, as a thank-offering, the dust of his feet to
both my eyes

1. This account differs from that given in other authors. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says that Arsalán Sháh died in 511 H., after a reign of two years. Firishta says three years. Baizáwí gives 512 A. H., as the year in which Arsalán Sháh was put to death. (D'Herbelot).

2 Abú Muḥammad ibn Adam Sanái, died 525 A. H., A. D. 1130 (H. K.). A celebrated poet, author of the *Hudūqatul-Haqiqat*, a Persian poem commonly known as *Fakhri-námah*. Among his other works were :

طريق التحقيق - عشق و سير العباد الى المعاد - كارنامه بلخ - عقل نامه -

According to *Majma'u-l-Fuṣlahá* (I. 254) he died in 590 A. H. but, see note 1 p. 35.

3 Ashrafu-d-Dín Hasan ibn Násirí-l-'Alaví, died 565 H. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣlahá* I. 192.

Bahrám Sháh for whom may the lives of emperors be the ransom.

May it be that their lives are even worthy of the king
The planets of the sky fall like meteors, if they but place
a foot outside the boundary of fidelity to the king.

Another.

Bahrám Sháh from desire of whose sweet honied name
The young tree of the kingdom hereafter brings forth
parrots, (poets).

And the *Hadiqatu-l-Haqiqat*¹ of Shaikh Sanái is written in honour of Bahrám Sháh, it was written during his imprisonment, the reason of which imprisonment was Ghaznévide fanaticism with regard to Sunni doctrine, when this book having reached the capital of Baghdád received the *imprimatur* of the chief men and nobles, it attested the reality of his faith, and they wrote a memorandum which led to his being released. A short time subsequently he departed this life. It is said that when they accused the worthy Shaikh Sanái of heresy after he composed the *Hadiqat*, he wrote the following letter to the Sultán Bahrám Sháh.

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate :

Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds, and blessings upon the best of His created beings, Muhammad, his family and companions all of them. To proceed, it is said in certain traditional sayings, that two things tend to prolong life, and to cause rain to fall and trees to grow, one of these is to assist the oppressed—the other to repress the tyrannical. An argument which they have advanced in support of this is that the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, declared that the heavens are established by righteousness (equity). Equity is like the bird² which, wherever it casts its shadow, secures an amplitude of

¹ The work mentioned in note 2 page 56. Its full title is *Hadiqátu-l-Haqiqat wa Sharí'atu-t-Taríqat* (*hortus veritatis et lex viae*), and it treated among other subjects of the Imáms Abú Hanífa and Sháfi'i, the founders respectively of the Hanífta and Sháfi'i sects of Sunnis.

² کس نیاید بزیر سایه بوم ور ها از جهان شود معدوم

No one would go under the shadow of the owl, even if the Humá were extinct from the world. See Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs p. 327. The ها

wealth, and the place where it builds its nest becomes the centre of durability, and rain falls from the heaven, while tyranny and oppression is as a bird¹ which, wherever it flies, leads to famine and life and modesty are lost from among mankind. And God, *may He be glorified and exalted*, preserves the Emperor of Islám, and the just king Bahrám Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Ibráhím Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Mahmúd Sháh, from iniquity and oppression, and although the whole world should combine to write and describe the stock and supply of grateful acknowledgement of this slave's heart, they would have no power to express it, and the tree which the king of the kingdom planted² for the discovery of the secrets of the unseen, even Gabriel and Michæl³ were precluded from having any share therein : it is certain that in all circumstances the just man is happy and the tyrant is miserable, and the worst of all oppression is this that a small party should read a subject and not understand it, but become arrogant with regard to it and loosen the tongue of censure against the learned. Hence it is that our prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, said, Pity three people, a rich man who has become poor, the great man of a tribe who is disgraced, and a wise man among fools.⁴ A book which is written in the language of the learned in the knowledge of God, demands an acute and discriminating mind such as that of Báyazíd⁵ and

Humá, is a fabulous bird of good omen ; it is supposed that every head it overshadows will wear a crown.

¹ The owl بومه on the other hand is the type of ill omen.

e.g. ماري تو که هر کجا نشيني بکني يا بومى تو که را بیني بزنی

Thou art a snake biting everyone thou seest, or an owl destroying every place where thou alightest.

بلبله معزده بهار بیمار خبر بد بیوم شوم گذار again

O nightingale bring the glad tidings of spring and leave bad news to the ill omened owl. Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs pp. 140, 349.

² Explane از from line 6 and read جبرئيل و ميكائيل از

³ By this tree is meant the lote tree of Paradise صدرة المتنهى Sidratu-l-Muntahá. See Mishkát, XXIV. vii.

⁴ Cf. Qurán II. 90-95.

⁵ Báyazíd Ansári also called Pír Roshan, founder of a Súfi sect, called the Rosháníyyah or enlightened. Beale (O.B.D., p. 70).

A good account of him will be found in The Emperor Akbar by Beveridge. Vol. II. pp. 139 and seqq.

Shibli:¹ these men of wisdom who read that book and appreciate that which is written in it, but who have not the slightest trace of religious knowledge, it must be from spite and ignorance that they find fault with the book, and this is a proof of their blindness of heart that they call the *Al-i-Marwān* contemptible, and carry their eulogy of the elect family, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon it*, beyond bounds while they exalt the commander of the faithful 'Alí, *may God be merciful to him*, above the other companions, *may God be graciously pleased with them*, and they do not see that he has been placed below Síddiq² and Fárúq³ and Zú' Núrain⁴ on the ground of descent⁴ and rightful succession, and there is a true story related of the Lord of the Created beings Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, with reference to the vices of the *Al-i-Marwán* and the virtues of the *Al-i-Muhammad* Muṣṭafá, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*. If it is a lie, and most people believe it to be so, reason tells us that it is true, and the word of the true God is this, "Oh God, adorn the world with those learned men who fear thee or who reverence thy people, and do not make me to suffer at the hands of those who are wanderers from the path of thy love, for thy mercy's sake

¹ Abú Bakr Dolaf Ibn Jahdar (or Ja'far) Ibn Yúnus (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb) surnamed As-Shiblí, a celebrated saint was born and brought up at Baghdád, but his family belonged to Khurásán. This highly respected *Súfi* followed the doctrines of the sect of Málík and had for masters Al-Junaid and the other holy men of that epoch. As-Shiblí died at Baghdád, A. H. 334 (A. D. 946), and was interred in the cemetery of Al-Qaizurán. He was born at Surra-man-ráa (Samarrá on the Eastern bank of the Tigris). Shibli means belonging to Shibli a village in the dependencies of Osrúshua, a large town beyond Samarqand in Transoxiána. I. K. (Slane) I. 513. See also regarding Samarrá J. R. A. S. 1895 p. 36.

² "The faithful." The title given by Muḥammad himself to the first *Khalífah* Abú Bakr, who reigned two years and died A.D. 634 (A.H. 13).

³ The second *Khalífah* 'Umar, A.H. 13 to A.H. 23. Called *Fárúq* or "the Discerner" as distinguishing Truth from Falsehood in Islám.

⁴ Usmán. The third *Khalífah*, A.H. 23 to A.H. 35. Called *Zú-Núrain* "the possessor of the two lights" because he married two of the Prophet's daughters, Ruqaiyyah and Ummu Kulús.

The above three *Khalífahs*, the first three successors to Muḥammad according to the Sunní Muslims, are rejected by the Shí'ahs who assert that 'Alí was the first legitimate successor, the others having been usurpers.

and for thy bounty and beneficence oh Thou most merciful," and this verse is from the *Hadíqat*.

If the earth is a fit place for any court
It is for the court of Bahrám Sháh that it is fitted.

Then Sultán Bahrám Sháh brought up several armies against Hindustán and conquered the cities which his forefathers had not taken, and leaving one of his Amírs of high rank in Hindustán returned to Ghaznín. That Amír revolted, and fought a severe battle with the Sultán in the vicinity of Multán, and a bitter conflict ensued; in the end the Sultán's enemy fell a prisoner into his hands and was put to death, and a second time the country of Hindustán came into his possession, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Hasan ibn Husain Súri who is one of the kings of Ghor revolted against him and proceeded to Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh fled and 'Aláu-d-Dín left his brother Saifu-d-Dín Súri in Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh returned and retook Ghaznín, and having seated Saifu-d-Dín upon a cow, and having exposed him to public ridicule, killed him in the worst possible way. 'Aláu-d-Dín upon hearing this news was

43. most distressed and made for Ghaznín with a huge army—before his arrival however Bahrám Sháh had reached the other world and his son was on the throne in his stead. 'Aláu-d-Dín by way of avenging his brother carried several loads of the earth of Ghaznín to Ghor² and set rivers of blood flowing, he is accordingly famous in his own country. Bahrám Sháh left this world in the year 547 H. (1152 A.D.) the period of his reign was thirty two years.

Mas'úd S'ad Salmán wrote the following hexastich in praise of Bahrám Sháh.

Bahrám Sháh became the world conquering king.
He became the Sun of the Age, and the shadow of the glory
of God.
His canopy which was auspicious became the glory of the
humá.³

¹ Cf. Raverty, *Tubaqát-i-Ndgírī* p. 347 note 2.

² Cf. *Tabaqát-i-Násírī*, Raverty p. 356. This earth was mingled with the blood of certain Saiyyids whom he took prisoner from Ghaznín, and from it several towers were built on the hills of Firúz Koh.

³ The humá is according to the *Ghíásul-Lughát* "a bird which eats bones

God be *He exalted and glorified* became his guide.
 That polished dagger became of increasing authority.
 The face of his enemy became black like his canopy.
 As long as the emperor of the world in his time sowed the
 seeds of justice,
 Every criminal that he detected, he passed over his crime,
 If the sky placed his praise upon the running water
 The flowing water retained¹ his image like an engraving on
 stone.
 He raised² true religion and justice to the zenith.
 The Emperor, dispenser of justice, lover of truth, and defender
 of the faith.³

KHUSRAU SHÁH IBN BAHRÁM SHÁH.

Ascended the throne after his father, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Husain ibn ^{44.} Hasan Ghori came up against him. Khusrau Sháh fled and came to Lahore, and occupied himself with the empire of Hindústán, and when 'Aláu-d-Dín, as has been related, returned from Ghazní successful, he went back and recaptured that country, and after that the tribe of Ghuzz⁵ seized Sultán Sinjar he turned towards Ghazní. Khusrau Sháh was not able to withstand him

and its shadow falling upon any one ensures his attaining royal dignity." See note 2 page 57.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) بَدَّلَشَدَّهُ not بَدَّلَشَدَّهُ as in the text,

² & مَرْفَأَشَدَّهُ MS. (A) not سَرْفَأَشَدَّهُ as in text.

³ دِين وَرَزْ حَقَّ بَنَاهُ

⁴ The text has حَسَن بْن حَسَن but the MSS. A. and B. have حَسَن which is the correct reading. 'Aláu-d-Dín Husain Ghori Jahánsoz, the first of the kings of Ghor.

⁵ A tribe of Turks. They took Sinjar prisoner in 558 H. From them sprung the Seljúq dynasty the founder of which was Ruknu-d-Dín Tughral Beg. Originally from beyond the Oxus they established their power by the conquest of Tús in the year 429 A. H., when under the leadership of Tughral Beg and Dáíd they defeated the forces sent against them by Mas'íd ibn Maḥmúd. Ravaging Armenia they entered Diárbakr in 433 A. H., and in 435 A. H. entered Mosul, but in the same year were defeated in an encounter with the Arabs and fled to Nasíbín, and thence passing through Armenia returned to Azarbaíján.

Cf. D'Herbelot, art. *Gaz*, who attributes the origin of this tribe to Gaz tenth son of Japhet son of Noah; from Bulgár, one of the sons of Gaz, sprang the Bulgarians and from Perthaś the other son sprang the Ghuzz tribe.

and for the second time returned to Lahore, where he died in the year 555 H., after a reign of eight years. In his time many great poets flourished and wrote odes in praise of him. The following poem is of the kind called *Tarjīt-band*¹ and was written by one of them in his honour.

The revered Emperor Khusrau Sháh who with ease
Conquers with sword and mace from Hindústán to Khorásán.

It must be stated, that in the historical works by Qází Baizáwí and others² it has been written that when 'Aláu-d-Dín plundered Ghaznáh and put many of the inhabitants to death, he left there Ghiyášu-d-Dín Abul-fath Muhammad and Shihábú-d-Dín Abul Muzaaffar who were his nephews. They then with great craft put Khusrau Sháh at his ease with regard to themselves and took up their abode in his city. Khusrau Sháh³ was imprisoned in the year 555 H., and died in the same year, and the days of the Ghaznévide family came to an end. After a time Ghiyášu-d-Dín died, and the whole kingdom remained in the possession of Shihábú-d-Din, but since Khwája Nizámú-d-Dín Ahmad deceased, has written in the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí* copying from the *Rauzatu-s-*

45. *Safá* that Khusrau Malik ibn Khusrau Sháh was the last of the kings of the Ghaznévide dynasty, I have followed him—God knows the truth.⁴

KHUSRAU MALIK IBN KHUSRAU SHÁH.

Ascended the imperial throne in Lahore after the death of his father, and spent the greater part of his time in luxury and licentiousness, so that in his time great damage found its way into the

¹ The Tarjīt-band consists of a series of couplets followed by a couplet in the same metre, but having a different rhyme, occurring at regular intervals.

² See *Ain-i-Akkart* (Jarrett) iii. 341 See also Elliott II. 258.

³ The *Rauzatu-s-Safá* however states that Khusrau Sháh reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Ghaznín, and on his death was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik.

The account in the text is that given by Baizáwí and other reliable authorities.

⁴ Cf. Raverty *op. cit.*, p. 112 note 5.

Baizáwí states that the Ghaznévide dynasty ended with Khusrú Sháh. The work here quoted is best known as the *Tabaqát-i-Akkart*, but its author called it *Tabaqát-i-Akbar-Sháhí*, and Badáoni calls it also by that name as well as by the name *Tárikh-i-Nizámí*. As has been seen the present work is admitted by the author to be merely an abridgment of the

kingdom, and the dynasty of the Ghazn  iyah was growing old while that of Ghor was in full vigour, accordingly Sult  n Muizzu-d-D  n Mu  ammad S  m, who is well-known under the title of Sult  n Shih  bu-d-D  n Ghor  , having gained the upper hand and making Ghazn   his capital, brought an army against Hind  st  n and came with overwhelming force near to Lahore. Khusr  au Malik fortified himself there and was compelled to ask for quarter in a personal interview. Sult  n Muizzu-d-D  n Mu  hammad S  m took him to Ghazn  , from thence sending him to Sult  n Ghiy  su-d-Din, who imprisoned him in Firoz Koh¹ and sent an order, and after ten years' confinement made him taste the cup of destruction.

Set not your heart on this world, for it is without foundation

It is a newly wed bride entangled with many a lover.

This event took place in the year 583 H. (1187 A. D.). He reigned twenty-eight years; the times of the Ghazn  vide dynasty came to a close, and the Empire passed from their hands to those of the Sult  ns of Ghor. "Thou givest the kingdom to whom thou seest fit."²

HEMISTICH.

Nothing endureth but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom.

And Q  z   Bai  aw   may God's mercy be upon him states that

T  r  kh-i-Niz  am  . Khw  aja Niz  amu-d-D  n Ah  mad was the son of Khw  aja Muq  im Haraw   Diw  an of the household to B  abar, he subsequently served under Akbar. (Elliott V. 177 *et. seqq.*). The real facts are that the son Khusr  au Malik succeeded his father and reigned till 583 (H.) (1187 A. D.), as is stated by our author.

¹ The *Tabaq  t-i-Nâ  ir* states that Khusr  au Mal  ik was imprisoned in the fortress of Balarw  n in Gharjist  n. Firuz Koh was the capital. The story of the treachery by which Shih  bu-d-D  n Ghor   took Khusr  au Mal  ik prisoner is told by Firishta.

See also page 44 where the author states that Ghiy  su-d-Din imprisoned Khusr  au Sh  ah in one of the fortresses of Ghurjist  n where he died a prisoner.

² Qur  n III. 25 قُلْ اللَّهُمَّ مَالِكَ الْمُلْكِ تُوْقِنَ الْمُلْكَ مِنْ تَش  ءُ وَتَنْزِعُ الْمُلْكَ مِنْ تَش  ءُ "Say 'O God, Lord of the kingdom, thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever thou pleasest and takest the kingdom from whomsoever thou pleasest.'"

6. the duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty from Sultán Mahmúd to Khusrau Sháh was one hundred and sixty-one years in the hands of twelve persons, while Qází Yahya Qazwíní, *may God's mercy be upon him*, says one hundred and fifty-five years in the hands of fourteen persons, and the author of the *Tarikh-i-Nizámí*, as has already been quoted above, says two hundred and fifteen years in the hands of fifteen persons, and God knows the real truth of the matter.¹

II. THE GHORÍ DYNASTY.

Who reigned in Dehlí. This dynasty commences with Sultán Shihábú-d-Dín Ghorí² who is known as Muizzu-d-Dín Muham-mad ibn Sám.

SULTÁN MUIZZU-D-DÍN MUHAMMAD IBN SÁM GHORÍ.

Ascending the throne as regent in place of his elder brother Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín, king of Ghor and 'Iráq and Khorásán, in the year 569 H., in Ghazní, had the *khutba* read and the currency struck in his own name,³ and in obedience to the command of his brother brought several armies against Hindustán and raised aloft the standard of holy war. Dehli was reduced in his time.

¹ None of these estimates are exactly accurate, that of the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí* is the nearest. The actual duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty taking Khusrau Malik as the last representative was from 366 A. H. (976 A. D.) to 583 A. H. (1187 A. D.) a period of 217 years during which time there were fifteen sovereigns.

It is difficult to see how Baizáwí arrives at his statement above quoted as from the accession of Mahmúd in 387 A. H., to that of Khusrau Sháh in 552 A. H. is 165 years during which twelve kings reigned.

The statement of Qází Yahá Qazwíní is so far from the truth as to be impossible.

If we take Khusrau Sháh as the last Ghaznévide king the dynasty lasted from 366 A. H. to 555 A. H., a period of 189 years.

² Who was nominated with his elder brother Ghiyásu-d-Dín to the charge of a province of Ghor by his uncle Alá'u-d-Dín Husain Jahánsoz.

³ As a matter of fact the coins were struck in the joint names of Ghiyásu-d-Dín and Muizzu-d-Dín, and as Thomas remarks the superlative **أَعْظَمُ** "The greatest" is applied to Ghiyásu-d-Dín while Muizzu-d-Dín is only styled **كَبِيرٌ** "Great" (Thomas, *Pathán kings of Dehlí*, p. 13.).

In brief, Sultán Ghiyásu-d Dín when he had seized Tagínábád¹ which was one of the dependencies of Garmír and had made over the governorship of that place to Sultán Shahábu-d-Dín, used continually to bring up armies against Ghazní, till at last in the abovementioned year Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín brought that country within the circle of his conquests, and drove out of Ghazní the tribe of Ghuzz, who after the captivity of Sultán Sinjar had been in possession of it, and bestowed upon Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Muhammad, the title of Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín.² Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín after one year of sovereignty as vicegerent

تکینا باد که از اعاظم بلاد گرمییر بود - ¹ Takínábád which was one of the chief cities of Garmír. *Tubaqát-i-Násírī*, p. 115, line 9, (Cal. Edn.), see *Atn-i-Akkari* (J.) iii. 68, also Elliott, II. 292, 293.

² The statement in the text forms the subject of considerable controversy as there are found those who assert that the title Shihábu-d-Dín is an impossible one as applied to Muizzu-d-Dín popularly known as Muhammad Ghorí. (see Raverty's *Tubaqát-i-Násírī* p. 446 note 5). It is true that the author of the *Tubaqát-i-Násírī* states that Muizzu-d-Dín was originally called Zangí while Ghiyásu-d-Dín was called Habshi—both of them being called Muhammad. He goes on to say that prior to Ghiyásu-d-Dín's accession to the throne Ghor he was called Shamsu-d-Dín and that Muizzu-d-Dín was called Shihábu-d-Dín. The actual statement is

و پیش ازین لقب او ملک شمس الدین بود و لقب برادرش شهاب الدین
بعد از مدتی که بر تخت بود لقب او سلطان غیاث الدین شد و برادرش ملک
شهاب الدین بعد از فتوح خراسان سلطان معز الدین شد -

"Before this his title had been Malik Shamsu-d-Dín and the title of his brother had been Shihábu-d-Dín. Some time after his accession his title was changed to Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín." From this the possibility is not excluded that the author of the *Tubaqát-i-Násírī* intended to lay stress not so much upon the change of names as the change of dignity, the assumption that is, by both of the title of Sultán.

But whatever may be decided about this there can be no question that the name "Shihábu-d-Dín" is just as applicable to the person known more familiarly as Muhammad Ghorí, as is the name "Muizzu-d-Dín," and Badáoni evidently held this opinion as he henceforth speaks of him constantly as "Shihábu-d-Dín."

On the other hand if this really was a subsequently acquired title it is certainly strange that it does not appear on any of his coins on which he is always styled As Sultán Al-Muazzam (or Al-A'zam) Muizzu-d-Dunyá wad Dín Abú-l-Muzaffar Muhammad ibn Sám.

It is not however a point of serious importance as it involves no disputed question of identity.

for his brother, in the year 570 H., conquered Kardíz¹ and in the
 47. year 571 H., took Uchh and Multán and drove out the tribe of
 the Karmatians from those regions, and utterly destroyed the
 Bhati² tribe who had fortified themselves in the fortress of
 Uchh,³ and having entrusted that country to Alí Kirmáj⁴ re-
 turned to Ghaznín.

Then in the year 574 H. (1178 A. D.) proceeding by way of
 Multán⁵ he brought an army against Gujrát, and suffered defeat
 at the hands of Rái Bhím Dev ruler of that country, and with
 great difficulty reached Ghaznín and obtained relief.

And in the year 575 H. he seized Parshúr,⁶ and in the year
 580 H. (1184 A. D.) marched against Láhore; Sultán Khusráu
 Malik who was the last of the kings of Ghaznín, shut himself up in
 the fortress of Lahore as has been related, and after considerable
 correspondence by letter and messenger, he sent his own son with
 an elephant as a present, and Sultán Shihábú-d-Dín made peace
 with him, and set about building the town of Siálkot⁷ and having
 left his deputy there, proceeded to Ghaznín; and in the year
 581 H. he brought an army against Diwal by which is meant

¹ Kardíz a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustán, Yáqút. Or
 Gardaiz, the name of a large "darak of the Tájiks, *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* Raverty,
 p. 449, note 9.

² MSS. (A and B) agree with the text جماعة بختية For a full account of
 this from Firishta with a comparison of other translations, see Raverty,
 p. 459, note 2. Raverty's translation corresponds exactly with the original
 and, as he very justly remarks, the incorrect translations given by Briggs and
 others have placed Muizzu-d-Dín's conduct in a wrong light. Bhátia a strong
 fort of this name was situated between Multán and Alor. The Rájá referred
 to according to the *Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá* was chief of the Bhatí tribe. See
 Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* 451, note 3 last paragraph. See Elliott, Vol. I. p. 61.

³ Uchh. On the Eastern bank of the Panjnad 70 miles S. S. W. of Multán.
 See Cunningham, A. G. of India, p. 242.

According to Tieffenthaler it is 20 miles from Multán, Tieff. I. 118.

⁴ So also Firishta على کرمائج though Briggs translates, Alí Kirmány.

⁵ In the text read از راہ ملنان Firishta says, "came again to Uchh and
 Multán."

بجانب پیشاور کہ در کتب سلف بکرام و پرشور و فرشور مشهور است
 (Firishta) cf. Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, p. 452, note 8. Peshawar was known
 as Bagrám or Farshúr.

⁷ Sialkot is said by other authors to have been founded by one of the early
 Hindú rulers. Tieffenthaler. "Un chateau très fort bâti par Maḥmoud

Tattah¹ and having thrown into confusion the cities on the sea shore took a vast amount of plunder and returned.

And in the year 582 H. he came again to Lahore and plundered the surrounding country, and having provided Husain with the means of fortifying and holding Siálkot retraced his steps, and from *Tárikh-i-Nizámí* which is the original source of this selection we gather that the building of Siálkot took place in this year, in contradiction to the *Mubáraksháhí*² from which we learn that the building of Siálkot was two years earlier. God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies; and in that year Khusrau Malik with the assistance of the Khúkhars³ and other tribes, besieged the fort of Siálkot for a long time, but had to return without attaining his object. In this year also Muizzu-d-Dín again besieged Khusrau Sháh in Láhore, who after striving for some days, found himself

Gasnaví ... La petite rivière d'Ayek coule le long de cette forteresse au couchant." Firishta states that Muizzu-d-Dín founded the fort of Siálkot which lies between the Chenáb and Ráví and left Husain Kharmíl as governor, in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.)

¹ Cf. Raverty 452 note 2. See also Tieffenthaler, I. 121. Tatta est très ancienne ... on la nomme aujourd'hui Dobil Tatta is not the same as Debal which lies between it and Karáchí. See Abul Feda, (Reinaud) I. ccclxxxvi.

The position of Debal. Judging by the map given in Tieffenthaler Debal lay between Karáchí and Tatta at a distance of 30 miles from the former and seventy from the latter, almost due East from Karáchí and N.-W. of Tatta. It lay at a distance of about 20 miles from the sea on one of the large arms into which the Mehrán (Indus) divided in those days, but which to judge from modern maps have now disappeared or much diminished in size. It also lay a short distance to the North of Lári Bunder which was at the head of an arm of the sea which had evidently in former times been an arm of the Indus also, at a distance of about ten miles to the South; the arm of the river joining the sea from Debal lay some six miles or so to the westward.

This position tallies with that of the ruined city mentioned by Ibn Batúta, Paris Edition, III. 112, 113, 114, a translation of the description of which is given in Cunningham's Anc. Geog., p. 299, 300.

² By Yahyá ibn Ahmad ibn Abdulla Sirhindí. Elliott, IV. 6.

³ The Khúkhars. This seems to be the same tribe as the Gakkhars, cf. *Ain-i-Akbarí* (Bl.) Vol. I. 456 note 1, and Vol. II. (J) 383 note 1, but see also Raverty (455 note 4), who asserts that the two tribes are quite distinct.

unequal to the task, and yielded to the Sultán who conveyed him to Ghaznín and sent him to his brother Sultán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín at Fíroza Koh. Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín imprisoned him in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistán, where he died a prisoner, and the plain of Empire once for all passed to the dynasty of Ghor without the thorn of a partner or rival, as has been already mentioned.

QITA'II.

If you saddle the piebald horse of Circumstance,
 and if the white horse of state leads thee beside him,
 And if the garden of your pleasure in happiness
 copies fair the past memories of Paradise,
 Be not proud, for this mean time will unexpectedly
 draw its pen through the writing of your fortune.
 Time is like a wind, which at the first
 draws from the cheek of the rose the veil with all respect,
 Then after a week has passed in the midst of the garden,
 drags its body with ignominy to the dust.
 The world at one time brings forward by turn in the
 narrow course, the horses of honour and disgrace.
 The crafty fowler gives the bird grain, and then draws it
 into the noose of his artfully laid snare.
 One man who has lost all hope, gains honour,
 Another who is always hopeful in spite of all is disgraced.
 Strange is it if a man who has walked in the shadow of
 poverty should court a favour from the sun ?
49. Be content, if you have a portion of wisdom,
 that the ignorant should be oppressed by the foolish
 What of that man who, in the assembly of mirth and merri-
 ment quaffs the wine of pleasure from the cup of
 luxuriousness ?
 What of him who sitting behind the wall of sorrow suffers
 from the after effects of sorrow and the worry of
 toil ?
 At last the hand of fate takes both of them straight off to
 the brink of the pit of death.
 Happy is the brave hearted man who like Sharaf draws the
 foot of fidelity beneath the skirt of retirement.

And in this year Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín left Alí Kirmáj¹ who was governor of Multán, as his Vicegerent in Lahore, and in the year 587 H. coming from Ghaznín he reduced the fort of Tabarhindah² which was the capital of the great rájás of Hindustán, and left Malik Zíáu-d-Dín Tukilí³ with a *corps d'élite* consisting of one thousand two hundred cavalry soldiers, and was contemplating a return. In the meantime Rái Pathúrá the Governor of Ajmír, and Khandí Rái his brother who had been Governor of Dehli before Pathúrá, arrived with a vast army at a place called Taráyan⁴ on the banks of the river Sarsuti at a distance of seven *krohís*⁵ from Thánesar. It is now known by the name of Taráwarí⁶ and is distant forty *krohs*⁶ from Dehli. A great conflict ensued with the Sultán and the Muslim troops were defeated. The Sultán evinced great bravery on the field of battle, and in that engagement also Khandí Rái who was mounted on an elephant at the head of his army, received a spear thrust in his mouth from the hand of the Sultán. The Sultán also was struck on the head by the Rái's spear, and his arm was also wounded but both escaped in safety. The Sultán got off his horse and taking up his son Khiljí upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field; the Sultán proceeded to Ghaznín, and Rái Pathúrá took the fortress of Tabarhindah from Zíáu-d-Dín Tukilí on peaceable terms after a

¹ *Tubaqát-i-Násirí* says Alí Karmákh. Firishta. Alí Kirmáj,
MS. (A) على كرماج MS. (B) علی کرماخ

² Both MSS. A and B have تبرهندہ. Jarrett (*Ahn-i-Akbari* trans., III. 360 note 2) says he is not able to determine the position of Tabarhindah, and Raverty (*Tubaqát-i-Násirí* p. 457 note 3) thinks Tabarhindah is a copyist's error for Bathindah apparently relying on the *Lubbu-l-Tawáríkh-i-Hind*. From Rennell's map in Tieffenthaler it would appear that the situation of the fortress of Tiberiud, which is there marked though not described in the text, was about half way between Bikanír and Jhunjhnú in Rajputáná, that is to say about 100 miles north of Ajmír.

See also Raverty 458, note 3.

³ Malik Ziyáu-d-Dín Túlakí, (*Tubaqát-i-Násirí*) Raverty p. 457 note 3.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) read نارین. See Raverty; *Tubaqát-i-Násirí* 459 note 7. Tieffenthaler mentions this place calling it Narnain, but it is not to be found in the map he gives, see Vol. I. p. 155.

It is placed by Cunningham (map facing p. 327), S. E. of Thánesar.

⁵ The كروش Skr. क्रोश *krosh*, is equivalent to about two miles.

See also *Ahn-i-Akbari* (J) ii. p. 116 note 2 and 414 note 2. Cunn. Geog. of A. I., App. B p. 571. See also *Tárikh-i Rashídí*. Elias and Ross, p. 424 note 1.

siege of one year and one month. And in the year 588 H. the Sultán again came into Hindustán with a large and brave army of 40,000 cavalry, and divided his forces into four army corps, and having given battle time after time in the place above mentioned gained a victory. Pathúrá was taken prisoner and Khandí Rái having been overcome in battle was killed and hastened to his resting-place in Hell. The Sultán then having reduced the fortresses of Sarsutí¹ and Hánsí proceeded to Ajmír the capital of Pathúrá, reduced it and plundered its environs killing and taking prisoners. From certain other sources we learn that Hazrat Khwájá Muínud-Dín Chishtí² may God sanctify his heart, that revered one who is the fountain head of the great and holy men and the dignified elders of the land of Hind, whose blessed tomb is a place of pilgrimage situated in Ajmír, was at that time in the company of the Sultán, and this victory occurred through the impulse of the blessed and divine soul of that pillar of holiness. And in this year leaving Sultán Malik Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak who was his servant and adopted son and vicegerent in the town of Kúhrám which is distant seventy *krohs* from Dehli, he invaded and plundered the Siwálik range which lies to the North of Hindustán, and proceeded to Ghaznín. In the same year too Qutbu-d-Dín having captured Dehli took it away from the kinsmen of Pathúrá and Khandí Rái. Then in the year 589 H. (1193 A. D.) Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín fought with Rái Jai Chand the governor of Qanauj, on the confines of Chandwár³ and Atáwah,³ killed him and went to Ghaznín. The fort of Kol⁴ fell into the hands of Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak, and he made Dehli his capital and brought its surrounding districts under his sway. From that date Dehli once more became the metropolis of the Sultáns. The erection of minarets and other buildings of that kind, such as mosques, was

¹ The country south of the Himálaya between the Sutlej and Ganges as far south as Hánsí. (Raverty).

² Khwájah Múínud-Dín Hasan Chishtí was the son of Ghayásu-d-Dín Hasan born in A. H. 537 in the village of Sijz of the province of Sijistán.

He died in A. H 633 and is buried near Ajmír.

³ Tieffenthaler I. 166 mentions Atáva and Chanouá as belonging to the Serkár of Agra. (See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) also p. 470 note 1).

⁴ Cól—ville munie d'une forteresse qu'on appelle Sábetghar et Ramghar. Tieff, I. 200, in the province of Agra 40 miles North of Agra.

commenced in the reign of Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín Altamash¹ in the year 606 H., as will be related, if God (may He be exalted) so will it, in its own place. And in the year 591 H., he took the fort of Bhangular² and Badáon. And in the year 593 H. he conquered Gujerát and took his army to Nahrwálá which is known as Pattan,³ and having taken vengeance for the Sultán on Bhím Rai Dev, and having taken much spoil returned; and in that year Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín removed his effects from the transitory world to the eternal abode,⁴ and Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín having heard this news when on the confines of Tús and Sarakhs,⁵ turned towards Bágħis and performed the duties of the mourning ceremonies and having divided his brother's dominions among his kindred⁶ came to Ghaznín and brought an army against Khwárazm, and on the first occasion Sultán Muhammad Khwárazm Sháh suffered defeat, and the Sultán pursued him and fought the Khwárazmians at the head of an aqueduct which they had dug from the eastern bank of the Jaihún, and a number of the noted generals of Ghur were martyred and he could not take Khwárazm; he also fought a great battle with an army of Khitái⁷ kings of Turkistán who had come to the help of Sultán Muhammad,⁷ on the banks of the river Jaihún—he fought right bravely but at last was defeated, and being left with a hundred thousand cavalry soldiers he entered the fortress of Andkhúd where he entrenched himself, and

5

¹ Sultán Ul-Muazzam Shamsu-d-Dunyá wau-d-Dín Abúl Muzaffar, Iyal Timish the 1st of the Shamsiyah Sultáns. See Raverty 597 note 4.

² MS. (A) بندگار Thankar, but it should be بانگھار apparently, as in Tieffenthaler we find Banghar described as "un Fort triangulaire, construit de terre par ordre d'un prince Indou nommé Harcaran ... Banghar est à 30 milles d'Aunla a 40 de Baréli et à 8 de la rive ulterieure du Gange.

Budáon, "ville ancienne ... elle à une forteresse au dehors de laquelle sont des maisons. Elle est à 20 milles de Baréli, à 10 d'Aunla et à 5 de Banghar.

Budáon was the birthplace of the famous Niẓámu-d-Dín Auliya, called "Al Bakháṣ" or the controversialist, and "Mahfil-shikan" the assembly-router.

³ 20 miles from Radhanpur 40 miles from Guzerat to the N.W. Tieff. I 385. See also Bayley, Hist of Gujarat 25 &c. Abul Feda (Reinaud) II. ii. 117. Aín-i-Akkári (J.) II. 262 and III. 59.

⁴ He died at Herát.

⁵ See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) 257 note 2 and 471 text and note 5.

⁶ The details of this partition are given in the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* (Rav. p. 472.)

⁷ Sultán Muhammad Khwárazm Sháh applied to Gúrkhan of Qará Khitái for assistance. See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) 473 note 2.

having asked for quarter¹ returned to Ghaznín; and at that time the tribe of the Khúkhars in the neighbourhood of Lahore shewed symptoms of revolting the Sultán accordingly brought an army against them, and also summoned Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak from Dehlí, and having given the Khúkhars a severe lesson returned to Ghaznín, and while on the way back was martyred at Damyak,² which is the name of a village of the dependencies of Ghaznín, at the hands of Khúkhar bandits—the following *qitá'h* has been written to chronicle this event³ :—

The martyrdom of the king of sea and land Shihábu-d-Dín,
Whose like has never yet been seen since the world began,
On the third day from the first of Sha'bán, in the year 602
Happened in the road to Ghazní at the stage Damyak.

The days of his reign from the commencement of the rule of Ghaznín to the end of his life were thirty and two years and some months, and he left no heir save one daughter, but he left behind him much treasure of gold and silver and precious stones, among these latter were five hundred *mans*⁴ of diamonds jewels of great value, besides cash and estates and other property the value of which we may estimate on the same scale. He made expeditions to Hindústán nine times, twice was defeated and seven times was victorious.

Thou didst see Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám, who in war
Was stronger in heart and hand than Sám and Narímán
He obtained, like Maḥmúd, from the elephants of Hindústán
Governments of Sásán and many kingdoms of Sámán

¹ For an account of the incidents here briefly referred to see Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) 478 note 6.

² A village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznín. Its exact situation is a matter of some uncertainty. Firishta (Bombay text) has رہتک! Rohtak.

³ No author that I have seen records the name of the author. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* attributes it to "one of the learned men of that period."

⁴ The Tabriz *man* must be meant, being somewhat less than 2 lbs. while the *man* of Hindustán varies from 40 to 80 lbs. (Raverty).

The *Atn-i-Akbari* makes no mention of the *man* as a weight unit for jewels.

Two *sér*s are equal to half a *man*. As the *sér* was nearly two pounds this would make the *man* equal to eight pounds nearly. (See *Atn-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 366 note 4).

The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says 1500 *mans* of diamonds.

He departed this world, and they say (the writer vouches for it)

That there remained of his secret treasure 500 mans of diamonds.

And in his reign many learned doctors and scientists and poets flourished, of whom was Imám Fakhrud-Dín Rází¹ may God be merciful to him who wrote the *Latáif-i-Ghiyásí* and other books in honour of his brother Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín Ábú-l-Fath. He remained with the army of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Muhammad Sám, and every week used to stand up to preach, and at the termination of his sermon the Sultán used to evince great emotion, and since the Imám got very wearied of this continual coming and going, and everlasting service, one day addressing the Sultán from the pulpit he said Oh ! Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín, some time hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Rází : The following *qita'h* is by him :

If an enemy does not agree with you O friend
 If behoves you to agree with your enemy,
 If not, then have patience for a few days
 He will not remain, nor will you, nor the pride of Rází.

And after the assassination of the Sultán certain mischief-makers out of envy accused the Imám of having conspired with the Fidáis,² and asserted that the Imám was well aware of their

¹ Abú Abdulláh Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Hasain Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Alí al-Jaimi al-Bakrí at-Tabarestání Ar-Rází (native of Raí in Tabaristán) was a doctor of the Sháfiíte sect; he was born at Raí A. H. 544 (A. D. 1150) and died at Herát A. H. 606 (A. D. 1210). (Ibn Khalliqán). See D'Herbelot *art Rází*. See also *Majma'u'l Fusahá* I. p. 374, where he is called Al-Quraishí at-Tamímí, Ibn Khalliqán does not mention the *Latáif-i-Ghiyásí* among Ar-Rází's works, while on the other hand Hájí Khalífa gives a work of this name but does not mention the author. His reference to it is as follows. "11124 El-Letáif El-Ghíyáthiyeh, subtilitates Ghíyáth-ed-Díni Liber persicus in quatuor partes divisus, quarum prima de principiis religionis, secunda de jurisprudentiâ, tertia de ethicâ, quarta de preicatione agit."

² The term Fidái is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Muláhidah heretics, at whose hands Muizzu-d-Dín met his death according to the express statement of the author of the *Tubaqál-i-Násirí*. (See Raverty 485 note 3). This attempt to implicate Rází in the responsibility for the murder is recorded also in the *Jámi'u-t-Tawáríkh*, and the *Táju-l-Mádisir*. See Elliott II. p. 236.

hypocrisy. They made an attempt upon the Imám and he fled for refuge to Maiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí¹ who was one of the distinguished generals of the Sultán; he despatched him in safety to a place of security. A poet has written an ode in praise of him of which the following are two couplets.

Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Sháh Ghází whose sword in the world
has become like the famous Zulfiqár² of Alí Murtazá.

The true Sultán Muhammad Sám; he whose love for
the people is like the Sun of the friendship of Mustafá.

¹ *Tabaqát-i-Nájirí* states that he held the office of Vazír, and was put to death by the Turkish Maliks and Amírs of Ghaznán, together with Malik Násiru-d-Dín Husain the Amír-i-Shikár.

² *Zú'l Fiqár*. The following is extracted from Ibn Khalliqán (Slane) Vol. IV. p. 220.

"It is related that Hárún ar Rashíd on sending Yazíd ibn Mazyad against Al-Walíd gave him Zú'l Fakár the sword which had belonged to the Prophet "Take it, Yazíd, by it you will be victorious." To this Muslím Ibn al-Walíd alludes in the following verse of a *kasídá* composed by him in praise of Yazíd:

'You caused the Prophet's sword to recollect his way of acting and the bravery displayed by the first (Musulmán) who ever prayed and fasted.'

By these last words he meant Alí the son of Abú Talib for he was the person who dealt blows with it."

Lower down, quoting as his authority Hishám ibn al Kalbi, Ibn Khalliqán states that Zú'l Fiqár belonged to Al-Aásí son of Nabíh, both of whom were killed in the battle of Badr; Al-Aásí being slain by 'Alí who took the famous sword from him—and he continues "Another author says that Zú'l Faqár was given to 'Ali by the Prophet." I must observe that *faqár* with an *a* after the *f* is the plural of *Faqára* which means a vertebra of the back. The name of this sword is also pronounced *Zú'l Fiqár* the word *fiqár* is the plural of *fiqra* (Vertebra).

At Tabarí states that *Zú'l fiqár* came into the possession of Hárún ar Rashíd in the following manner:

"Zul fiqár was borne by Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah ibn al Hasan ibn al Hasan ibn Alí ibn Abí Tálíb on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abú Ja'far al-Manṣúr the Abbaside; when he felt death to be near he gave *Zú'l fiqár* to a merchant who had followed him, and to whom he owed four hundred dínárs 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abú Tálíb family whom you may meet with will buy it from you and give you the sum to which you are entitled. The sword remained with the merchant till the Abbaside prince Ja'far the son of Sulaimán ibn Alí ibn Abd Allah ibn al Abbás ibn Abd-al-Mutálíb obtained the governments of Yemen and

Another poet says :—

The Emperor of the age, Khusrau Gházi Muizzu-d-Dín 54.
 From whom the glory of crown and diadem gains increase,
 The origin of victory, Muhammad ibn Sám ibn Husain
 His very presence has become the mark for princely glory.¹

And Názukí Marághái too says in praise of him :—

Sháh Muizzu-d-Dín before whose princely might
 The heaven stands girt like a bunch of flowers
 He came to the throne like a rose at the time when
 The heaven brought the Sun into the Balance. ²

Medina, and he purchased it from the merchant for four hundred dínárs. From him it passed to al-Mahdí the Son of Al Mansúr (Khalífah from 775 A.H. to 785 A.H.) from him to Músá al Hádi and from Músá to his brother Hárún ar Rashíd."

Al Asmái relates that he saw Hárún ar Rashíd at Tús wearing a sword and that he said "Asmái would you like to see Zúl fiqár" and on Asmái expressing a wish to see it Hárún ar Rashíd bade him draw the sword—on doing so he found on it eighteen faqáras. The word *faqára* is said in a note to the above to designate "a sort of waving ornament on the blade or else a notch on its edge. It is doubtful which is meant probably the latter."

The word *Zúlfiqár* meaning *vertebrated* I think it quite possible that the sword in question was so called from its strength and pliability, the vertebral column being the type of the combination of these two somewhat incompatible elements.

¹ MS. (A) has مرسیا را MS. (B) agrees with the text.

² i.e. In the time of year (autumn) when the Sun was in the sign of Libra (میزان).

The sun enters Gemini Taurus Aries (Spring) 21st March.

جواز نور حمل

Virgo Leo Cancer (Summer) 21st June.

سنبلاع اسد سلطان

Sagittarius Scorpio Libra (Autumn) 21st September.

میزان عقرب قوس

Pisces Aquarius Capricornus (Winter) 21st December.

دلو جدی حوت

The sign Libra was a later addition to the Zodiac. It was known to the earlier Greek astronomers as *χηλαῖ* cf. Virg. Georg. I. 33.

He in the fire of whose wrath evil doers
 Give up their sweet lives like sugarcane.
 The sugar of religion and the rose of sovereignty
 The revolving sphere has mixed together ; .
 Oh Lord ! let this conserve of religion and sovereignty
 Be the cause of health to the whole world.

And Qázi Ḥamíd¹ of Balkh says :

Gházi Muizzu-d-Dín wad-Dunyá with whom
 On the day of battle victory marches with his auspicious
 standard,

Qua locus Erigonē inter Chelasque sequentes Panditur.

Subsequently it was called *Zvýós* (the yoke) by the Latins *Jugum* and was first formally called *Libra* in the Calendar of Julius Cæsar. This name seems to have been derived from the East, and must be regarded as a symbol of equality introduced into the heavens at the period when the entrance of the sun into that constellation marked the Autumnal Equinox. "In the commentary of Theon on the *Almagest* *Libra* is frequently represented by Λίτρα (a pound) or Λίτραι, a word originally borrowed by the Romans from the Sicilians, transformed into *Libra* and then restored to the later Greeks in the new sense of a balance." See Smith's (D. G. R. A.) p. 151, also *Aṭn-i-Akkārī* (Jarrett) III. p. 13 and notes. Also Albirúní (Sachau) p. 173, where a table is given of the signs in seven languages. Sir William Jones (Jones' Works Vol. I. p. 334) leaned to the opinion that "both Greeks and Hindus received their divisions of the Zodiac from an older nation" and there can be little doubt that this was the case; the almost absolute identity of the nomenclature in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit points to a pictorial rather than to a verbal original, the more so as in the case of a pictorial symbol of ambiguous shape it was possible for the name to differ in different languages. Thus we know that the sign *Libra* was first known as χηλαῖ to the Greeks from its resemblance to the claws of a scorpion, then this name was changed to ζύγος from the resemblance to a yoke, and finally called *Libra* a balance.

The same pictorial idea is applicable to all three words, and it is more than probable that we must look, for the origin of the Zodiac, to the same source whence we trace the origin of our Alphabet.

See also Albirúní [Sachau (Trübner)] Vol. I. p. 219.

¹ Fakhrū-I-Ulamá wa Zínu-l-Fużalá Ḥamídú-d-Dín Umar ibn Maḥmúd Balkhí, a celebrated writer whose *Maqámát* called forth the praise of the poet Anwári. He was the author of several works written in a style of great and studied elegance. He was an accomplished poet. Several of his works are mentioned by name. See *Majma'ul Fusahá* I. 197.

Bú l Muzaffar¹ the Ruler of the East for whom in the field
of battle
The Humá of his canopy carries as it were victory under
its wing.

SULTÁN QUTBU-D-DÍN AIBAK

Who was one of the specially favourite servants of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon had a broken little finger,² and was known by this soubriquet (Aibak), they also call him Quṭbu-d-Dín³ Lak bakhsh.⁴ With the consent of the nobles of Hindústán he established himself as Protector of the kingdom of Dehlí, and after the martyrdom of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín his brother's son, Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín Mahmúd, the rightful heir of Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín Muhammad in whose praise they wrote the following verse:—

55.

¹ His full titles were: Sultán al-A'zam, Muizzu-d-Dunya wa-d-Dín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad. On his death difficulties arose as to the succession, the Turkoman generals claiming it for Ghiyásu-d-Dín Mahmúd, son of Ghiyásu-d-Dín, while the chiefs of Ghúr on the other hand favoured the claims of Baháu-d-Dín Sám, and a quarrel arose between the two parties as to the route to be taken in conducting the corpse of Muizzu-d-Dín to Ghaznín. Eventually this was settled by the diplomacy of the Khwája Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk. Táju-d-Dín Yaldkuz (Yaldúz) came out to meet the body, which was buried in an enclosed grave which he had built for his daughter, on the 22nd Sha'bán (Firishta).

² This is the reading of the text and of both MSS. and it serves in a measure to correct the current idea as to the etymology of the name Ibak. Raverty (514, note 1) states that Ibak in Turkish means finger. This does not appear to be the case, so far as I can learn from dictionaries ایبک means the comb of a cock, while the word finger is پرمعق parmaq. On the other hand the word ایل ay means moon and بک beg or bek means Lord. Whether the finger was broken at the time of the eclipse, or whether it was a congenital defect does not appear, but from the text before us the connection with the moon is the cause of the name, not, as has been said, the broken finger. See also Raverty loc. cit. and Thomas' Pathán kings of Dehli, page 32, note 1. Firishta however distinctly states وچون انگشت خنصر او شکسته بود اورا ایبک می گفتند if his text is correct.

³ He was given the name of Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak by Muizzu-d-Dín on the occasion of a public ceremony when he distinguished him by special marks of his favour (Firishta).

⁴ The bestower of laks. So called from his lavish generosity.

Sultán from East to West, Monarch from West to East
 Maḥmúd ibn Muḥammad ibn Sám ibn Husain.

having sent to Malik Qutbu-d-Dín from Fíroza Koh the canopy and insignia of royalty, addressed him by the title of Sultán,¹ and in the year 602 H. (1295 A.D.) having come from Dehlí to Láhore on Tuesday, the sixteenth of the month of ZuQa'dah in the aforesaid year, ascended the throne of empire and became proverbial for his kindness and clemency. He used to bestow upon deserving recipients rewards far in excess of their anticipations, and inaugurated his custom of *lak bakhshi* (bestowing laks). One of the learned men of the time named Baháu-d-Dín Ushí² said in praise of him.

Quatrain.

Oh thou that hast brought into the world the bestowal of laks;
 Thy hand has brought the mine into great straits;
 From envy of thy liberality the heart of the mine has seized blood drops,
 And placed them forward pretending that they are rubies.

And after some time enmity arose between him and Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who was one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Dín and had read the *Khuṭba* in his own name in Ghazní, on account of Láhore, and the fire of war and conflict blazed forth on the confines of the Punjáb; Táju-d-Dín was defeated, and went to Kirmán which was his usual abode. Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín went and took possession of the fort of Ghazní and staying there for a period of forty days, spent his time in rioting and wantonness and dissipation. Accordingly the people of Ghazní were annoyed at his behaviour and secretly summoned Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who arrived without warning, and Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín not being able to oppose him came to Láhore by way of Sang Surákh³

¹ He appears to have already possessed the title of Sultán (see note 3 page 77).

² Baháu-d-Dín Muḥammad Ushí Farghání was a very famous preacher and learned divine, very famous according to Ufí as an extempore speaker, and an extremely able poetry and prose writer. (Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá, I. 172).

³ One of the routes between Ghazní and the Punjab, for he did not dare to take that through Kirmán (Raverty, 527, note). The *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* omits all reference to this, and merely mentions Qutbu-d-Dín's death without saying where his fatal accident happened. As to the exact date of his death, see Raverty 528. note 2.

Verse.

When the head of a Sultán becomes unsteady from wine
Without warning the crown of Empire falls from his head.

And after wielding power for some time he fell from his horse when playing *chaugán* at Láhore in the year 607 H., and died¹ and was buried in that city and his tomb is at present the resort of pilgrims. The period of his reign after the conquest of Hindustán, was twenty years, out of which period he was for four years a Sultán.

This ancient revolving heaven has overthrown many heroes ;
So far as you are able, place no reliance on the sun and
moon and Jupiter.²

Seven other individuals of the generals and slaves of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín reached princely power in Hindústán and Ghaznín and Bengálá and other places, whose affairs are written in their proper places ; among others Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz on the confines of Taráyan, otherwise known as Taráwarí, having fought with Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltamish was taken prisoner. Another is Sultán Násiru-d-Dín Qabácha³ who is also one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Dín, and had married one of the daughters of Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, the other daughter was married to Sultán Quṭbu-d-

¹ قالب تھی ساخت Literally, emptied the mould (*in which he was cast*).

The word قالب though Arabic in appearance is not really so. It is in reality the Persian word (کالب) (cf. *کالبد*) in an Arab dress.

The game of *chaugán* is the origin of the modern game of "polo" the *chaugán* called in Arabic صولجان *Saulaján* is a name applied to a stick with a curved extremity. Curling locks are called چوگان سنبل (چوگانی) (Burhán-i-Qáti'). A pony which is fit for the game of چوگان is called (Burhán-i-Qáti').

² In the 'Ajáibu-l-Makhlúqát of Qazwíní we find that the astrologers considered the sun as holding the place of king, and the stars are his courtiers and troops. The moon is his Vazír and Jupiter the Qázi. The planet is considered to be a very fortunate one by astrologers who called it سعد اکبر (Sund-e Akbar). The moon is also lucky so much so that everything lucky was called by the Hindús Somagraha, Soma being the Sanskrit word for moon. The sun was called 'Aditya,' i.e., the beginning as being the origin of all things. See Albiruni (Sachau) I. 217 and seqq.

³ Who on the death of Quṭbu-d-Dín proceeded to usurp Uchh and Multán according to Raverty (530, note 6). The *Tabaqát-i-Násírí* states that Násiru-d-Dín Qabácha married two of the daughters of Quṭbu-d-Dín. (See note 4, p. 529) (note 2, p 532).

Dín and Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín during his lifetime had bestowed upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multán. After the death of Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín, he brought the whole country from Uchh¹ to Sarsútí and Kuhrám under his own rule, and also took possession of Lahore, and having fought with the army of Malik Táju-d-Dín who was on his way from Ghaznín, Khwája Mu'aïyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjári² being in command of that army, was defeated and went to Sindh in which country he obtained great ascendancy.

57. In the year 611 H. (1214 A. D.) a Moghul army arrived and laid siege to Multán for forty days and the Sultán Náshiru-d-Dín, having opened the doors of the treasury, evinced great bravery and warded off their attacks, and at last after a reign of twenty-two years fell a prisoner into the hands of Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín and trod the way to the next world.³ Another is Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tughral, when Muizzu-d-Dín Muhammad Sám reduced the fortress of Bahankar⁴ he entrusted the command of it to Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tughral, and he having built a fortress in the country of Bhasiyána⁵ elected to reside there⁶ and used continually to

¹ 70 miles south-west of Multán. For the situation of Uchh, see Cunn. A. G. I., p. 242.

Tieffenthaler says that under this name are comprised seven villages the chief of which contains the tomb of Syud Bukhári. Tieff. I. 118. In Rennell's map, Vol. III. Surusty is shewn as in Long. 74° 5' Lat. 28° 5', Koram Long. 75° 4' Lat. 29° 4'.

² See note 1 page 74.

³ In the year 612 H. according to the *Táju-l-Másir*, but from the text it appears to have been in 610 H. or early in 611 H.

According to *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* he was drowned while trying to escape. See Raverty 542-543, notes. cf. Elliott II. 304.

⁴ Both MSS., but according to *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* and Alfí the name of the fort was Thankír or Thangír. (See however Raverty 544 note 1).

⁵ MS. (B) has Bhasiyána, MS. (A) has Bhayána. *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says "the fortress of Thankír which is in the territory of Bhiána." This fortress he built was called Sultán Kot (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*).

Tieffenthaler mentions a place which he calls Beána and says, concerning it, *Beána etait autrefois une ville bien peuplée, aujourdhui le nombre de ses habitans est fort diminué, apres que le Rajah Indou en a chassé, il n'y-a que peu d'années, les Mahometans, Afgans, et Saïdes, qui se vantent de descendre de la race d'Alí. Elle est au pied des montagnes, à 14 milles communs de Fatepour au Sud-Ouest.*

He mentions no fortress named Thankír or Bahankar nor does he mention Sultán Kot.

⁶ Cf. *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* where this fort is called Sultánkot.

harass the environs of Gwáliár, and Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín at the time of his return from Gwáliár had promised to give that fortress to Malik Baháu-d-Dín who accordingly strongly fortified a position at a distance of two *krohs* from Gwáliár and harassed the garrison of the fort, so that after a year the garrison sending messengers and presents invited Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín and surrendered the fort to him. On this account enmity arose between Malik Qutbu-d-Dín and Baháu-d-Dín. Malik Baháu-d-Dín died a short time afterwards.¹

Another is Malik Muhammad Bakhtyár Ghúrí.² He was one of the great men of Ghúr and Garmsír, a man adorned with all good qualities who came to Ghazní in the reign of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín and from thence went to Hindústán. He did not approve of having to live in Láhore with Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín, and joined hands with Malik Husainu-d-Dín Ughal Beg³ ruler of the country between the two rivers (The Doáb) and the country beyond the river Ganges, and Kanpilah and Patiálí⁴ were allotted as his reward. He proceeded to Oudh and conquered that coun-

¹ No date is given of these events.

² Called also Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí, the first to lead a Musulmán invasion of Bengal in 596 A. H. He belonged to the Khiljí tribe of Ghúr, a Turkish tribe. Regarding him the *Aín-i-Akbarí* states that the astrologers had predicted the overthrow of the kingdom of Nadiya by Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí. He destroyed the city of Nadíya (in 1203 A. D., 600 A. H.) and transferred the Capital to Lakhnautí. From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Dehli. *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II. 148.

He was a nephew of Muhammad son of Mahmúd. (See *Tubaqát-i-Násiri* 549). Raverty denies his having ever been a slave but from the statement in the text there seems to be no doubt that the author so regarded him. (See Raverty, p. 550 note 6).

Maliku-l-Muazzam Husainu-d-Dín Ughal Beg held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Doáb, independently of Qutbu-d-Dín.

³ See Raverty *Tubaqát-i-Násiri* 550 note 6.

⁴ MSS. (A.) and (B.) كنبله Kanpila. MS. (A.) پنیابی Panéálí. MS. (B.) پتیالی Patiálí. Raverty p. 550 note 6, says Patitah بنتیہ (Lat. 25° Long. 82° 54') and Kuntalah کنٹلاہ [Lat. 25° 7' Long. 82° 35'] the Kuntíl of the Indian Atlas.

See the note above for a discussion of the question.

In the text كنبله is evidently a copyist's error for كنبله

try, reduced Behár and Munér,¹ and having taking large booty Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín sent him royal honours and a banner of Sultánship. He then brought many presents to the court of the 58. Sultán, and received great favours and distinctions; the grandees of the court seeing they were powerless against him, became envious of him, and instigated the Sultán to such an extent that one day he made him fight with a rogue elephant,² but he struck the elephant so hard upon the trunk with a heavy club that the elephant turned and fled. The Sultán was overwhelmed with astonishment to see this, and nominated and appointed him ruler of the whole country of Lakhnautí³ in Bengála and sent him away. In the second year after this arrangement Muhammad Bakhtyár brought an army from Behár towards Lakhnautí and arrived at the town of Núdiyá⁴ with a small force, Núdiyá is now in ruins. Rái Lakhmia (Lakminia⁵) the governor of that

¹ Manér ville assez distinguée située sur la rive citérieure (du Gange) à 4 milles ouest de Scherpour—(qui est à 6 milles, de Patna) l'embouchure du Son (Soane) se trouve entre Maner à l'ouest et Scherpour à l'est. Le Son se jette dans le Gange à de cosse avant Manér. Tieff. I. 423 note (a).

Behár the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh is situated on the Pancháná river. Tieffenthaler describes it thus “Une grande ville moins peuplée aujourd’hui qu’elle ne l’a été, remarquable par des tombeaux magnifiques de Mahométans (Shaikh Sharafuddín Munírí is buried there).

Elle a été la capitale autrefois de la province. Sa distance de Patna en ligne droite est de 17 milles.”

See Hunter Gazetteer of India.

³ On the occasion of a public audience held by Qutbu-d-Dín in the Qasr-i-Safed.

⁵ The ancient capital city of Bengal called originally Lakshmanáwati, and possibly also Gaur. Called Jannatábad by the Emperor Humáyún. See Aín-i-Akbarí II. (Jarrett) 122, 131 also Imp. Gaz, art Gaur. See also Raverty Tabaqát-i-Násiri 559 note 2.

⁴ Both MSS. ندیہ نúdiyá. Also Tabaqát-i-Akbarí. See Imp. Gaz. Nadiya, Nadiya or Nabadvíp is on the west bank of the Bhágirathí, it was founded by Lakshman Sen son of Ballál Sen King of Bengal who is said to have left Gaur for Nadíyá owing to the superior sanctity of the Bhágirathí at Nádiyá. The name was called Núdiá until the time of Aurangzeb—

See Raverty op cit 559 note 2.

⁶ Aín-i-Akbarí II, (Jarrett) 148. Tabaqát-i-Násiri, 555.

town who had heard from astrologers¹ the fame of Muhammad Bakhtyár and his great power, fled thence to Kámrán, and property and booty beyond computation fell into the hands of the Muslims, and Muhammad Bakhtyár having destroyed the place of worship and idol-temples of the infidels founded Mosques and Monasteries and schools and caused a metropolis to be built called by his own name, which now has the name of Gáur.²

VERSE.

There where was heard before the clamour and uproar of heathen.

Now there is heard resounding the shout of "Alláho ákbar"

And after having the *khuṭbah* read and the currency struck in his name,³ having collected a large body of men, under the command of Amír Alí Masíj⁴ (Mich) he attempted to conquer the countries of Tibet and Turkestán and twelve thousand cavalry fully armed and equipped arrived at a city which they call Bardhan.⁵ A river

¹ For an account of the birth of Lakhmaniya see *Tabaqát-i-Akkári* which relates that in order to delay the birth for two hours his mother caused herself to be suspended head downwards with her legs bound together till the auspicious moment predicted by the astrologers to ensure his reigning for eighty years arrived, immediately after delivery of her child the mother died. (see also Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, p. 555).

² There is no authority for the statement that Gaur was ever known by the name of Muhammad Bakhtyár. Concerning the name Gaur see Hunter Imp. Gaz. *Gaur*.

³ The recitation of the *áshá* or public prayer in the name of the new Sovereign and the issue of coins bearing his name was regarded by Muhammadan nations as constituting actual accession to the throne and the statement is probably incorrect.

As to this passage see Raverty 559 note 3. See Thomas Pathán Kings of Dehli p. 37 and p. 110, and notes. It appears unlikely that Muhammad Bakhtyár issued coins in his own name, as he was nothing more than Sipahsálár of the Sultán Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sám : moreover no such coins are known.

⁴ A chief of the tribes of Kúach and Míj called Ali Míj (*Tabaqát-i-Násiri*) tribes between Tibet and Lakhnauti.

⁵ Regarding this the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* says that a chief of one of the

here crossed their route called the Brahmanputr,¹ which they also call Brahmkadí. It is three or four times the size of the Ganges. Sháh Garshasp² when he came to Hindustán built a bridge over that river, and crossed it at Kámrud and went on his way. Muham-
9. mad Bakhtyár crossed by that bridge, and leaving certain of his trusted generals to protect the bridge and command the road, entered the territory of Tibet, and spent ten days among the mountains and difficult roads, and at last arrived at a plain in mountain tribes between Lakhnautí and Tibbat the Kúñch-Mij-and Tihárú who are all of Turkish countenance (تُرك چهروہ اند) and speak a language differing both from that of India and that of Tibbat, adopted the religion of Islám and agreed to act as guide to Muhammad Bakhtyár whom he conducted to a place where there is a city called Mardhan Koṭ (or Bardhan koṭ) ... in front of which flows a vast river called the Bang Matí and when it enters the country of Hindustán they style it Samundar in the Hindí dialect; in magnitude, width, and depth it is three times the size of the Ganges.

From this point the account differs, the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says that they journeyed up the river for ten days among the mountains till they came to an old bridge built of hewn stone, &c.

Our text on the other hand states that they crossed the old bridge immediately on reaching the river after which they journeyed for ten days in the mountains, &c.

Badáoni's statement has more *prima facie* probability, the statements of the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* moreover are somewhat confused and contradictory. Neither author mentions how long the cavalry force took to reach Bardhan.

It seems fairly certain from Badáoni's account that the city of Bardhan was on the near side of the river and that the crossing of the river was impracticable at that point, how far it was from Kámrud, where Badáoni says they crossed by the bridge; does not appear.

MS. (A) ابردھن Abardín; MS. (B) ابردھن Abardhan.

Tabaqát-i-Násirí says Bardhan (Raverty 561 note 8). Calcutta text has مورڈھن کوٹ.

¹ *Tabaqát* calls this river the Beg-Matí (see Raverty 561 note 1.)

For a full discussion of the identity of the river crossed and the place of crossing see Raverty pp 561-565. The only additional information given by the text is that the bridge was at Kámrud, and it seems not impossible that it may be the bridge of Sil Hako and the river the Brahmaputra though Raverty thinks it was the Tíesta.

² See Raverty p. 561 note 9 and *Ain-i-Akbarí* III. (Jarrett) 328 note 4.

which was a fort of great strength: the garrison of that fort who were descendants of Gushtasp (that fort too was one of the buildings erected by Gushtasp) came forth to fight, and fought so bravely till nightfall that many men were lost on the side of Muḥammad Bakhtyár. He pitched his camp on that very spot, and coming down received tidings that five farsangs beyond this city there was another city¹ from which 50,000 Turks all warlike and ready for battle would come to the relief of their city. The following day Muḥammad Bakhtyár not thinking it advisable to remain there, and not being able to oppose them, turned back and came to the head of the bridge. Before his arrival the Generals in charge of the road had fought among themselves, and the infidels had broken two arches of that bridge. The army of Muḥammad Bakhtyár had this bridge in front and the infidels kept coming up in their rear, and fought with determined bravery. In that neighbourhood there was an idol temple of great strength.² They passed the night there by some stratagem, and in the morning a ford was found, and a party of men who crossed by the ford found the sand of the river was a sort of quicksand, and the water of the river gradually growing deeper and deeper, the greater part of the soldiers of Muḥammad Bakhtyár were drowned in the ocean of destruction; and the remnant which remained became fuel for the fire of the infidel's sword and attained the exaltation of martyrdom. Muḥammad Bakhtyár, out of many thousand men, arrived at Deo Kot with some three or four hundred only, and fell ill from vexation and was attacked by hectic fever³ and used to say "no doubt Sultan Muḥammad Muizz-ud-Din Sám has met with an accident that fortune has gone so against me." And when weakness took possession of him 'Alí Mardán one of Muḥammad Bakhtyár's greatest generals arrived at Deo Kot from the district of Nárnálí⁴ and finding him

60.

¹ Called Karpattan (*Tabaqát-i-Násiri*) see Raverty p. 567 and notes for a full account of Bakhtyar's retreat and disasters.

² See Raverty 570 note 9. regarding the possible locality.

³ بِرْحَمَتْ دَقْ مَنْجَرْ كَشْتْ I take this to be the meaning of the text نازولی نارنکوی.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) See Raverty 572, note 7, where he calls this نارنکوی Náran-kooe.

bedridden, pulled down the sheet from his face and ruthlessly despatched him with one blow of a dagger. This event happened in the year 602 H. after the death of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín : and after the death of Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín this same Alí Mardán eventually seized the reins of power by great craft, and promulgating the *khutba* and *sikka* of Lakhnauti in his own name was styled Sultán Aláu-d-Dín, and from the excessive folly and pride and arrogance of his mind sat quietly in Lakhnauti and divided the country of Irán and Túrán among his adherents, and no one dared to say "these dominions are outside the scope of the Sultán's power why do you divide them ?" They say that some unfortunate merchant laid a complaint of poverty before Aláu-d-Dín, who asked "where does this fellow come from ?" They answered "from Iṣfahán" then he ordered them to write a document to Iṣfahán which should have the force of an assignment of land to him. The merchant would not accept this document, but the Vazirs did not dare to represent this fact and reported "the ruler of Iṣfahán, by reason of his travelling expenses and assembling his retinue for the purpose of subjugating that country, is in difficulties." He thereupon ordered them to give a large sum of money far beyond his expectations ; and when his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Amírs of Khilj consenting together put him to death and raised to the throne Malik Husámu-d-Dín Khiljí who was one of the nobles of Khilj and Garmsír and one of the servants of Muḥammad Bakhtyár. The reign of Alí Mardán lasted thirty-two years.²

Another was Malik Husainu-d-Dín³ abovementioned who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengála and Jánagar and Kámrud and gained the title of Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and

¹ Cf. *Tubaqát-i-Náṣirī* 578. He would appear to have been the subject of expansive delusions very likely an early symptom of the general paralysis which would have declared itself later had he not been removed.

² Both MSS. have سی و دو سال but as a matter of fact Alí Mardán reigned only two years and some months (see also Raverty 580 note 7.)

³ Malik Husainu-d-Dín 'Iwaz.

seventy thousand *tangahs*¹ in cash as a present and acknowledged 61.
the Sultán's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (*be He exalted*)
so will it. And in the year 624 H. Malik Násiru-d-Dín Muham-
mad ibn² Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín went from Oudh to Lakhnautí at
the instigation of some of the Amirs,³ and Ghíyášu-d-Dín⁴ who
at that time had taken an army from Lakhnautí to Kámrud turned
back, and fought a severe battle with Malik Násiru-d-Dín and
was taken prisoner together with the majority of his generals and
was put to death. The duration of his reign was twelve years.⁵
The mention of these few kings of the regions of Hindustán
incidentally with the affairs of the Sultáns of Dehlí was both
opportune and necessary, and the affairs of the remaining Muizziyeh
kings who attained to the Sultanat of Multán and other kingdoms
are mentioned in other places.

SULTÁN ARÁM SHÁH IBN QUÝBU-D-DÍN AIBAK⁶

After his father, succeeded to the throne.

In the world no family remains without a master
If one departs, another takes his place ;
This too is the way with this deceitful world
The father departs, the son's foot is in the stirrup.

By the consent of the Amírs he marched from Lahore to Delhí.
In the meantime Malik Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish, who was a
servant and adopted son, and son-in-law of Sultán Quýbu-d-Dín,

¹ *Tanqah*. For the value of this see J. R. A. S. Now Series Vol. i. p. 343
also Raverty 584 note 2. Thomas Chr. Pathán Kings of Dehlí pp. 161 and
p. 49 note.

The silver *tanqah* weighed 17.5 grains. There was a coin known as the
kání which was $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *tanqah*, while another coin was introduced under
Muhammad Tughlaq known as the *black tanqah* which was $\frac{9}{16}$ of the silver
tanqah.

The value of the silver *tanqah* was about the same as the rupee. See *Ain-i-
Akbari* III. (Jarrett) 362, note 3.

² The text should read مُسْلِمٌ الدِّين MSS. A. and B.

³ Malik Izzu-d-Dín Jání. See Raverty, p. 594, note 1.

⁴ Ghíyášu-d-Dín Iwaz ... Husain Khiljí.

⁵ He was the last of the Muizziyeh Sultáns according to the *Tabaqdt-i-Násirí*.

⁶ Succeeded his father in 607 H. Cf. Raverty, 529, note 4. Thomas pp. 40.

and had tributary relations with Malik Náširu-d-Dín Qabáchá, at the invitation of Sipah Sálár Alí Isma'il, had come from Hardwár and Badáun to Dehlí and had taken possession of the city and its country. When Arám Sháh arrived in the vicinity of Dehlí Malik Shamsu-d-Dín came out against him in battle array, and Arám Sháh was defeated. The duration of his reign was just a year.¹

*All of us young and old are doomed to die
No one remains in this world lastingly
This is the way of the lofty sky. It holds
In one hand a crown in the other a noose.

62.

SULTÁN SHAMSU-D-DÍN IYALTIMISH²

Called by the title of "Yamín-i-Amír-al-Múminín"
(Right hand of the Commander of the Faithful.)

In the year 607 H. ascended the imperial throne of Dehlí; and the reason of the name Iyaltimish is that his birth occurred on the night of an eclipse of the moon, and the Turks call a child

¹ Minháj-us-Siráj mentions that at Arám's death Hindustán was divided into four principalities. Sind in the possession of Náširu-d-Dín Qabáchah : Dehlí and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish : Lakhnautí was held by the Khiljí chiefs Alí Mardán having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Qutbu-d-Dín, and Lahore remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehlí and Ghazní. See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p. 40.

² Not in either MS. These verses are from the Shahnámah of Firdausí. (*vide* Shahnámah, Calcutta Edition, by Turner Macan, 1829, Vol. I. p. 361, line 3, and Vol. I. p. 372, line 6. The editor of the text has apparently quoted these lines from memory or possibly they were in the MSS. from which he prepared the text.

³ In MSS. A and B this word is clearly written ایلتمیش This text has التمیش

Iyaltimish or Altamish as he is generally called was the first sovereign who reigned in Dehlí with independent power. He received a diploma of investiture from the Khalíf of Baghdád [Al-Mustansír b-illáh, A. H. 626] a most important recognition to a Muhammedan sovereign and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant court of Baghdád of this new Indo-Muhammedan kingdom. (Thomas, p. 43).

born under these circumstances Iyaltimish.¹ His father was the chief of many of the tribes of Turkestán. His kinsmen under pretence of taking him for a walk took Iyaltimish into a garden and sold him like Joseph to a merchant, from there he happened to be taken to Bokhárá, and thence in the time of Sultán Muhammad Sám to Ghaznín; and in these days Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín after the conquest of Nahrwálah and the taking of Gujrát had gone to Ghaznín, and since without permission of Sultán Muhammad Sám no one could purchase Iyaltimish he asked permission from the Sultán to sell him. Sultán Muhammad Sám said that since he had given orders that no one there should buy that slave they were to take him to Dehli and sell him there. Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín after his return from Ghaznín bought a slave named Ibak, a namesake of his own, and Iyaltimish, at Dehli for 100,000 *tangahs*: at first he called him Amír Tumghách,² and appointed him to the Amírship of Tabarhindah,³ and at the time when Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín fought with Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, Ibak his slave tasted the cup of death. At that time he made Iyaltimish an especial favourite, and after the capture of Gwálíár he made him Governor of that place, and subsequently bestowed upon him the rule of Baran⁴ and its environs, and since he began to shew signs of extraordinary hardiness he entrusted the country of Badáún to him, and in the war of Muizzu-d-Dín with the Khúkhars (as has been already related), Iyaltimish having got together a huge army from Badáón and the foot of the hills, joined hands with Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín in the service of Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín, and armed as he was having forced his horse into the river⁵ engaged the enemy bravely several

63.

¹ Concerning the origin of the name see Thomas, p. 44, note 1. The note is too long to transcribe here, but briefly it may be said that Mr. Redhouse to whom the above text was submitted by Mr. Thomas thinks it probable that owing to errors of transcribers of the Turkish compound word the *J* has become displaced and that the word should really be written ایتلمش *ay-tutulmash* = *eclipse of the moon*.

This explanation seems most plausible. In Turkí the word التمش *altamsh* means the advanced guard of an army, or the number sixty.

² طمغاج MS. A. طمغاج MS. B.

³ تپرهندہ MS. A.

⁴ Buland shahr, (Thomas). See Hunter Imp. Gaz. (p. 141).

⁵ See *Tabaqát-i-Nasirí*. It was the river Jhílám.

times : Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín bestowed on him fitting honours and distinguished him royally and gave him high recommendations to Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín, and went to the greatest possible lengths in his care for him ; and that same day Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín wrote his letter of emancipation, and by degrees raised him to the dignity of Amir-ul-Umará (Chief of the Amírs) till his affairs reached the height they did. And in the beginning of his reign certain of the Muizziyah and Quṭbiyah Amirs rebelled against him and suffered punishment and became food for the pitiless sword. And Malik Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz after he had suffered defeat by the Army of Khwárazm obtained possession of Lahore ; Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín coming from Delhi to meet him in the year 612 H. drew up in battle order on the confines of Taráyan which is known as Serái Taláwarí.¹ After a severe battle Sultán Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz being defeated fell a prisoner into the hands of Shamsu-d-Dín who sent him to Badáon. The bird of his soul there escaped from the prison house of the body and took its flight to the nest of the next world. His tomb is in that city.

And in the year 614 H. Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín came into conflict with Sultán Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabácha who had married the two daughters of Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín one after the other, and was in possession of Uchh and Multán, and victory rested with Sultán 64. Shamsu-d-Dín, and for the third time² Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín went up in person against him. He, having fortified the castle of Uchh, himself went to the fortress of Bhankar, and Nizámul-Mulk Wazír Jandí pursued him while the Sultán reduced Uchh. After hearing the news of the capture of Uchh, Náṣiru-d-Dín sent his own son Bahrám Sháh into the presence of the Sultán and sued for peace. Bhankar also was captured. And in the year 615 H. Náṣiru-d-Dín was overwhelmed in the sea of destruction in the Punjáb, and surrendered the property of life to the flood of death, and the Sultán turning back came to Delhi. In the year 618 H. Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín raised an army against Sultán

¹ Cf. Raverty, p. 608, note 8.

² According to the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulík* this was the first occasion in which Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín had shewn hostility to Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabácha. On the other hand the *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* states that there used to be constant contention between them. Badáoni is very likely correct in his statement. See Raverty p. 609, note 1.

Jalálu-d-Dín Mangburní¹ son of Khwárazm Sháh who having suffered defeat at the hands of Changíz Khán after Táju-d-Dín, came to Ghaznín and thence from fear of the incursions of Changíz Khán had gone to Lahore with his family and relations; and Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín not being able to withstand him went towards Sindh and Síwistan and from there by way of Kuch and Makrán arrived at Kirmán and Iráq.²

And in the year 622 H.³ Sultán Shamsu-d-Din, took an army towards Behár and Lakhnautí and brought Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín Khiljí, who has been before mentioned, into obedience, and having accepted the present above mentioned,⁴ established the *khusba* and *sikka* in his own name⁵ and having given his elder son the title of Sultán Náshiru-d-Dín Maḥmúd⁶ made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Náshiru-d-Dín Maḥmúd having fought with Ghiyásu-d-Dín on the confines of Lakhnautí got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner put him to death, and great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent it as rewards⁷ to each of the nobles of Dehlí.

65.

¹ So called because of a mole which he had on his nose (Raverty 285, note 3). He was the last of the Khwarazm Sháhi dynasty. He is said to have turned devotee and to have lived till 688 H (Raverty 299, note.) There is some question as to the orthography of this name. Thomas p. 90, note 1, judging from inscriptions on his coins calls him Mankbarin, as he considers the final letter to be *ن* not *ي*. The etymology given above is probably correct as the word مینگ (meng) in Turkí means *grain de beauté* while بوروں means "nez" (Dict Turk. Orientale Pavot-de Courteille) the word originally being مینگبوروں mengbúrn would in Persian have become altered in pronunciation to mangburuu and with the addition of the yá-i-nisbat منگبرنی Mängburuni.

² For a full reference to the bibliography of this expedition, see Elliott II. 549. See also *Atn-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. Jarrett 343, and notes. D'Herbelot art. Gelaluddin, Vol. II. p. 87.

³ Mistake in text ٤٢٢ where 422 H. is in figures.

⁴ "Thirty elephants and eighty *laks* of treasure." (*Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí*.)

⁵ See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p. 46. It is not said here what kind of coinage—Thomas puts the year 626 A H. as the first of the silver coinage.

⁶ مسعود MS. (A)

⁷ The word انعام in MS. A is omitted in the text after the word دہلی. MS. A continues after the word فرستاد as follows:—

و سلطان شمس الدین در سنہ ثلت و عشرين و ستمائے سپاهی گران

¹ [It is well known that a poet name Násirí arrived in that country from Dehlí in the service of Hazrat Khwája Qutbu-d-Dín Ushí ² may God sanctify him and said I have composed a Qaṣida in praise of Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín. Read the Fátihá that I may get the accustomed reward.” They read the Fátihá and he having been admitted to the Sultán’s presence read this Matla⁴.

Oli thou from dread of whom sedition has sought refuge,
Whose sword has sought from the infidels property and elephants.

The Sultán by the mere reading of that matla⁴ learnt it by heart and repeated it, and when the poem was finished he asked How many couplets does this Qaṣida contain? The answer was fifty and three. He thereupon ordered them to give him fifty-three thousand white tangahs.^{5]} Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín in [the year] 623 H. made an attack upon Ranthambhúr⁶ and having brought an army thither reduced that fortress, and in the year 624 H. having

بعزیمت تسخیر قلعه سندور نامزد ساخته ان قلعه را با کوه سوالک در حیز ضبط اورد و بدھلی مراجعت فرمود و همدوین سال امیر روحانی که از افضل ان روزگار بود و در حادثه چنگز خان از انجا بدھلی امده و در تهذیت این فتوحات قصاید غیر گفته از انجمله اینست قصیده

و سلطان شمس الدین ... عزیمت زینتور نمود MS. (B) reads as follows
ر لشکر بان طرف برده انقلعه را مفتوح گردانید و در سنّه اربع و عشرين و ستمائیه سیاهی گران بعزیمت تسخیر قلعه مندور نامزد ساخته ...

I do not know what MS. the Maulaví Ahmad Alí used for his edition, but it cannot have been either of the MSS. to which I have access.

¹ The words in [] brackets are not found in either MS. I have consulted.

² A famous saint known as Kákí from the “Kák” or Cakes which were supplied by the prophet Khizr for the sustenance of his family for whom his devotions left him no leisure to make provision. See *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 303, note 2. He died A.H. 634, and is buried in Dehli. See also Ravery p. 621, note 6, third para. [*Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 279.]

³ The silver tangah piece of 175 grains.

⁴ A figure of this fortress is given in Tieffenthaler Vol. I. facing p 320, plate xx. He describes it as a fortress so situated at the head of a narrow gorge that it can be held by “une poignée de soldats” having a spring of water arising from the rocks and forming a stream which runs down

detailed a large army to attack and capture the fort of Mandúr,¹ brought that fort together with the Siwálik hills into the circle of his conquest and returned to Dehlí, and in this same year Amír Rúhání² who was one of the most learned men of that time came to Dehlí from Bukhárá in the affair of Changíz Khán, and wrote several brilliant odes of congratulation upon these victories, of which the following verses are an extract.

The faithful Gabriel carried the tidings to the dwellers in heaven,
 From the record of victories of the Sultán of the age
 Shamsu-d-Dín,
 Saying—Oh ye holy angels raise upon the heavens,
 Hearing this good tidings, the ³ canopy of adornment.
 That from the land of the heretics the Sháhansháh of **66.**
 Islám

Has conquered a second time the fort resembling the sky ;
 The Sháh, holy warrior and Ghází, whose hand and sword
 The soul of the lion of repeated attacks ⁴ praises.

And there are also other many charming poems attributed to him, of which the following ode is one :—

From the tongue of the pen my own story I tell in the words of the pen

to Scherpour two miles distant (This place is not marked on Rennell's map). Besides this there are cisterns hewn out of the rocks in the fort to collect the rain water. It is entered by four gates approached by steps cut in the rocks.

¹ Or Mandawar (*Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí*, p. 611, note 3, Mandwar MS. (A)).

See Rennell's map. Monorpour Long. 77 Lat. 27. This fortress answers apparently to the situation of Mandú or Mandawar. Tieffenthaler I. 323, mentions "Manoarpur ville de marque avec une forteresse a 15 milles Nord de Djépour." This is probably the fort here called Mandú.

² Hakím Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Ali Samarqandí.

³ MS. (A) we have instead of كُلْمَةُ الْمَمِينِ as in the text, the words كُلْمَةُ تَزَيْنِ which appears a better reading, "the canopy of adornment," I have preferred it.

MS. (B) has كُلْمَةُ بَرْتَيْنِ which is evidently a copyist's error for كُلْمَةُ تَزَيْنِ

⁴ حِيدُرُ كَرَارٌ is a name of عَلَى 'Alí who is called Asad 'Ullah or by the Persians Shír-i-Khudá, The lion of God.

On the page of my life, though the writing of grief has
been traced by the pen
Since I lived in this world with the pen all my days have
been black as the pen
And swift as I write my account, so fierce is the point of
the pen
That like to my own gentle voice is the sharp loud lament
of the pen.
Although in the midst of my loss I reap always rewards
from the pen,
Still no one will mention my state to my Lord save the
tongue of the pen.
'Tis from Khwája Mansúr bin Sa'íd thrives the market of
test of the pen
That great one whose words load the burden of truth on
the van of the pen.
He has mounted his beautiful thoughts on the steed of his
swift running pen.¹
In the road of just ruling he gallops, light holding the rein
of the pen.
His skill hand in hand with his wisdom reveals hidden
arts of the pen.

- And in the year 626 H. Arab Ambassadors came from Egypt²
bringing for him a robe of honour and titles, and out of joy at this
they built triumphal arches in the city and held banquets. And in
this same year the tidings arrived of the death of his son Sultán
67. Násiru-d-Dín, Governor of Lakhnauti, and the Sultán, after com-
pleting the duties of mourning, gave his name (*i.e.*, Násiru-d-Dín)
to his younger son after whom the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* is named. In
the year 627 H., he proceeded against Lakhnauti and quieted the
disturbances of those regions, and after entrusting the govern-
ment of that place to Izzu-l-Mulk Malik 'Aláu-d-Dín Kháfi³
returned to the capital and in the year 629 H. reduced the fortress
of Gwáliar. Málík Táju-d-Dín the Secretary of State, wrote the

1 MS. (A) سوار کوڈہ بود.

2 This must have been from Baghdád from the Khalifah Al Mustansír
b-illah. See Raverty 616, note 2.

3 MS. (A) عالادین خانی MS. (B). as in the text. *Tabaqát-i-*
Násiri reads Aláu-d-Dín Ján. See p. 618, notes.

following quatrain upon the taking of that fort, and they engraved it upon stone:—

Every fort which the king of kings conquered
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith :
That fortress of Kálewar and that strong castle
He took in the year six hundred and thirty.¹

It is apparently the date of the siege which accounts for the difference of one year. And in the year 631 H.² having made an incursion in the direction of the province of Málwah and taken Bhilsá³ and also captured the city of Ujain,⁴ and having destroyed the idol-temple of Ujain which had been built six hundred years previously, and was called Māhákál, he levelled it to its foundations, and threw down the image of Rái Vikramájít from whom the Hindús reckon their era⁵ (the author of this selection, by the order of the Khalifa of the time, the Emperor, the Shadow of the Deity, in the year 972 H and again anew in the year 1003 H⁶ with the assistance of Hindú pundits translated 32 stories about him which are a wonder of relation and strange circumstance, from the Hindú into the Persian tongue and called it Náma-i-Khirad Afzá —) and brought certain other images of cast molten brass placed them on the ground in front of the door of the mosque of old Dehlí⁷ and ordered the people to trample them underfoot and a second time he brought an army against Multán;⁸ this expedition was in every way unfortunate

¹ 26th of the month Ṣafar 630, A.H. (*Tubaqát-i-Naṣirí*), 1232, A.D.

² 632 H (*Tubaqát-i-Naṣirí*) p. 621, note 6.

³ Bhilsá on the Betwá, is a place of Hindú pilgrimage, in its neighbourhood are many interesting Buddhist topes.

⁴ Ujjain on the Sipra, was in ancient times the capital of Málwá, and the spot which marked the 1st meridian of Hindu geographers. It was the city of Vikramaditya. See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., and Tieff. Vol. I. p. 346.

⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 15, notes 2, 3. Alberuni, (Sachau) II. 5, 6. The Samvat era commencing from 57 B.C.

⁶ 1564 A.D. and 1594 A.D. Al-Badáoní died according to the *Tubaqát-i-Sháh Jahán* in the year 1024, A.H. (1615 A.D.). I can find no mention of the Náma-i-Khirád Afzá, and can offer no suggestion as to what this work was a translation of, possibly it was of one of Kálidásá's poems. سی و دو (A). نلت و لف سی و دو (B). The text (C). agrees with MS. (B).

⁷ See Imp. Gaz. art. Dehli.

⁸ See Raverty 623, note 8, who holds that this should read بنيان. Banián. Both MSS. (A and B) have ملستان. as also has Firishta.

for him, and a very severe bodily illness afflicted him, he so returned and came to Dehli, and in the year 633 H, (1235 A.D.) left this lodging house of the world for the eternal mansions of the next world. The duration of his sultanate was twenty-six years.

Verse.

For this reason this heart-entralling palace became cold.
Because when you have warmed the place, they say to you
Rise¹

And the prince of poets² (*on him be mercy*) says:—

³ [In all Hindustán you saw the dust of the troops of Iyaltimish]

Look now drink your wine, others walk in his plain]
It is the same Dehlí one would say, yet where is his victorious canopy?

It is the same kingdom at all events, where has that royal dignity of his gone?

The earth is a house of mourning, and mourns too for its own sake

At the time of the birth of that child whom they see weeping.

It is a well known story that Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín was a man of a cold temperament, and once upon a time he desired to consort with a pretty and comely girl, but found that he had not the power. The same thing happened several times: one day the girl was pouring some oil on the head of the Sultán and shed some tears upon the Sultán's head. He raised his head and asked the cause of her weeping, after a great deal of hesitation she answered: I had once a brother who was bald like you and that reminded me of him, and I wept. When he had heard the story of his being imprisoned it became evident that she was the own sister of the

¹ Nizāmī.

² Mír Khusrú Dehlaví. A few translated selections from the works of this poet will be found in Elliott, Vol. iii. p. 523, and a notice of the poet historian at p. 67 of the same volume. His full name was Yamínu-d-Dín Muḥammad Ḥasan, he is said to have left behind him some half million of verses. He was born in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.) and died in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) but according to the *Atash Kada* his death occurred A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351).

³ Not in MS. (A).

Sultán, and that God *be he glorified and exalted* had preserved him from this incestuous intercourse. The writer of these pages heard this story from the lips of the Khalifah of the world, I mean Akbar Shah *may God make Paradise his kingdom* in Fathpur and also in Lahore, one evening when he had summoned him into the private apartments of the capital and had conversed with him on certain topics, he said, I heard this story from Sultán Ghíyásu-d-Dín Balban and they said that when the Sultán wished to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].¹

69.

¹ The words in brackets are not found in either MS. (A) or (B).

End of 1st Fasciculus

NOTE.

This page will be reprinted in the next Fasciculus, and may be discarded in binding.

Sultān, and that God *be he glorified and exalted* had preserved him from this incestuous intercourse. The writer of these pages heard this story from the lips of the Khalifah of the world, I mean Akbar Shāh *may God make Paradise his kingdom* in Fathpur and also in Lahore, one evening when he had summoned him into the private apartments of the capital and had conversed with him on certain topics, he said, I heard this story from Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban and they said that when the Sultān wished to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].¹

69.

SULTĀN RUKNU-D-DIN FIROZ SHĀH IBN SHAMSU-D-DIN

Who in his father's time had several times been in charge of the districts of Budāon, and afterwards had received the canopy and staff of authority, and while holding the country of Lahore was his heir-apparent, succeeded to the throne by consent of the authorities in the aforesaid year,² and Malik Tāju-d-Din his secretary³ wrote this congratulatory ode in honour of his accession —

All hail to the everlasting kingdom,
 Above all to the king, in his heyday of youth,
 Yaminu-d-Daulat Ruknu-d-Din
 Whose door became like the Rukn-i-Yamāni⁴ from its auspiciousness.

When he ascended the throne, he opened the doors of the treasury, and gave full scope to his taste for rioting and wantonness and indolence and sloth, and used to spend his precious hours in the company of prostitutes and vagabonds.

When thy heart inclines towards the wine shop
 Except the tavern keeper⁵ and the musician who will
 praise thee.

¹ The words in brackets are not found in either MS. (A) or (B).

² 633 A.H.

³ MS. (A) omits *و* before *جیاد*.

⁴ The south corner of the Ka'aba, a spot of special veneration to pilgrims. Burton's pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca, III, 162. Hughes Dict. of Islām, 548. See also Muir's Life of Mahomet, II. 36, note.

⁵ *كُو* text MS. (A) *كُو*.

And his mother Turkān Khātūn,¹ who was a Turkish slave girl, having gained absolute power, used to vex the other concubines of the Sultān against whom her envious heart burned, in various ways, and put to death Qutbu-d-Dīn the eldest son of the Sultān by another concubine. The treasury became empty, and

70. Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh the younger brother of the Sultān, who was ruler of Oudh, refusing to acknowledge his authority revolted against him, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn² and Kabir Khān Sultānī governor of Multān, and Malik Saifu-d-Dīn feudatory of Hānsī, entering into correspondence with one another raised the standard of opposition. Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh had arrived in the neighbourhood of Mansūrpūr and Tarāyan with the intention of quelling this disturbance, and before this occurrence Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Junaidī the Wazīr and Agent of the territory of Hindustān, fearing the Sultān had fled to Kilūgharī³ and had gone in the direction of Kol and joined hands with Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sälārī; and other trusty Amirs who had remained in the army having fled from the vicinity of Mansūrpūr went to Dehlī and having sworn⁴ fealty to Razziyah Khātūn who was the eldest daughter of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and his heir apparent according to her father's will, and a woman endowed with excellent qualities, brave, generous, and intelligent, raised her to the throne and imprisoned Turkān Khātūn. When the Sultān having returned from the army, arrived at Kilūkhari, the troops of Sultān Razziyah went out to meet him, and having seized him without fighting imprisoned him, and he died in prison.⁵ The duration of his reign was six months and a fraction.

¹ Shāh Turkān, styled Khudāwanda-i-Jahān.

² The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāqirī* says, "Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn, Muḥammad Sälārī who was the feudatory of Budāu broke out into rebellion: and in another direction Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kabir Khān Ayāz feoffee of Multān, Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī feudatory of Hānsī, and Malik Alāu-d-Dīn Jānī who held the fief of Lahor united together" and revolted. Raverty, pp. 633, 634.

³ Kilūkhari, a suburb of Dehlī.

⁴ بُرْضِيَّةٌ خَلَقُونَ.

⁵ In the year 634 H., 18th of Rabī'u-l-Awwal.

His death was probably due to violence, occurring as it did according to Minhāju-s-Siraj on the day of his seizure and imprisonment. See Raverty, p. 636, note 4.

Do not set thy heart upon the world, for it is a stranger
Like the singer who is every day in a new house.

Among the poets of that age [and the master of that time]¹
of Ruknu-d-Din was Shihāb Muhamra Badāoni² as Mīr Khusrū³
on him be mercy says in one of his opening odes

In Budāon Muhamra rises intoxicated from sleep
If there comes forth from this melody the sound of the
birds of Dehlī

And Maliku-l-Kalām Fakhru-l-Mulk ‘Amīd Tūlakī⁴ mentions
him as a master⁵ and since the speech of the modern (poets) after
the appearance of the cavalcade of the Prince of poets has be-
come like the stars at the time of the raising of the banner of
the glorious sun, and like the seven poems⁶ at the time of the
descent of the inspired revelation upon the best of men, and the

71.

¹ [] not in MS. (A).

² The name is wrongly given in MS. (A) MS. (B) and the text. The real name of this poet is Shihābu-d-Dīn ibn Jamālu-d-Dīn Mutmara (معتمرة). He was known as Shihāb-i-Mutmara. The verse here quoted should be as follows :

در مدا ران مست بُر خیزد مشهاب منمّرة
 بشنود گو نغمہ مرغان دھلی زین نوا

In Madārān Shahāb-i-Mutmara rises intoxicated
If he hear the sound of the singing of the birds of Dehlī in this
melody.

Vide Majma‘u-l-Fuṣahā, Vol. I. page 304.

³ Mīr Khusrū, the celebrated poet born at Patiālā 651 A.H. Died 725 A.H. the author of 99 poetical works (Beale) (*Majma‘u-l-Fuṣahā*) see note 4, page 68.

⁴ MS. (A) لُويکي Lūyakī We should read ‘Amīd Lūmaki. Fakhru-l-Mulk Khwāja ‘Amīdu-d-Dīn commonly known as ‘Amīd Dailamī, the panegyrist of Sultān Muḥammad Yāmīn, said by some to have been a native of Gilān, called also ‘Amīd Lūmaki. *Majma‘u-l-Fuṣahā* l. 353.

⁵ MS. (A) وچون.

⁶ The سبع المعلقات or seven poems. The well-known poems of the Jāhilīyat or pre-Islamic age.

See *Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry*, by C. J. Lyall, pp. xxxii (Effect of al-Islām on the old Poetry) and xliv. (The Mu‘allaqāt).

See also Nöldeke (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, pp. xvii and seq.).

See also Arabian Poetry (Clouston) pp. xxxi and seq.

Lord of the world on him be peace, remains concealed as by a curtain—men speak and write less concerning them, nay more they do not even possess them—accordingly in harmony with the saying, *The first comer has the best of it*, I have thought it incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the däis of evidence the excellencies of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizenship. The master poet Shihâb¹ Muhamra [Badâoni] then says as follows :—

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign.²

My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory.

I stand at the end of the row³ in the hope of obtaining a better position, having rested from all movement with the attributes of insignificance.

I have not the attributes of Alif for Alif has no crookedness.⁴
All my writing has become crooked on the page of desire.

There is the song of the nightingale, the rose is happy ; while
I am careless like the lily.⁵

¹ See note 5, page 70.

² Alif stands for 1, in the numerical value of letters, and is looked upon as having no intrinsic value, but merely serving as the starting place or origin for other numbers.

In its literal value also it is مساکن بالذات that is, it has no capability of being pronounced till it is compounded with some other sign such as ه hamza.

³ Alif must stand at the end either of a word as in باقی baqâ, or a syllable as in قامت qâmat. The Alif at the commencement has a hamza.

⁴ MSS. (A), (B) كُوئی ندارد

⁵ The lily is said by the poets not to be affected by the song of the nightingale and to remain speechless, cf. Hâfiż.

حیفست بلبلی چو من اندر چندین چمن
با این لیسان عذب که خامش چو سوسنمن

Pity it is that such a nightingale as I living in such a garden and having so sweet a tongue should be silent as the lily.

Like Alif I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten tongues¹?

Since I can seize it² while thus at rest, Why should I pursue?

Since I cannot see openly how can I follow a hidden path?

By stratagem, I can recognize no distinction between earth and heaven, although I am like the heaven in my whirling, and like the earth stationary.

I am not like water in freshness, nor like fire in sublimity, nor like the wind in sweetness, nor like the earth in heaviness.

¹ The ten tongues of the lily are of frequent mention in Persian poetry, cf. Hāfiẓ.

بسیان سوسن اگر ده زبان شود حافظ
چوغنجه پیش تواش مهر بودهن باشد

Were Hāfiẓ like the lily endowed with ten tongues
His lips in thy presence would remain sealed like the lips of the rosebud.
also

زسر و قامة مت بنشید م آزاد
همه تن گر زبان باشم چو سوسن

I sit alone utterly heedless of thy cypress-like form
Even though like the lily my body were cleft into tongues.

The lily سوسن Sūsan is of four varieties. The white variety is called Sūsan-i-āzād, see Burhān-i-qāti' s. v. سوسن; according to the Bahru-l-jawāhir its properties are those of heat and dryness and it is useful in the headaches of fever.

The Makhzanu-l-adwīya states that the word Sūsan is an Arabicised form of the Syrian Sūsānī. The article may be consulted for further information regarding the varieties and properties of these lilies. The linear leaves of the lily are compared to tongues.

² MS. (B) چون بکیوم MS. (A) چون بگیوم

The text should read—

چو بکیوم آرمیده چه روم پیسی دودجه
چونه بیننم اشکارا چه دوم ره نهانی
فلک از زعین بحیلت نشناسم ارجه هشتم
چرفک بخیره گردی چوزمین بنا روانی

I am not made out of these four elements.¹ I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety.²

My wisdom, as though incarnate, seems to have taken to praise my faults; my avarice,³ huge as a mountain, has girded its loins for taking presents.

I am become fixed in the way of avarice, not a sign of truth remains in me. The oppression of my vices has overwhelmed the mercies of the Sacred Book.

My greediness has so deceived me that the five sensual appetites have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings⁴ of the 'ashars.

My inner nature as well as my body is devoid of meditation and recollection. My eye like my ear is inclined to the singing women and their songs.

I desire brilliant speeches to fall from my tongue which is like a well-tempered sword. My pen has made me bent like a sickle⁵ in the pursuit of my daily bread.

My speech has failed me because its glory was in the relation of this story. Yes! all this loss of honour was owing to inordinate desire for bread.

I am that mean one, less than the least, who am not worth a groat,⁶ if you think me worth a barleycorn, you will not buy me for nothing.

¹ For the constitution and properties of the four elements, see *Sadīdī*, (Asiatic Lithographic Press, Edition 1244 A. H., page 7.) بجهش الار کان *Bahṣu-l-Arhān*, two of the four are light and two of them are heavy. Fire is absolutely light, air is relatively light. Earth is absolutely heavy while water is relatively heavy..... The three kingdoms (animal, vegetable and mineral) are composed of an admixture of these four elements.

² MSS. (A) (B) نه ازین چهار طبعم ز بخار پار گیند - م فضلات پار گینی ڙ ڏ لاف پار گانی

³ MS. (A) طمع

⁴ The reading of the Qur'ān, which is divided into portions called 'ashars consisting of ten Ayats.

⁵ The ڦ ڦ a bill-hook or reaping hook, is curved like a sickle and very sharp. It is also called *dās*, (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*.)

⁶ MS. (A) بجهش نیززم

Oh Shihāb it is strange that you in this road of kingly affairs
are neither the Amir of the Eight Squares¹ nor the Knight
of the Seven Places.²

You are not an angel, nor are you a devil, from what workshop
are you? You are not a sojourner nor yet a traveller,
from what court are you?

Your heart and intellect are careless of the tortures of the
grave, you have dressed yourself in Gürkhāni silk.³

You have become utterly regardless from lust, owing to desire
for license, from urgent desire, by means of false accusation
you have planted the foot of success.

Sorrow for the tulip-cheeked beloved has shut fast the door of
your wisdom. The vein of your eye has shed blood from
desire for the cup of red wine.

You are corrupt like the wind, you stand paralysed like the earth.

You are a pearl of transitory existence, a shell empty-mouthed.
With breath like the burning lightning you are the enchanter
of bad and good: with heart like a flint, you are the
whetstone of dry and moist.

Naturally with desire you revolve like the sky in its figure-
designing, from your youth hastening with greed, you are
like a child in weakness.

You carry the sorrow of the seven (heavens) and the four
(elements) in your heart, and every moment from pride you
are put to a hundred thousand devices in the performance
of one genuflection.

You are as coarse as the earth, and yet your speech is always
of the moon in the heavens; you will not reach⁴ the dignity
of a king from the station of a doorkeeper.

¹ The Wazir at chess.

"The Wazir having a straight move can be placed on all the squares which shows the great honour and advantage attached to rectitude of conduct." Bland. On the Persian game of chess, *J. R. A. S.* XIII, p. 11.

² The seven labours of Isfandiyār, see the *Shāh Nāmā* (Turner Macan) Vol. II, pp. 1126 and seqq.

³ Gürkhān, the hereditary title of the kings of the Kara Khitāi, the meaning of the title being "universal king." It must not be confounded with the title of Gurkān which was a Mongol title bestowed upon all who were allied by marriage with the house of Chingiz Khān.

See *Tūrkh-i-Rāshidi*, Elias and Ross, p. 278, note.

⁴ MS. A بوسی I prefer نرسی as in the text.

You yourself owing to frivolity have not attained even for a moment, freeing yourself from the imperfections of the world, to the religious duties at stated times.

From the advice of the holy men may you be informed at least once, that in these two worlds at any rate¹ you are famous for creating dissensions.

Perversity springs from your heart as pride springs from foolishness. Evil arises from your body as rashness does from youth.

You are the moisture of the gullet of hypocrisy, the blast of the forge of tyranny, you are the flower of the garden of inordinate desire, and the mud which befouls the reservoir of the soul.

When present you melt the soul, perchance you spring from the heat of Tamūz²; in your ode you scatter snow³ perchance you are of the breath of autumn.

You like a child seek throughout your life after vain images; from your fancifulness the sorrows of time have made you old in your youth.

Poetry is but a desire, and its metre is like the mirage which is void of water. This breath of life is grief to me, but its savour is better than the water of life.

When your desire becomes collected that fancy becomes enjoyment, when your breathing is harmonious, it becomes a scatterer of pearls.

How long this desire of the imagination? make one breath pearl-scattering in praise of that man whose equal wisdom has not seen even from the beginning.

¹ MS. (A) باری.

² Tamūz. The fourth month of the Jewish year originally sacred to the god Tammūz; see Ezekiel viii. 14 "and behold there sat women weeping for Tammūz," Tammūz was a deity of the Phœnicians called by the Greeks and Romans Adonis. The word signifies "dissolution" or "diffusione" see Gesenius s. v. תָּמֹׂם. See also Albiruni's Chronology, (Sachan) pp. 68-82. Tammūz was coincident with the sun's position in Cancer which is called the horoscope of the world because by its creation the creation of the four elements became complete, and by their becoming complete all growth became complete (Albirūni) Corresponds to our July, the hottest month of the Persian summer.

³ When any one's speech is not considered pleasing the Persians say of him كالامش بخ است. Kalamash yakh ast. His speech is ice.

The King of the throne of "Kun"¹ is Muḥammad who pitched the tent of dignity by the side of the door of the Protector (God) from the house of Ummahānī.²

He was a mortal of angelic beauty, a sky with the lowness of earth. Like the sky he was pure in body, like the Angels he was pure in soul.

He was a pearl whose place was in the treasury of God, and he was a moon whose brightness shone forth from the sky of eternity.

He was such a pearl that nothing of more value than his nature was ever produced by the medium of the elements from the sea of heaven.

He was such a moon that in every early morning the face of the star of Yaman became black as coal³ from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

So sweet tongued a prophet that the salvation of his disciples comes by faith in his words,⁴ from the eloquence of his utterances.

So eloquent in pearl-like speech that the beauty of his utterance makes the heart's blood like the hidden wealth of the mine, a royal treasure.

The brightness of the eastern sun is shamed by the beauty of his face, and the stature of the cypress of the garden is bowed before the perfect uprightness of his form.

75.

¹ In the technical language of Sūfi philosophy کن *kun* is called عالم امر 'ālam-i-amr the world of the order, or potentiality. فکان *fakāna* is called عالم خلق 'ālam-i-khalq the world of creation, or the material world.

² Ummahānī, daughter of Abu Tālib, the uncle of Muḥammad, and sister of 'Alī. The reference is to the nocturnal journey of Muḥammad called معراج *mīrāj* (the ascent) which took place from the house of Ummahānī.

When Muḥammad awoke from his Vision in which he seemed to have prayed in the temple of Jerusalem, Ummahānī attempted to prevent him from going out of the house and telling the Vision to others, thus exposing himself to mockery from unbelievers. See Muir *Life of Muḥammad* II. 220.

³ MS. (A) (B) چو شبے میاہ گشتنی. The text as it stands is meaningless.

⁴ MS. (A) بعقیدہ زبانش (زبانش) which is evidently wrong for two reasons. Firstly, because of the sense of the passage, and secondly, the تجییس between عقیدہ and مقبلہ.

By his accountanship he has adopted the way of absolute monarchy; and by his eloquence he has opened the door of auspicious government.

The attraction of secret desire, by revelation has drawn him from the expanse of the natural world to the ocean of spiritual existence.

By the good tidings of his friend, his heart became intoxicated with the hope of a meeting. The son of Abū Qahāfah¹ has drunk from the cup of his friendship.

His speeches have founded a fortress³ for the decrees of God.³
‘Umar by his justice became the builder of it, by right
government.

One, third in order,* has placed the footstep in this way, whose path to the enjoyment of this world was not obstructed by pride.

His fourth pillar was 'Alī⁵ who at the time of battle made
the face of the sun pale from the glitter of his sword.

Oh, King ! I entreat you by your friends deliver me during the whole of my life⁶ by your aid from the calamity of foolish friends.

**He who demanded from me ⁷ this Qaṣida, may his life like my
Qaṣida be ornamented with the jewels of meaning —.**

¹ Abū Bakr, whose original name was Abdul Ka'bah Ibn Abī Qahāfah. He was the companion of Muhammad in his flight to Medīna.

² *būj*. A frontier fortress. The same word is used in more recent times to signify a traveller's rest house or caravansarāi.

فضای حق را MS. (B). If we read قضای حق را we must translate "for the expanse of the truth he has founded a rampart."

* عثمان، 'Ugman the third Khalifa, who was rich and thus able to enjoy the good things of this life.

نولفقار على انكه شد كين ^{هـ} MS. (A). 'Ali the fourth Khalif whose sword Zū-l-fiqār. (See note 2 page 74), was brought by Gabriel to Muhammad from heaven, and by him given to 'Ali.

⁶ Text مهروار ہانی MS. (A) reads عمر وارہانی and MS. (B) نمر وارہانی both of which are wrong. Only the first half of the Qasida is given in the *Majma'ul Fusahā*.

⁷ Text MSS. (A) (B) have نه من زمان انکه.

The following Qasīda also he wrote, imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing the words "hair" and "ant," in a declaration of the unity of God and in praise of the Prophet, *may the peace of God be upon him.*

Although with my tongue, I split hairs at the time of dis- 76.

course, still in the praise of God, by reason of amazement, I am dumb as the ant.

¹ And in the pursuit of the fairy-faced ones with chainlike locks, through desire often have I bound fast, like the ant, my life to my waist with my heart.

And for the sake of the ant-eyed and sugar-lipped ones, in my fancy I have bored the hair of speech a hundred ways by way of trial.

That I might have a store like the ant,² in his praise I have cleft the hair into halves, and have not received one jot from any one in recognition.

Henceforth, like the ant, I will gird my loins at the door of the Incomparable one, and from the root of each hair,³ with a hundred tongues will I proclaim his gracious aid.

How can I open my lips, I that am voiceless as an ant and a fish. Nay rather will I make each hair a tongue to scatter pearls.

With this ant-like writing and these sugar-like words,⁴ by means of poetical arrangement I will split the hair in the declaration of the unity of God the discerner of secrets.

That God to whose workmanship each several hair bears witness, and all that exists, ant and fish and snake, wild beasts and birds, men and genii.⁵

He who alone is self-existent, and is not within the bounds of computation, from whose wisdom⁶ in both worlds nothing is hidden, neither the track of the ant nor the point of the hair.

¹ MS. (A) وزبی

² MS. (A) چو مژری

³ MS. (A) وز بن هرموبتوفیقش

⁴ MS. (A) لفظی چون شکراز

⁵ Insert , in text after وحش MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MS. (A) نیست از علمش

If, though as a single hair, His favour is shed upon the egg of an ant, from it there will issue in a single moment a hundred Jamshids, each one like a hundred Jamshids.

If, though as a single hair, he lets fall his wrath upon an elephant, the elephant will experience that which the cub of the raging lion suffers from the ant.¹

77. The intellect herein cannot understand, even by a hair's breadth, the reason why the offspring of the powerful lion should become the prey of the powerless ant.

In his decree there is not the space of a hair's point open to criticism, even though he should give the kingdom of a Solomon to an ant without recompense.²

By his decree, the shape of the ant and the lion are similar, and by his art the colour of hair and bone are opposites.

By his grace it is that every hair has knowledge of him, and from his equity it comes to pass that there is a³ guardian over every ant, that⁴ dust in the palm is endowed with chemical properties, and water in the sea becomes converted into pearl;⁴ that the ant appears to the eye as a dragon, and a hair of the limbs as a spear.⁵

¹ It is said that the ants attack the newly born lion cub as yet unprotected by hair and kill it. The Arabs call the ant ابو مشغول Father Busy and نبوبة م Mother Turnabout, and have some curious legends about them and regard them with somewhat of superstitious awe. They say that to see in a dream ants entering a house betokens prosperity to its owner, while to see ants crawling on the carpet betokens prolific offspring. The appearance of flying ants in a house where there is a sick person betokens his death, and on no account, they say, should ants be permitted to crawl over any one lying sick (*Haiātu-b-Haiwā*). They say also that the ant has no stomach, and that it lives upon the air it breathes, and that it never sleeps.

² See Qur'an, xxvii. 15–20.

³ MS. (A) **امد**

⁴ **قطرات نیسان** *Qatrāt-i-Naisān*. The drops of rain falling in the month of Naisān are said when received into the shell of the oyster to become converted into pearls (*Ghīyāqū-l-lughāt*). Naisān (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*) or Nīsān, was the first month of the Jewish year corresponding to the month of April, see Exodus xii. 2, xiii. 4; Albirūnī, Chronology (Sachau) 62, and seqq.

⁵ MS. (A) **مود در چشم ازدها و موى بر اعضا سنان**

Oh Thou by whose power hair and blood and bone take shape,
 Oh Thou¹ who art surety for the daily supply of food to
 bird and ant and snake and fish.

In the body of every ant there is an exact account of thy
 equity, on the point of each hair there is a boundless praise
 of thy bounty.

The eye of thy mercy provides² sustenance for every ant and
 locust. The hand of thy favour tints the hair of all both
 old and young.

The pen of thy skill shews³ that of which a manifest sign
 is shewn on the body of every ant, and appears on the end
 of every hair.

The mole on the cheek of the brides appear like spots on a
 mirror.

The hair on the face of kings appears like ants upon the
 Arghawān.⁴

By thy order it is that the stomachless ant is hungry in
 the way.

By this bounty it is that the motionless hair upon the body
 is satisfied.

¹ MS. (A) وَيْ

² MS. (A) عَيْنُ فَضْلِكَ پَایِ مُزْدَهٌ The reading in the text پایِ مود is preferable.

³ MSS. (A) (B) خَامَةً صَنْعَتْ نَمَايِدَهٌ

⁴ The Arghawān, or (Arabic⁶) Arjuwān is according to the *Makhzanu-l-Adwiya*, a tree which grows in Persia, bearing a brilliantly red flower of beautiful hue but slight odour, having a sweetish taste. It is used as a dessert by the Persians by whom it is regarded as an exhilarant, and as clearing the voice. Its wood is soft and light. [The article from which the above is extracted may be consulted for an account of its properties].

The *Burhān-i-Qāfi*⁷ states that a drink is made from the flowers which relieves the after effects of drinking, and the ashes of the burnt wood are used as a hair dye and hair restorer.

Vüllers-Lexicon Pers. Lat. states p. 81. Hac arbore designari videtur arbor Judae, i.e. Cercis siliquastrum (Linn.); cf. J. A. S. 1845, Dec. p. 467.

That the dye obtained from it is of blood colour appears from the lines in the poem (*Mu'allaqah*) by Ibn Kulṣūm, where he writes

گان ثیا بنا منا و منهم خصبین بار جوان او طلبنا

As though both our garments and theirs had been dyed or besmeared with *Arjuwān*.

78. ¹ He who did not turn away ² his head from your door even by a hairs' breadth, the ant, although tongueless, began to praise him like the lizard.³

When he like the ant became sleepless and fasting in devotion to you then without doubt with the sword of the finger he split the moon into two parts like a hair.⁴

He was a sign like the true dawn, hair-splitting in his speech. His followers were as successful as ants in opposing the scorpions of religion.

The silvery body of the seven heavens, would become (black) like ants, when he cast aside the covering from his dark locks.

¹ The poet passes on from the praise of the Almighty to praise Muḥammad.

² MS. (A) مُنْبَهِجَةٌ The metre shews this reading to be right.

³ This story is related as follows in the *Haiātu-l-Qulūb* ;—

One day the Prophet was sitting alone when an Arab came who had caught a lizard and had it in his sleeve. He asked the people who that was sitting there, they answered God's prophet; he replied, addressing Muḥammad, "I swear by Lāt and 'Uzzā that I consider you my greatest enemy and were I not under an oath to my tribe, I would certainly kill you." The prophet said "Accept the true faith." The Arab cast the lizard from his sleeve and said "I will never accept the faith till this lizard does." Then the prophet spoke to the lizard saying, "Oh thou lizard." The lizard answered him in choice Arabic saying "I am thy servant, Oh thou ornament of the Muslims." The prophet asked "Whom dost thou worship?" He replied "That God who is in Heaven and Earth, whose kingdom is in the earth and his wonders in the sea, and his marvels in the deserts. Him I worship who knows what is in the womb, and has established his punishment in the fire." The prophet asked "Who am I?" the lizard replied, "Thou art the prophet of the upholder of the world, and the seal of prophecy. He is rightly guided who believes in thee, and he is lost who denies thee." The Arab said—"I require no more cogent proof than this; when I approached thee, I had no greater enmity to any one than to thyself, but now I hold thee dearer than my life, my father and my mother." (*Haiātu-l-Qulūb* by Āghā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisi.)

⁴ See Qur'ān, Sūrah 54. "The hour draws nigh, and the moon is split asunder" (Sacred Books of the East Vol. IX). In the حیات الْقَلْوَب *Haiātu-l-qulūb* a MS. copy of which dated 25th Zul Hijjah 1087 A. H. (1676 A. D.) is before me. I find the following account of the miracle performed by the prophet Muḥammad at Mekka. "The tribe of Qoreish sought as a sign from Muḥammad the performance of some miracle; the prophet pointed to the moon and by the power of God Most High it split into two halves. A trustworthy Ḥadīṣ by Ḥazrat Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq has come down to us, relating that fourteen infidels who were desirous of working

He lived like ants upon the earth in the midst of poverty,
For this reason the heaven appeared in his eyes as inferior in
value to an eyelash.

In that place where the angels would have always cast their
wings like ants,

If he had placed his foot even one hair's breadth beyond his
abode.

¹ In intercession from the lightness of his spirit he split a hair,
So that, for the sake of an ant, intercession was not heavy to
him even by the weight of a hair.

If for the sake of an ant one fell into error, he would make
his excuse.

He remained without bounty if he was not thankful in the
least.

On that night when he caught the least glimpse of that
illuminated dwelling

Wings² grew upon him like the ant in his desire for the
infinite.

Having cast his eye upon the fat morsel of the world which
perishes like a hair, he closed the avenues of his appetite
against this turquoise-hued table,³ like the ant.

the prophet's destruction came to him on the evening of the 14th of Zül Hijjah and said to him, 'Every prophet has shewn some wonderful miracle, so this evening we desire you to shew us some great miracle.' The prophet asked what miracle they desired him to shew them. They replied, 'If you have any power from God order the full moon to divide into two halves.' Thereupon the angel Gabriel came down from heaven and said to Muhammad, 'The Lord of heaven and earth sends greeting and has ordered all things to become obedient to you.' Then the Prophet raised his eyes to heaven and commanded the moon to divide into two halves, whereupon it split into two parts, and the prophet knelt to shew his gratitude to Almighty God. All authorities relate that this took place in Mekka; and further it is related that when certain travellers arrived they said in answer to questions 'We too saw on that night that the moon was in two halves.' Consequently the infidels believed that it was a true miracle and not merely magic." He also relates that these infidels imposed upon Muhammad the task of restoring the moon to its original condition, and also of turning one-half of the orb of the moon black while the other half was bright.

¹ MS. (B) صوفی سفت.

² MS. (A) پور بہ آمد.

³ MS. (A) زین پیروزہ خوان.

- For the ants of religion he carried away so much provision
that there remained on the point of each hair an evidence
of that bounty¹ for ever and ever.
79. Oh thou Creator, I have made every hair a tongue, but yet
like an ant I complain in my heart of my voicelessness
to sing thy praise.
If thou hadst illumined the eye of the ant like the thread
of hair, without the permission² of thy mercy this caravan
would not have passed.
I am like an ant in water, or like a hair in the fire, because
this sugar-scattering mind of mine is not fit for this rela-
tion.³
I have the foot of effort in the stirrup of devotion to you
like the ant; as long as one single hair remains of me⁴
I will not desist from this endeavour.
How can my burden be in the least degree lightened apart
from thy consent? How can I gird my loins like the ant
through avarice,⁵ in the service of this one or that?
Although like the ant I have been crushed by the (iron)
hand of desire
Yet I never contemplated the slightest idea of profit or loss
apart from thee.
Since this is from thee I am happy, although my heart is
distraught and pained; my heart is like the eye of the ant
and my⁶ condition is like the hair of the heart-ravishing
one.
If the ant brought the foot of a locust into the presence of
Solomon, Shihāb would have come headlong to thy door
with the feet of his soul about his head as hair.
The ant of thy generous table O Sāliḥ showed him (Shihāb)
that path of rectitude.

¹ MS. (A) نعمت.

² MSS. (A) (B) بی جواز.

³ MSS. (A) (B) دا سقان.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) چون سور دارم یک موی من ماند.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) از حرص پیش این و آن.

⁶ MS. (A) و حالم.

O Lord! grant him protection in crossing that hair like bridge¹ over the fire

On the point of each hair of his you have a hundred favours,
for this reason that the heart of an ant is not vexed by
him by so much as a hair's breadth in the world.

Oh Lord!² keep a watch upon the enemy of the king's domi-
nions, for this is best, that he should be as a hair in the fire
and as an ant in the running water.

And he also wrote in praise of Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn Firoz 80.
imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing four things³
as follows :—

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infant-eating⁴

Does with me that which the elephant and rhinoceros do at
the time of contest.

The elephant-like sky wears away my body as does the
rhinoceros

The time like a lion takes away my patience like a wolf.

I have not the strength of the rhinoceros, and the sky is like
a fierce elephant towards me.

It displays the boldness of a lion like the old wolf of the time.
The elephant did not so treat the rhinoceros, nor did the wolf
so treat the sheep

As the lion-like heaven treated this being who is thin as
hair from oppression.

The Lion of the sky has the craft of the wolf and the strength
of the rhinoceros.

For this cause he heaps pain continually on my heart like the
load of an elephant.

¹ The Sirāt or bridge across the fire of Hell. The Sirāt or bridge crossing the infernal fire is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword and is beset with briars and sharp thorns. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of the lightning but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into hell fire.

See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art Sirāt. See also Qur'ān I, 5.

² MS. (A) خصم ملک شاه را یار ب نگاشش دار به.

³ The words کرگ karg rhinoceros, گورگ gurg wolf, شیر shir lion, فیل fil elephant.

⁴ M8. (A) هوزمان این پیر گرگ شیر خوی طفل خوار.

A maddened elephant¹ is this wolf-haired rhinoceros.
Even if mankind are like male lions still sooner or later he effects their ruin.

The sky, the overthrower of the rhinoceros, the conqueror of the lion, if, in play, like the wolf it brings against the life of Rustum a strong move like "pilband."²

^۱ MS. (A) پیل مستخت.

^۲ پیلبند A stratagem in the game of chess. See Albiruni (India) I. 183-184. The فيل or elephant it appears had the same mobility as the queen does in our modern game, that is it commanded both rank and diagonal.

There was one pawn known as the Piyāda-i-Aṣli or original pawn, which had certain privileges attached to it. It was permitted once in the course of the game to remove to any square on the board where it might inflict the greatest injury on the adversary, as by attacking two pieces at once—"forking" them as chess players call it: under certain combinations this pawn was utilised to give mate. Thus in Auhadi's Life of Khwāja 'Ali Shatranjī we find

خواجه دهقان علی شطرنجی که چون رخ بعرصه وکرت نهادی شاهان سخن را دو اسپ و فیل طرح دادی منصوبه باز خیال در پیلبند حیوت پیاده مات افتادی

"When he moved his Rukh in the Board of imagination he gave the odds of two Knights and the Bishop to the kings of rhetoric: the strategist of imagination fell into the pawn's mate from the "Filband" of confusion."

This (پیلبند) was explained to me by a Muhammadan friend, a chess player, thus: suppose the white king at his own square, and a hostile pawn on his second square guarded by Black Bishop at Q. Kt. 4, the adversary brings his other Bishop to Q. R. 4 (ch) mate, white having other moves, but none which can prevent this final move of the Black Bishop.

The Bahr-i 'Ajam gives the following definition of پیلبند.

پیلبند نام یکی از منصوبهای شطرنج و پیلبند دادن عبارت از مات کردن بکشت پیل *

Pilband is the name of a manœuvre in chess. "To give pilband" means to mate by giving check with the Bishop (Pil).

چودر جنگ پیلان کشائی کمند
دهی شاه قنوج را پیلبند

When in contest with elephants thou disengagest thy noose. Thou defeat-est the king of Qanauj with the "pilband" (Nizāmī).

The wolf of my patience casts off from him the waterproof like a lion, if the elephant of this coerulean castle has made me over to his charge like a rhinoceros.

The lion of the sky, like the elephant in colour, a wolf by a nature, takes and tears to pieces the armour of my patience like the hide of the rhinoceros.¹

Last night when the lion of the sky became elephant coloured in the hide of the rhinoceros, countless Josephs² appeared from the wolves of the heaven.

My life is in the hands of the lion, and under the foot of the rhinoceros of pain, until from the elephant bodied sky the tail of the wolf³ became evident.

81.

The claw of the lion and the horn of the rhinoceros, the tears of the elephant and the hair of the wolf.

Although these four are of use in making the amulet⁴ of heart's attachment.

Of what use are the special properties of the lion and rhinoceros and the wolf and the elephant, when that silvery cheeked one demands from me gold more than the weight of an elephant.

Since I do not possess the ferocity of the rhinoceros, the heart of the lion, and the breath of the wolf, I will go to meet my beloved with an elephant load of sorrow.

Hasan Dehlavi also says.

هیهات که پیلپنڈ عشقت

اسان اسان کشاد نتوان

Alas! that the "gillband" of thy love cannot easily be overcome.

For an excellent paper on the Persian Game of Chess by Bland, from which some of the above information is extracted, see *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1-70.

¹ This reading is in the text. MSS. (A) (B) have a different reading جوشن مبہر ز چرم گرگ سارم تار قاو.

² i.e., when it became dark countless stars appeared. See *Qur'an* XII. 1-15.

³ The morning Zodiacal light. A light which appears in the east before the true dawn. It is called also صبح کاذب *Subh-i-Kuzib* the false dawn; see *J. R. A. S.*, July, 1878; also a name of one of the mansions of the moon called also شوالہ *Shaula*. *Burhān-i-Qāfi'*.

⁴ تعریف MS. (A). An amulet made of these four things is said to be efficacious in securing affection. We are reminded of the witches in Macbeth, "Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf," &c.

In the jaws of the lion and under the foot of the rhinoceros,
and of this old wolf, my beloved one keeps me as though
depicted upon the tear of the elephant on account of
love.

My beloved with the rhinoceros-hilted sword is trotting like
a wolf, I, like the elephant, am following him with a body
thin as thread.

Afterwards the wolf in rhinoceros-like armour, the elephant-
like heaven, the lion-hunter of the sky appeared like the
torch of the king.

The pillar of the world, the elephant-conquering king with
the lion-headed mace, by whose wolf-swift horse the
rhinoceros is fiercely attacked.

The eye of the wolf of the sky is of all colours from his lion-
like mace, the hump of the rhinoceros of the earth is trodden
into hollows by the foot of his elephant.

His elephantine club empties the forest of wolves, his wolf-
swift horse¹ seizes the meadow from the lions.

His rhinoceros-like staff of office is in the heart of the wolf
of the sky, his club² like a pillar has cleft asunder
the lions.

2. From the point of his javelin, and lion-headed mace, that
happens to the wolf and elephant which happened to
the life of Gurgsār from the sword of the brazen-bodied
one.³

Oh thou from whose lion-headed mace, rhinoceros-destroyer
elephant-crusher, the tomb becomes narrow and dark for
Gurgīn⁴ like the pit of Bīzhan.⁵

¹ کوک پورہ خنگش.

² MS. (A) گز.

³ Isfandiyār at the conclusion of the seventh stage of the Haft khwān.

⁴ Gurgīn-i-Milād one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrau.

⁵ Bīzhan, son of Geo, and nephew of Rustam, was the lover of Manijeh daughter of Afrāsiyāb, Gurgīn being jealous of his prowess plotted against him and treacherously betrayed the secret of his amour, and Bīzhan was condemned to be confined in a deep pit head downwards. He was eventually released by Rustam; Gurgīn was punished by Geo, and then imprisoned. For an epitome of the story, see Atkinson's Shāh Nāma, pp. 300-324.

See Shāh Nāma, Vol. II, pp. 771-797. (Turner Macan Edition).

The reflection of thy elephant coloured¹ sword if it falls upon lion and wolf makes their eyes which are like the jujubes² of Gurgān to become like the pomegranate.

If the breeze of your lion-standard blows upon the dust of the world the maddened rhinoceros will seek shelter from the elephant, and the wolf from the sheep.

When thou brandishest³ thy elephantine mace, the lion casts away its teeth, the wolf its claws, the rhinoceros its gall bladder, and the snake its head-stone.⁴

Rhinoceros-like in attack, wolf-like in gait, lion-like in bravery, elephant-like in body is thy steed, Oh hero ! hundreds of thousands like Rustam are thy slaves.

Oh King ! in thy praise I have become more powerful than wolf and rhinoceros, lion and elephant, by the order of the Lord who rules the sky.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) بیلکوں.

² عناب 'Unnāb, Zizyphus jujuba (N. O. Rhamnaceæ), a tree bearing an oval baccate fruit of a reddish colour called in Hindustānī بیو ber, nearly allied to the Lotus of the Lotophagi, both leaves and fruit were used by the Arabian physicians. According to the *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* the fruit is useful to purify the blood from evil humours, and is of service in dry coughs and roughness of the chest and lungs, also in pain in the kidneys and bladder. The lips of a mistress are compared to this fruit. (*Burhān-i-Qāfi*).

³ MS. (A) بورگارائی.

⁴ مهرغ مار The serpent is popularly supposed to carry a stone in its head. The *Makhzanu-l-Adwiya* says:—*Hajaru-l-Haiyyah* حجر الحیة called in Persian مهرغ مار *Muhra-i-Mār* is of two kinds: one a mineral which is known as مار مهرغ *Mār Muhra*, some say that it is found in emerald mines. It has an emerald colour, inclined to black or ashy, shaped like a square signet stone; weight from one to two *mīqqāls*.

The other is an animal product which is found in the hinder part of the head of certain vipers. It is not found in all vipers, in fact it is only rarely found in any of them; when it is taken from the muscles it is soft, but in contact with the air becomes stony hard. In size it is about the size of half a shell, (cowrie) oblong in shape, ashy-coloured. Certain stones are black and hard, striped with three white stripes, others are white and soft. Some are artificial. In order to distinguish the good and true from the false, place it upon the bite of a snake, it will stick to it if genuine. If milk is poured on it, the milk becomes clotted and changed in appearance; and it is said that when some of them are placed in milk the milk does not become coagulated: and when all the poison has been extracted by the stone it falls off, refusing

Thou art elephant-bodied, lion-conquering, thy mace if it so wishes, can place the rhinoceros firmly on the head of the sky like the tail of the wolf.¹

That Wazír who to the punishment of the wolf of the sky has given his heart, like the rhinoceros and the elephant and the lion, instead of being confused.

Without the craft of the wolf, and the power of the rhinoceros, his determination strikes the head of the elephants with the driving hook² and brings sparks to the eyes of the lions.

In thy kingdom, Oh King ! from the strategy of thy caution the lion has laid aside its oppression, the wolf its deceit, and the rhinoceros its disorder through fear of thee.

Oh thou, whose order is like the decree of fate, thou from whose dignity the Emperor like Fate overcomes the rhinoceros, the wolf, the lion and the elephant.

83. Skin, and horn, and hair, and tear, of wolf, rhinoceros, lion and elephant will be of use in the way of life, and heart, and nature; and speech.

to adhere any longer, and does not coagulate milk. Whilst it is extracting the poison its colour changes, and when it is thrown into milk it returns to its original condition.

Another test is, when you rub it upon black or blue woollen cloth the cloth becomes white, if rubbed very hard for a long time the cloth becomes black and all whiteness disappears.

Another test: When it is placed in a porcelain vessel in lemon juice, it begins to move in a circular fashion. This test is not peculiar to this stone, but most shells and snails too, shew the same phenomenon. (*Makhzanu-l-Adwiyya*).

The *Bahru-l-Jawâhir* says only

جبر الحية حبر الغاذزهار ما هو ثقيل اسود و ما هو رمادي
و منه ما فيه ثلث خطوط

Hajaru-l-Haiyyah. The stone Pâdzahr (*Bezoar stone,*) some kinds are heavy and black, some are ashen-grey, and some have three stripes.

¹ See note 3, page 115.

² مکوک MS. (A). The hook or goad with which elephants are driven called in Hindi *अंकुष* *Ankus*.

For your armour and shoes, when did the wolf-natured sky
select tears and skin from the elephant and lion and
rhinoceros?

For that purpose again and again,¹ this old wolf from the
elephant and lion and the rhinoceros, brings as an offering
its hide and skin and teeth as a present of rare value.

The she-wolf drives away the he-lion² as a good omen,
If in hunting it comes in sight of your rhinoceros-conquering
elephant.

Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badāon,
Even though these regions are the abodes of the wolf and
rhinoceros and the lion.

As long as the lion and the elephant are co-partners in awe,
and the wolf and the rhinoceros are alike in writing³ so
long may your wolf-crafty enemy, Oh rhinoceros-destroyer
and elephant-like in strength,⁴ be humbled in the dust
before the lion of your portico.

May your enemies bereft of life become like the lions and
elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the
stony line in the public baths.⁵

SULTĀN RAZZIYAH BINT SULTĀN SHAMSU-D-DĪN

Came to the throne in the year 634 H. (1236 A.D.), and followed
the path of equity and the principles of justice; set in order the
affairs which had remained in confusion, and set before her the pur-
suit of beneficence, (which is as great a fault in women as stinginess
is in men) as the object of her ambition, and made Niẓāmu-l-Mulk

84.

¹ MS. (A) نونو MS. (B) has تونو.

² Text and MS. (B). MS. (A) has در سکون. To sight a jackal when going
to the chase is considered a good omen, a snake or a sheep is considered a
bad omen. The she-wolf is held to represent craft and cunning while the
lion represents strength. The meaning seems to be the triumph of stratagem
over force.

³ مگر and مگر. These words are exactly alike in writing.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) بیل! بستاد.

⁵ The custom of ornamenting the walls of the public baths with frescoes
of animals and other subjects obtains at the present time in Persia, as it did
in ancient in the public baths of Greece and Rome. The walls and ceilings
of the baths at Pompeii are an example of this.

Jundi (Junaidi) Chief Wazir,¹ Antagonism and strife shewed itself among the Amirs, and Sultān Razziyah formed an excellent plan, and threw these disloyal Amirs into confusion so that they fled in all directions, and she having selected certain of them for punishment put them to death,² and Niżāmu-l-Mulk retired to Sir Mūr³ and took up his abode in the secret place of death, and Khwāja Muḥazzab the Deputy succeeded him in office. The kingdom of Razziyah gained considerable power, she despatched an army to relieve Rantambhūr,⁴ which, after the death of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, the Hindūs had invested continuously, and liberated the Muslims from their captivity, and Jamālu-d-Dīn Yāqūt, the Abyssinian, who was Master of the Horse, became her confidant and trusted adviser, to such a point that Sultān Razziyah whenever she rode horse or elephant used to rest upon his arm or shoulder.⁵ He became an object of envy to the Amirs, and the Sultān Razziyah came out from the curtain of chastity⁶ and wearing the garments of men, regardless of propriety, used to wear a tunic and *kullāh*⁷ when seated on the throne to rule the kingdom. And in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.) Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Iyāz, Governor of Lahore, displayed hostility. Sultān Razziyah proceeded against him and having reduced him to obedience added Multān also to his *jāegir*,⁸ and in the same year she brought up an army against

¹ See Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, p. 104 and seqq. *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī* states on the contrary, that Junaidi refused to acknowledge her. She accordingly issued orders for his arrest, but he became aware of this and went into hiding, eventually dying in the hills of Sir Mūr Bardūr.

² Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī and his brother Fakhrū-d-Dīn were taken prisoners and put to death. *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, p. 640.

³ MS. (A) در کوہ سرمهور رفتہ در کوہ سرمهور رفتہ Retired to the hill country of Sirmūr.

⁴ The fortress of Rantambhūr in the province of Ajmīr, 75 miles south-east of Jaipūr, see p. 92, note 4.

⁵ The text has بُزُي او می کرد but this is a misprint for بُزُی او بُزی او می کرد which is the reading of the MS. (A).

⁶ In the MS. (A) we have the following از پردہ برآمد came out of retirement, that is simply abandoned the habits of *purdah-nishīni* generally imposed on Muslimān ladies. This seems the better reading (see Raverty, p. 642, note 3, with reference to this subject).

⁷ The قبایل qabā and کلاؤ *kullāh* were a tunic and hat worn by men.

⁸ After making over Multān to Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn, Sultān Razziyah returned to the capital on the 19th of Shābān 637 H. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*).

A *jāegir* was land held in fief, generally bestowed as a reward for some service.

Tabarbhindah, and on the way the Turkī Amirs witnessing her immodest behaviour, rebelled, and seized both Sultān Razziyah and Jamālu-d-Din Yāqūt the Abyssinian, who had risen to be the Chief Amir,¹ and confined them in the fortress of Tabarbhindah.²

Seek not fidelity to its promise from the indolent world.

For this old woman is the bride of a thousand lovers.

³ There is no sign of faithfulness to promise in the smile of the rose.

Lament, Oh heart-reft nightingale, for here is cause for complaint.

SULTĀN MU'IZZU-D-DĪN BAHRĀM SHĀH⁴ IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN.

Next succeeded to the throne, and came to Delhī. At this time Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Altūniyah⁵ the ruler of Tabarbhindah having espoused the Sultān Razziyah, and having gained over certain of the Amirs and a body of the Jats⁶ and Khūkhars, and all the land-holders, brought an army towards Delhī. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, sent the Malik⁷ Balban the younger (who eventually became Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn) with a vast army to oppose Razziyah, and a battle ensued in which the forces of Razziyah were defeated. She then went to Tabarbhindah, and a second time collected her forces and rallied her scattered troops, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of Katibah⁸ with the intention of conquering Delhī, and again being defeated at the hands of the

¹ Raużatu-s-Ṣafā calls him Chief Commander of troops. For subsequent events up to death of Razziyah see *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states that they put Jamālu-d-Dīn to death.

³ *Hāfiż*. Ode beginning سخت اصل میں سخت بندیدست بیبا کھ قصر.

See Diwan Hafis Rosenweig-Schwannau I, p. 30.

⁴ Son of Iyaltimish.

⁵ Altūniyah was appointed by Razziyah as feudatory of Baran (Bulandshahr) immediately upon her accession, he was afterwards made feudatory of Tabarbhindah. The account in the text differs slightly from that of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, see Raverty 647, note 9.

⁶ Elliott I. 507. Tieffenthaler II. 206.

⁷ Malik Baḍru-d-Dīn Sankar Rūmī had become Amir-i-Hājib on the death of Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn. He was the patron of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban for whom he obtained promotion to the dignity of Amir Akhūr. The account in the text tallies with that given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, but see Raverty 648, n. 2.

⁸ Kaithal Skr. Kapisthalā. Lat. 29° 48' 7" N., Long. 76° 26' 26" E. 38 miles distant from Karnāl, and about 100 miles N. W. of Dehli. See Hunter, *Gas.* vii. 309.

- Malik Balban the younger, took to flight and both she and Altūnīyah fell into the hands of the Kawārs¹ and were put to death by order of Sultān Bahrām Shāh.

This event took place in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.),² and the duration of the reign of Razziyah was three years six months and six days.

A head which the neck carries loftily
That same head later finds a rope round its neck.

- When the sovereign power was firmly established in the hands of Sultān Bahrām Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Din Ītkīn who was formerly Hājib and was married to a sister of the Sultān, and had got all the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands by the assistance of Nizāmu-l-Mulk Muhazzabu-d-Din, being accustomed always to keep a large elephant tied up at his door, like a king, was murdered in the year 638 H. together with Muhazzabu-d-Din Wazīr, by certain Fidāis,³ by the orders of the Sultān, and in this year the Sultān dealt with a party composed of Amīrs and chief men, and leading nobles, and grandees, and judges who used to hold secret meetings to discuss a change of monarchy and the appointment of a new king. Some of them he put to death, and

¹ The printed text and MS. (A) and MS. (B) all have کواران Kawārān. There is some little uncertainty as to the identity of this tribe. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says "Sultān Razīyyah with Malik Altūnīyah fell captive into the hands of Hindūs" (See Raverty's translation page 648 and note 3.)

It seems probable that the Kawārān here spoken of were a tribe of Jāts otherwise known by the name of Gaṭwārāns. They are mentioned by Elliott, as holding villages in Gohana, in Sonipat Bangar and in the Doāb on the opposite side of the Jumna (see Elliott, *Races of the N. W. Provinces of India*, Vol I. page 126).

² 638 A.H. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. There is a confusion here in the dates.

Firishta says that the armies met on the 4th Rabi'ul Awwal 637 A.H., and that Razziyah and Altūnīyah were put to death on the 25th of the same month. As Razziyah came to the throne in 634, 637 would seem to be the correct date but see Raverty, p. 648, note 2.

³ فدائی چند is the reading of MS. (A). Firishta says "two Turks in a state of (feigned) intoxication." دو ترک بصورت مسنان Minhāju-s-Sirāj writes. p. 192, Cal. Text دو نفر ترک صست را بر سر فدائی از بالای قصر فرو فرستاد. He sent two intoxicated Turks, after the manner of Fidāis, down from the roof of the palace. A Fidāi is one who voluntarily and cheerfully undertakes any enterprise which he knows will cost him his life. (*Burhān-i-Qāfi'*) see Raverty *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* p. 651 n. 7.

some, as for example Badru-d-Din Sangar Amīr Hājib¹ he sent to Bādān where they died in prison. Among them was Qāzī Jalālu-d-Din Kāshānī, whom they removed from his military command and appointed Qāzī of Bādān, and Qāzī Shamsu-d-Din the Qāzī of Mārhīra² they threw under the feet of an elephant in the same way.

And in the year 639 H. the troops of the Muḡūl Changīz Khān came and invested the city of Lahore, and Malik Qarāqash the Governor of Lahore fled one day at midnight and came to Dehli, where the Sultān pledged the Amīrs anew to fealty, and having summoned a conference sent Nīzāmu-l-Mulk³ Wazīr, who at heart was not friendly to the Sultān, to oppose the Muḡūl force in the Pānjāb. He, with craft and hypocrisy wrote a letter to the Sultān and made many complaints of the Amīrs who were with him, and begged the Sultān to come. The Sultān, however, not thinking it advisable to go in person, wrote a despatch to him in apparent sincerity, saying, "those recalcitrant Amīrs shall meet their punishment in due time, you should treat them with civility⁴ till then." He shewed that despatch in original to the Amīrs and brought them over to his side, and the Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh sent Ḥażrat Shaikhū-l-Islām Khwāja-i-Khwājagān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Bakhtyār Uṣhī,⁵ may God sanctify him, to the Amīrs to put

87.

¹ Who had been appointed Amīr Hājib when Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn was murdered.

² The MS. (A) reads قاضی شمس الدین قاضی مرہڑہ را نہ پای فیل which reading I follow. Ferishta writes

قاضی شمس الدین و قاضی قصبدہ مار ہرہ را در پای فیل انداخت

Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī gives the details of this circumstance and states that it was brought about by the machinations of a Darwesh who was jealous of Qāzī Shamsu-d-Dīn and had sufficient influence over Bahrām Shāh to compass his enemy's death.

He calls the town *Mihir*. (Raverty 657 and note 4), MS. (A) has مرہڑہ Marhiṇa.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states that the Sultān nominated Malik Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ḫusain ibn 'Alī Ghūrī, together with the Wazīr the Khwājah Muḥazzabu-d-Dīn for this purpose, and that the letter referred to in the text was written by him. (See Raverty 657, 658).

⁴ MS. (A) توابید که تا انزمان با ایشان مدارائی بکنی. Carrying into effect the maxim بادوستان تلطیف با دشمنان مدارا.

⁵ See Raverty, p. 658, note 2. Quṭbu-d-Dīn Uṣhī after whom the Quṭb minār of Dehli is called died in 633 H. See Raverty 622, note 6.

See also page 92, note 2. This was another man Saiyyid Quṭbu-d-Dīn.

matters straight and to quell the disturbance, but without success; the Shaikhū-l-Islām returned and came to Dehli, and just at this juncture Nizāmu-l-Mulk and the Amīrs also arrived and besieged the Sultān in Dehli,¹ and taking him captive imprisoned him, and after a few days despatched him to the next world² and set up another king in his place.

The times of old have had this habit
To take from this man and give to that.

The duration of his reign was two years and one month and fifteen days.

SULTĀN ALĀU-D-DĪN MAS'ŪD SHĀH IBN RUKNU-D-DĪN FIROZSHĀH

Having been released from prison by the consent of his uncles Sultān Nāshiru-d-Diu Mahmūd and Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, the sons of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, became king at the end of the year already mentioned (639 H.), after that 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban³ (the elder) had occupied the throne for one day and had issued a proclamation. None of the Maliks or Amīrs had been satisfied with this arrangement and reverted to Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and appointed Malik Qutbu-d-Dīn Hasan as Deputy, and Malik Muhazzabu-d-Dīn Nizāmu-l-Mulk Wazir of the kingdom, and in the year 640 H. the Amīrs of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd put to death Nizāmu-l-Mulk the Wazir.

One should not desire brief kingship like that of the rose
For a torrent speedily breaks down a bridge.

The Wazirship was conferred upon Şadru-l-Mülk Najmu-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, and Malik Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger who had at first been called Ulugh Khān and afterwards attained the dignity of Sultān,⁴ became Amīr Ḥājib and in succession to him

88. the governorship of Nāgor and Sind and Ājmīr was conferred

¹ On Saturday the 19th of Sha'bān 639 H. The siege lasted till the month of Zī Qa'dah (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 659).

² On the 13th of Zī Qa'dah 639 H.

³ Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, see Raverty p. 775 and 660, note 1.

⁴ Malik Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khān and made Deputy of the kingdom and leader of the troops in the year 647 H., but was deprived of his office in 650-51 H. He was Amīr Akhūr till 642 H. when he became Amīr Ḥājib.

See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 298.

permanently upon Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Balban, the elder, Budāon was conferred upon Malik Tāju-d-Dīn; and in this year 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughā Khān who had advanced from Karrah¹ to the neighbourhood of Lakhnautī sent Sharfu-l-Mulk Asha'ri to the Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn with a written despatch, the Sultān then sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour in charge of the Governor of Ondh² for 'Izzu-d-Dīn Tughā Khān who was in Lakhnautī, and having brought both his uncles aforementioned out of confinement, assigned the district of Qanauj to Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn, and Bahrāij to Malik Nāshiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, who acquitted themselves in those districts to his satisfaction. And in the year 642 H., the Mughūl forces³ arrived in the district of Lakhnautī, the assumption is that the Mughūls must have come by way of Tibat and Khitā, and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn sent Timūr Khān Qarā Beg⁴ to the assistance of Tughā Khān and the Mughūls were defeated. Hostility arose between Tughā Khān and Malik Qirān,⁴ Tughā Khān came to Dehlī, and Lakhnautī remained in the hands of Timūr Khān.⁴

¹ The printed text has **کرہ** ! but MS. (A) has گرہ which is correct. Karrah is on the right bank of the Ganges Lat. 25° 41' N. Long. 81° 21' E. (see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*) Vol. VIII. Before Akbar's time Karrah was the seat of government.

² Qāzī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāsānī (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāshirī*).

³ This is an error which has according to Raverty been handed on from author to author. The way the mistake originated is pointed out by him in his note 8 on p. 665.

The original reading was **کفار جانگو**, *Kuffār-i Jājnagar* which by some strange perversion became **کفار حبکر خان** theence to **کفار چنگز خان** and so to our author's statement.

Jājnagar or Jājpūr on the Baitarānī river in Orissa, capital of the province under the Lion Dynasty, the Gajpati or Lords of Elephants (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. 219 n. 1.) (see *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. VII., and *Stat. Acc. of Bengal*, XVIII. 85-89).

The **کفار جانگو** Infidel hordes of Jājnagar were of course Hindūs and not Mughūls, hence the assumption in the text to account for their presence before Lakhnautī is as unnecessary as it is absurd.

⁴ The real name of Timūr Khān Qarā Beg as he is called in the text, is Malik Qamaru-d-Dīn Qirān-i-Timūr Khān and he is the Malik Qirān referred to a line or two later. In other words Malik Qirān and "Timūr Khān" are one and the same person. In the text **فیران** is a misprint for **قیران** MS. (A). See also Raverty 666, n. 9.

In this year the Mughūl army¹ arrived in the vicinity of Uchh and assaulted it, and the Sultān proceeding by forced marches with all possible speed, reached the banks of the river Biāh, and the Mughūls raising the siege of Uchh took to flight; the Sultān on reaching Delhi took to arresting and putting to death to such an extent that the Amīrs and nobles turned against him, and agreed to summon Malik Nāṣiru-d-Din Maḥmūd ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn from Bahrāij, and upon his arrival at Delhi in the year 644 H., they threw Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Mas‘ūd into prison and he speedily exchanged that confinement for the prison house of eternity.

This is the way of the changeable world.

In kindness it gives and it robs you in wrath.

89. The duration of his reign was four years and one month.

SULTĀN NĀṢIRU-D-DĪN MAḤMŪD IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN IYALTIMISH

Succeeded to the sovereignty in the year 644 H. (1246 A.D.) and the Wazirship was conferred upon Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger, who was in reality great, and was the slave and son-in-law of the father of Nāṣiru-d-din.²

At the time of his accession great largesse was given, and the poets recited many congratulatory odes from some of which the following verses are taken—

¹ 1244 A.D. This was really a Mughūl force, under the command of "the accursed Muṇgūtah" (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*). •

² On the 23rd of Muharram 644 H. (1246 A.D.).

His reign extended to a period of four years, one month and one day (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

³ Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish was born at the Qaṣr Bāgh in Delhi in the year 626 H. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

It will be remembered that he was the second son of Iyaltimish to bear the name of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, which was given him upon the death of his elder brother (see p. 94) in 626 A. H. (see *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Cal. Text p. 201, l. 18.)

He was a man of quiet and retiring disposition and spent most of his leisure in making manuscript copies of the Qur'ān. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*) thinks that this faculty "possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance on the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters" (p. 125).

That great Lord who is a Ḥātim in generosity and a Rūstum
in energy.

Nāṣir-i-Dunya wa-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Iyāltimish.

That great world conqueror, the roof of whose palace is the
heaven.

In the height of his dignity this lower sphere is his vesture.

How can we measure the glory the *Sikka* acquires from his
auspicious titles.¹

Or how compute the exultation of the *Khutbah* at the mention
of his happy name.

The records of his equity and his laudable qualities are evident
from the book called *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*² which was composed in his
honour.

The Sultān entrusted all the affairs of the kingdom to Ghiyāṣu-
d-Dīn Balban and in giving him the title of Ulugh Khān said, “I
deliver into thy hands the reins of absolute authority, beware lest
thou commit thyself to any evil action,³ for tomorrow thou wilt be
at a loss in the presence of Almighty God and thou wilt bring
shame upon me and upon thyself.” The Sultān himself would
generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion,
and reading the Qur’ān and in repeating the sacred names of God
may He be glorified and exalted; and it is currently reported
that on the occasion of a public audience he used to clothe
himself from head to foot in regal apparel, while in private he used
to wear an old ragged garment; and they also say that he used to
devote his time to the copy of the Qur’ān which he was writing,⁴

90.

1 His titles as given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* were :

As Sultān-i-A’zamu-l-Muazzam, Nāṣiru-d-Dunyā wau-d-Dīn, Abū-l-Mu-
zaaffar-i-Maḥmūd Shāh ibn-i Sultān Iyāltimish Yamīn-i-Khalīfatu-llah Nāṣir-i-
Amīri-l-Mūminīn.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Minhāju-s-Sirāj was written in his court and
dedicated to him : hence its name.

2 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Minhāju-s-Sirāj is a general history up to 658 H.
composed by Abū-Umar Minhāju-d-Dīn Uṣmān ibn Sirāju-d-Dīn al Juzjānī.
See Elliott II, 259. An English translation by Major Raverty has been pub-
lished in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

³ ذهاب کاری بد نکنی

4 Ibn-i-Batūṭa states in his history (French edition, Vol. III, p. 169).

وكان ملكا صالحاً ينسخ نسخاً من الكتاب العزيز ويبيعها فيقات بثمنها
وقد وقفني القاضي كمال الدين على مصحف يخطه متقن محكم الكتابة

further that he used to write it himself in private so that no one might recognize his handwriting and buy it for more than its fair value, and he used to sell (these) in the Bāzār. They relate also several other strange stories about him, which resemble the narratives regarding the rightly directed Khalifs—among them I have seen it written in a book that one day his wife was complaining of not having a servant, and she said “Whenever I bake bread for you my hands get burned and blistered.” He wept and replied, “The world is passing away, bear your toil for these few days for God Almighty on the morrow of resurrection (*we trust in Him and believe in Him*) as a reward for this labour, will surely give you a Hūrī to wait upon you, as it is, I cannot possibly buy a slave girl for you from the public funds. His wife too, agreed to this.

The world is but a dream in the eyes of the vigilant,
A wise man does not set his heart upon a dream.

And the Sultān in the month of Rajab in the year of his accession, took an army towards Multān¹ and in Zūl Qa'dah having crossed the river of Lahore (Rāvī) and having appointed Ulngh Khān as leader of the forces,² sent him towards the Jūd hills³ and the country round Nandanah, and he himself halted on the banks of the river Indus. Ulngh Khān having punished that part of the country brought it into subjection, and having given a lesson to

C' était un souverain pieux : il copiait des exemplaires du livre illustre (le Korán), les vendait, et se nourrissait avec le prix qu'il en retirait. Le Kâdhî Camâl eddin m'a fait voir un Koran copié de sa main, artistement et élégamment écrit.

¹ We find, بنيان Baniān in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâqîri* (Raverty 677, notes 5, 6.) but both MSS. (A) and (B) read Multān.

² مقدم الجیش * Also in MSS. (A and B), but this must be a copyist's error for مقدم الجیش.

³ The Kohi Jūd (See Rennell's Map Koh-i-Jehoud) is apparently a part of the Salt Range, Lat. 32° Long. 71°. Bâber states that the tribes of Jūd and Janjûhah descended from a common ancestor, are the ruling races of the district and of all the tribes between the Sind and Bahrah. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 405, note 2).

Tieffenthaler (I. 105), places Nandanah or Nandanpour (forteresse en briques sur un montagne) between the Behât and the Indus it must have lain somewhere near the line Jhelum to Peshâwar.

the Khūkhars¹ and other contumacious tribes, joined the Sultān and returned to Dehli, and in the year 645 H., having taken Mīwāt² turned his attention to the country of the Doāb, and the same year having sent Ulugh Khān from the confines of Karrah to oppose and overthrow the rebels of that district, arrived at Dehli with great spoil.

And in the year 646 A.H., he proceeded against Rantanhūr, and having punished the seditious tribes of those districts he returned, 91 and in the year 647 H., he married the daughter of Ulugh Khān.

Then in the year 648 H., he took an army towards Multān, and after some days Malik ‘Izzu-d-Din Balban-i-Buzurg, the Governor of Nāgor, withdrew his foot from the circle of allegiance and rebelled,³ but when the Sultān proceeded thither, he begged for pardon and joined the Court.

And in the year 649 H. he marched in the direction of Gwāliār and Chaudēri and Mālwa, and Jāhir Dev⁴ the Rāī of that

¹ Khūkhars, see Tieff. I, 104 and 105, Le district des salines est habité par les Khocares ce sont ceux qui tirent le sel des mines, c'est un nation qui à quitté l'idolatrie pour embrasser le mahométisme. See also this volume, p. 67, n. 3.

² Text and MS. (A) میوات Mīwāt. This place is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, it is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (I. (Jarrett 307) as the place to which Nāṣrat Khān fled from Dehli when it was seized by Iqbāl Khān, some 150 years later than the events recorded in the text.

Tieffenthaler, Vol. I, p. 211, Mēvāt est un canton assez étendu, borné par les provinces de Dchlī et d'Adjmere et par les Districts de Djépour et de Dik. It extends "north and south from Badshāpur to Harsana, 47 miles, and east and west from Dik to Narnol, 57 miles." Alwar is about the centre of it now.

Tieffenthaler goes on to say "Cette contrée est habitee par beaucoup de Mahométans qui etaient ci-devant gentils. Elle appartenait auparavant aux Afghans dans le tems qu'ils regnoient a Dehli. La Gouvernement passa ensuite aux Mogols. Maintenant le Djat (Jats) s'en est approprié la plus grande partie et une partie est tombée au pouvoir du Rājah de Djepour (Jaipūr) qui en a expulsé beaucoup d'habitants mahométans.

He speaks of the abundance of Nim (*Melia azadirachta*) and Sissoo (*Dalbergia sissoo*) trees, and praises the cattle and horses of the country.

He speaks of Narnol the capital city of the district, as having formerly been populous and flourishing. See also Remell's Memoir (1788), p. 75.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says this occurred in 649 H., which is more probably correct, as it is the account of a cotemporary historian.

⁴ This Rājā is called in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Chāhar Ajārī, he was independent sovereign of Narwar in A.D. 1246 (644 A.H.) under the name of Chāhar Deva, his coins bearing the inscription श्री चाहर देव. He was a very powerful Rājā (see Thomas 67 et seqq.: and Rāvorty 690 note 1.)

country with five thousand cavalry and 200,000 infantry came out to meet him and gave battle to the Sultān in great force, but was defeated and the fort of Narwar¹ was taken. And in this year Sher Khān Governor of Multān, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban who had left Nāgor with reinforcements for him reduced the fortress of Uchh, and Sher Khān remained in the fortress, while Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban came to pay his respects to the king, and received from him as a *jāegir* the districts of Budāon and was given the title of Kashlū Khān.

And in the year 650 H. (1252 A.D.) he left Dehli intending to proceed to Lahore, and from there he went to Multān and Uchh, and in this expedition Kashlū Khān accompanied the Sultān as far as the river Biāh.

And in the year 651 H. marching from Dehli, he detailed forces to act against Tabarhindah and Uchh and Multān of which Sher Khān had lost control, and of which the Sindhis held possession; and having regained possession of them, handed them over to the charge of Arsalān Khān and returned. And in the year 652 H. having assembled an army on the confines of the country at the foot of the hills² of Bijnor, and having crossed the Ganges by

¹ Narwar.—In the *Ain-i-Akbarī*, we find the Sarkar of Narwar as having 500 Cavalry, 20,000 Infantry. Narwar itself had a stone fort (*see also* Raverty 690, note 1).

In the text بُرُور is a misprint for نور MS. (A).

Narwar. Tieff. I. 175 gives a sketch plan of the fortress of Narwar and a long description from which the following note is abridged.

A town of moderate size about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile long and ten in breadth, protected in his time (about 1780 A.D.) with stone walls, but formerly unprotected. Latitude 25° 30' N. Longitude taken from the Islands of the Blest 93° 24'. (Cf. *Ain-i-Akbarī* [Jarrett] III. 60.) Houses well and substantially built with flat roofs.

It has four gates, and there was a Christian family of Armenian stock who had built a palace, and a chapel where a Jesuit father said mass. The fortress was built upon a mountain having two peaks or spurs running parallel North and South.

He considers it must have been impregnable in old times before the invention of gunpowder "pour le malheur du genre humain et la ruine des villes."

A good supply of water is furnished by a large tank paved and flanked with stone. He also speaks of a magnetic iron ore from which they procure iron by smelting for export in various forms, and a flint of a whitish colour and marvellous hardness used for flint locks.

² Of Bardār and Bijnor (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*). In the text instead of

the lord of Miāpūr¹ and hugging the skirt of the mountain, reached the banks of the river Rahab,² and having taken much booty and made many prisoners, giving themselves up to rapine and making prisoners,³ invaded the country of Kaṭīhar⁴ going to Badāon and from thence to Oudh, and hastened to the capital. And after some time news arrived that certain of the Amirs, namely Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and Arsalān Khān and others, in concert with Malik Jalālu-d-Din, the brother of the Sultān, had commenced hostilities in the vicinity of Tabarhindah. The Sultān thereupon marched from Dehlī, and in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah and Kuhrām and Kaithal,⁵ by the intervention of a party of Amirs, the Amirs agreed to peace, and with many protestations and oaths suing for pardon came into submission to the Sultān; and the Sultān conferred upon Malik Jalālu-d-Din the Governorship of Lahore, and proceeded to the capital. And in the year 653 H. the feelings of the Sultān underwent a change with respect to his mother Malika-i-Jahān. He gave Qutlugh Khān, to whom Malika-i-Jahān was married, a jāegīr in Oudh,⁶ and a short time after turning against him also⁷ sent him to Bahrāij. He took fright at this and came to the hill country of Sir Mūr, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān and certain other Amirs made common cause with him and laid the foundation of revolt; the Sultān

کوہ پایا بجنور لشکر مہجور which is manifestly wrong I read کوہ پایا لشکر مہجور as in MS. (A).

¹ Here again the printed text is hopelessly wrong. MS. (A) reads as follows:—

واز آپ گنگ بگذر میا پور گذشتہ و تباقات-i-Nasiri which is intelligible and tallies with Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. Where the reading جوالا پور in the text comes from, it is hard to say.

² MS. (A). The text reads تالب آپ راست رسید: see Albirūnī (India) (Sachau) II. 261: also Elliott, I. 49 as regards the Rahab.

³ MS. (A).

⁴ The Calcutta text of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri calls this کایتھر Kāethar. Our text has کتیھر (?), MS. (B) has کتھیر (!) MS. (B) کشمیر see Raverty 696, note 4.

⁵ See Elliott, II. p. 354.

⁶ The printed text gives در اورڈہ. It should be در اوڈہ MS. (A)

⁷ This should read در اندر مدت نوا نیز تغیر نمودہ not as in the printed text.

accordingly detailed Ulugh Khān Balban with a large army¹ to oppose them, and when the two forces had arrived within a short distance of each other the Shaikhū-l-Islām. Saiyyid Qutbu-d-Dīn and Qāzī Shamsu-d-Dīn of Bharāij and another party of men incited Qutlugh Khān to come into Dehli, and inspired him with a desire to possess that country;² the inhabitants of Dehli joined in this instigation. Ulugh Khān represented this at the Sultān's court, and the Sultān issued an order for every individual of that party to go separately to his own place, and Qutlugh Khān and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān after this defeat, traversed the distance of a hundred *krohs*³ in two days and came from Sāmāna to Dehli, but did not find the party

93. which had been the cause of their being summoned. Qutlugh Khān and Kashlū Khān also were separated, and Ulngh Khān following them arrived in the Sultān's presence.⁴ And in the year 655 H. the Sultān issued an order for the expulsion of certain nobles and grandes from the city of Dehli, and at the end of this year the Mughūls arrived on the boundaries of Uchh and Multān; Kashlū Khān Balban made common cause with them and the Sultān came up in hot haste against them. The Mughūls were not able to stand against him and turned back towards Khurāsān. The Sultān also raised the banner of return towards the capital and having bestowed a robe of honour upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn Jānī marched towards Lakhnauti.⁵ And in the year 656 H. (1258 A.D.) ambassadors came to the Sultān from Turkistān, and he sent them back loaded with presents, and in this year Hazrat Makhdūm Ganjshakar,⁶ may God magnify his power and exalt his

¹ This account differs from that given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. (See Raverty p. 703 and seqq.).

² تطبیع دران ملک کردن MS. (A). The word تطبیع is omitted in Calcutta text.

³ About 180 miles, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* II, p. 414, also Cann. A. G. I., p. 571.

The ancient *Krosa* of Magadh was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the *kos* of the Gangetic provinces was rather more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The Akbarī *kos* was rather less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles and this is the standard referred to above.

⁴ These Maliks (Qutlugh Khān and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān) retired towards the Siwālik territory foiled in their object (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

⁵ Compare the account in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* according to which these events took place in the year 656 H. not in 655 H.

⁶ Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-shakar was the grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, and son of Kamālu-d-Dīn Suleimān who came from Kābul to

memory,¹ left the lodging house of separation and disappointment for the home of nearness and fulfilment.

And in the year 657 H. elephants and great treasure and jewels and cloths without number, arrived from Lakhnautī as presents, and in Rajab of this year Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān Balban earning relief from the turmoil of this transitory world, hastened to the next world, and in this year Ghauṣu-l-Ālam Ḥazrat Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā² the Multānī, may God sanctify him, raised the tent of³ close union with God Almighty, and a celebrated poet wrote this couplet to record the date:

By the arrow of the love of God one was wounded (*zakhmi*)
the other perished (*khūn*).⁴

Multān in the reign of Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī. He was one of the numerous disciples of Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā, and died two years later than his master, according to Firishta (see also Āin-i-Akbarī [Jarrett] III. p. 363).

His tomb is mentioned in the Āin-i-Akbarī (I. 325) as being at Ajūdhan (Pāk Patan or Patan-i-Panjāb).

There is, as will be seen, considerable discrepancy in the dates, Badāoni gives 656 H. as the date of Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-shakar's death and 657 H. as that of the death of Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā, while according to Firishta the latter should be 666 H. and the former 668 H. The Āin-i-Akbarī gives 668 H. as the date of the death of Farīdu-d-dīn Ganj-i-shakar and 665 H. as the date of the death of Bahāu-d-dīn Zakariyā.

¹ MS. (A) **أجل الله قدّر و على ذكره**. The printed text is wrong here.

² Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā was a famous Muḥammadan saint of Multān. He was the grandson of Kamālu-d-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Qureishī who left Mecca for Khwārazm and thence came to Multān, the Qubbatu-l-Islām, and resided there, and became acknowledged by the people as their teacher and guide. Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Wajihu-d-Dīn by the daughter of Husām-d-Dīn Tarmadī and was born in the fort of Kot Karor in 587 H. He died at Delhī about the year 666 H.; while engaged in devotion in his chamber an angel bearing a sealed missive having appeared to his son Ṣadru-d-Dīn 'Arif with a command to give the missive to Bahāu-d-Dīn. He did so and retired, but returned on hearing voices in the room saying دوست بدوست رسید. "The friend has joined the friend" when he found his father lying dead.

This account is abridged from Firishta. The account of the saint given by Beale differs from this but the source of the information given there is not stated. See also Āin-i-Akbarī (Jarrett) III. 362 and note.

The tomb of Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā is in Multān.

³ MS. (A) **در جوار قدس ذوا الحلال**.

⁴ The word **زخمی** gives the date 657 H. the word **خون** gives the date 56 H. See page 133, note 1.

94. And in the year 658 H. Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd, chastised the country of Miwāt¹ and the rest of that district, and when he was fully established as Malik in the year 664 H. he fell sick and closed his eyes on the world of dreams and fancies, and went to the eternal kingdom.² He left no heir; the duration of his reign was nineteen years, three months and a few days. His tomb is well known in Dehlī, and every year crowds flock to visit it.

Verse.

Come and cast one thoughtful look upon this dust.

For it is the dust of the resting-place of trusted kings.

And of the number of those who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of Maliku-l-Kalām (Lord of Eloquence) during Nāṣiru-d-Dīn's reign, one was Shamsu-d-Dīn Dabir³ whose manifest excellencies and perfection are beyond description and need no narration and praise, and Mir Khusrū,⁴ may God sanctify him, who tested the genuineness of his own poems by the touchstone of their acceptability to that other (Shamsu-d-Dīn) used to boast of them, and in the preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* and at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* greatly embellished his words in the mention of the praiseworthy qualities and in spreading

1 The *Tubaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* Cal. Text, p. 227 reads :

خان معظم الخ خان اعظم بر طرف جبال دهلي بو اي دفع فساد متمردان
میوات کے دبیو از ایشان در هراس باشد نهضت فرمود

Khān-i-Mu'azzam Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam marched towards the hills of Dehlī to quell the insurrection of the robbers of Miwāt who would be a terror to devils.

For a full account of the province of Miwāt see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX. It includes the British districts of Muttra and Gurgāon, part of Ulwar and Bhartpur. See also page 129, note 2, of this Volume.

2 On the 11th Jamādiu-l-Āwwal; as he came to the throne on the 23rd Muharram 644 H. his reign was twenty years three months and some days, not as stated in the text. He left no issue, his only son by the daughter of Ulugh Khān having died in infancy.

3 There is no mention of this poet in either the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā* or the *Ātashkada*. There are some highly laudatory verses at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* in praise of one Abū Ḥanīfah, possibly referring to Shamsu-d-dīn.

4 Amīr Khusrū (who has already been mentioned at page 96, note 2), son of Amīr Maḥmūd Saifu-d-Dīn was born at Patiālā 651 A.H. and died at Dehlī in 725 A.H. (Beale p. 151).

abroad the excellencies of (that friend of his). And Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban having at the end of his reign appointed him Secretary for the countries of Bangāla and Kāmrūd had left him in the service of his elder son Nāṣiru-d-Dīn¹ Bughrā Khān, and these few couplets are from an ode of his.

Oh thou² of whom this work of my heart is unworthy though my ignorance ; thou gavest me last night a false promise of entertainment.

All night I kept my eyes awake³ and⁴ I did not know that that was longing of that kind which you know to be vain.
I keep my heart⁴ exercised thinking of thy face, and wondering why thy colour is so ripe and thy forehead like virgin silver.

The date assigned for his birth seems unlikely as he would only have been thirteen when Nāṣiru-d-Dīn died. The *Majma'ul Fusahā* gives no date for his birth but says his father came to Dehlī from Turkistān in the time of Changīz Khān's invasion, and obtained great distinction in the court of Sultān Maḥmūd ibn Tughlaq Shāh and was killed in a rebellion of the infidels, when his son Amīr Khusrū was appointed as his successor in his Amīrship, which he eventually gave up and acquired great skill and distinction as a poet. He died in 725 H. and was buried in the tomb of Shaikh Shakarganj (Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganjshakar see note 1, page 133).

He was the author the celebrated *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* the poem which was written to commemorate the meeting of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn with his son Sultān Kai Qubād on the banks of the Ghāgra, and of several other works (see Elliott, III. pp. 523 and seqq.).

¹ MS. (A) reads correctly سلطان ناصر الدین Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān second son of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban. He was placed in charge of Bengal after the revolt and defeat of its governor Tughral.

He married a daughter of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh by whom he had a son and successor Kai-Qubād. (See Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* 716 n.).

In Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dehlī* there is given a copy of an inscription of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd which was engraved over the doorway of the minaret at Aligarh bearing the date 10th Rajab A.H. 652, and the author mentions in rather too mild terms the wanton Vandalism which allowed a record of this kind to be destroyed in 1861.

Thomas advances the opinion that the original design for this inscription both in matter and form was the work of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn himself, (cf. Thomas op. cit. 129-130).*

² MS. (A) ای.

³ MS. (A) و

⁴ MS. (A) بخته دارم دل

95. I am overcome with idleness though it urges me on to strenuous endeavour—but there is a loose bond between me and distraction.

Do not make me prepared with (the fire of) thy love¹ since I am thy guest, because it is a great virtue to offer sacrifice of unprepared flesh.

We said “no Muslim will eat raw flesh,” but look! thy grief has devoured me raw. Is this your religious devotion.

* You call me “raw,” if I cut open my own breast, I will shew you that the heart which thou considerest raw, is ready. So amazed am I at thy beauty and the glory of the king that my imperfect work remains raw from my amazement.

Since the king is a second Khusrū, my work will never remain unfinished, by reason of the kingdom of the second Khusrū—

Conqueror of the world² and of religion, he in view of whose sovereignty the desire of Emperors for the Kingdom of Suleimān was vain.

The king Mahmūd Shāh, that Sultān from whose father’s glory the cauldron of one single³ desire, by reason of his empire, is not left unfilled.

If the Sun of his benevolence shines in the direction of the garden no fruit issues from the branches of the garden unripe.⁴

What resource has the Sky if it does not support the burden of thy dignity—how can you expect a raw baggage animal to bear a heavy load!

Thy enemy deserves this that you should sew him in a raw hide⁵

¹ MS. (A) عشق

² MS. (A) خام میخوانیم از سینهٔ خود بشکامن پخته بندایم ان دل که تو میخوانی خام

³ MS. (A) ناصر دنیا. The text has ناخبر which is meaningless and spoils the scansion.

⁴ دیگ یک ارزویش MS. (A).

⁵ MS. (A) ناید از شاخ.

⁶ This was a favourite mode of punishment in olden times: the unfortunate victim was sewn up in a raw hide which as it dried, shrunk and inflicted terrible tortures.

Vide page 12, note 2. Muhammad Qāsim, (Elliott and Dawson I. 209.)

for on the body of an inexperienced man of what use is it for you to fit a raw-hide.¹

Thy enemy bathes in blood,² instead of the collar of his garment the prisoner places on his neck every moment a raw-hide. 96.

Every deed of thine is like³ perfected gold, and those who wish thee evil are imperfect in their work from frivolity and the assurance of shame.

Thy enemy is that naked demon⁴ who has a skin made of the whole of the Earth, and that too; if you take it off him is a raw-hide.

If thou dost not spread thy table every day twice before the people, they will perforce eat raw grain, since the hand of despair from lack of bread has no other resource.

If thy enemy becomes ruined⁵ what fear is there? although he advances in a futile attack, like the lion of the flag he is helpless though impotence.⁶

Of what avail⁷ is the sorcery of Fara'un since the dragon of your standard will swallow the fictitious serpent.

Oh *Khusrū!* Shamsu-d-din⁸ is thy secretary, strong and well proved in speech—he is not like the worthless Scribes an inexperienced scribbler.

He himself is experienced⁹ and his verse is like purified gold—his words are not like the best sayings of *Khāqāni* still in the rough.

The sky has prepared a perfect kingdom¹⁰ for thee—Oh Lord

¹ MS. (A) خام بانشاني چه.

² MS. (B) agrees with the text. MS. (A) reads

غل خصم است بخون جای زد پیراءن

The textual reading is adopted with ڏ in place of ڙ

³ MS. (A) چو.

⁴ MS. (A) که از کل جهان

⁵ MS. (A) برباد.

⁶ MS. (A) بمعنی دبوث - کشخان (Burhān-i-Qāti').

⁷ MS. (A) یاره چو.

⁸ MS. (A) شمس الدین دبیر. See page 134 n. 3

⁹ MS. (A) هست اورا پخته و

¹⁰ MS. (A) بهر تو ملکت یارب The line as it stands in the text will not scan.

in thy favour grant that his perfect work may never revert to imperfection.

And the King of Kings and of Speech Amīr Fakhru-d-Dīn 'Amīd Lūmaki¹ writes in a Qaṣīda of which this is the opening couplet.

When my loved one takes² the lute, and binds the plectrum
on her fingernail

Her nail strikes Nāhid³ with a hundred wounds in the heart
through envy.

97. Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāhid at that instant.

Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that fever.⁴

Consider the henna on her nails to be like blood, which at the time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.

If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed⁵ at that,

Because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of tasting it.

Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharpness of their nails.

Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness,⁶ because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon has brought blood to its nails through envy.

Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance

¹ Fakhru-d-Mulk Khwāja 'Amīdu-d-Dīn, commonly known as 'Amīd Dailamī or 'Amīd Lūmaki said to be a native of Sannām and eulogist of Sultān Muḥammad Yāmīn.

² MS. (A) reads بُو ناخن. MS. (B) reads پورڈاڑد i.e. plays the lute.

³ Nāhid. The planet Venus زهرة, zuhra whose seat is in the third heaven (*Burhān-i-Qāfi'*, called also رقاع فلک raggāq-i-salak. (the dancer of the sky). Astrologers say that this planet is of a pearly hue, of beneficent aspect, and with the quality of excessive moistness.

⁴ از تابیران تپ MS. (A). This reading is preferable to that of the text.

⁵ ازین مشکن MS. (A).

⁶ بیاور ده بلطف مهر دلهاری MS. (A). MS. (B) is like the text.

of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shâbanshâh Nâṣir-i-Dunyâ wa-Din Maḥmûd, by whose equity the partridge with its beak has torn off the claws of the swift-flying¹ hawk.

By the fate-like oppression of his enemy he has fallen in danger of ruin,² just as one's nail is in danger in the hands of an unskilled barber.³

His head is in danger of severance⁴ by the sword of the daring, like the nail at the time of paring, in accordance with the Hadîs.⁵

¹ MSS. (A) (B) ز باز تیز تر

² MS. (A) بدمد آبده (B) is the better reading as in the text.

³ Compare the Arabic proverb. في رأس اليتيم يتعلم الحجامة. In capite orphani discit tonsor.

There is also a Hindî proverb to the same effect, which runs:—

سیکھیگا ناو کا کتیگا بتاؤ کا

The barber's son will learn and the traveller's head will be cut.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) سوش بر ذروه قتلست. The reading in the text is a copyist's error.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) جامع الاخبار. تقلیم الاظفار. تقلیم (Jâmi‘n-l-akhbâr). تقلیم الاظفار يمنع الداء الاعظم و يزيد في الرزق. we find شیخ صدوق of

"Paring the nails prevents the worst of all diseases (*i. e.*, poverty) and increases the means of subsistence." Also,

من قلم اظفاره و قص شاربه في كل جمعة ثم قال بسم الله تعالى سنة رسول الله اعطي بكل قلامه عتق رقية من ولاد اسماعيل .

'He who pares his nails and trims his beard every Friday saying, "In the name of God and in accordance with the ordinance of the prophet of God," every paring shall be counted to him as the manumission of a slave of the sons of Isma'il.'

Special rules are laid down for cutting the nails. They must be cut on Friday, and Muḥammad said, He who cuts his nails in alternate order will never be afflicted with blear eyes. It is also said in a Hadîs by Hamîd ibn 'Abdu-r-Rahmân.

من قص اظفاره يوم الجمعة دخل فيه شفاء و خرج منه داء

"He who pares his nails on Friday is filled with health and sickness leaves him." The preferable time for paring the nails is Thursday after the evening prayer. In the case of the right hand one should commence from the little finger, proceeding to the middle finger and thence to the thumb, thence to the ring finger and lastly to the forefinger. The order in the left hand is (1) Thumb (2) middle finger (3) little finger (4) forefinger (5) ring-finger.

From the dread of the falcon of his equity it behoves that they should take to flight¹ when the eagle with lancet-like talons casts his feathers and talons (through fear).

Such a quarry do they see,² that from their absence of claws and their distress, their claw demands as a loan from the small-clawed partridge its claws.

98. For this reason that in the presence of his power, the sky scratches his head for envy, and each month, because of that power, displays the body of the³ moon in the shape of a nail paring (crescent).

Compared with the perfumed dust raised by his charger the dust-like grains of the musk-bag have become valueless as the dust which is found under every nail.

You would say his arrow is a finger from the hand of victory because it appears as though his nail were like a willow-leaf-bladed soul-destroying spear.

A finger which if he so wills it, like an Indian spear embeds its nail in the mind of iron and the heart of separation.⁴

The sword of his wrath has imprinted such a scar on the cheek of his enemy as remains on the cheek of the mother from the anger⁵ of the infant.

Grudging the life of his evil-disposed enemies, lo! the boars of Fate have sharpened their tusks, and the lions of Destiny their claws.

Power of the world! when the point of thy sword scratches the hearts, it has carried away from the paws of the oppression of the dog-natured sky its claws.⁶

How can thy enemy be at all like thee, how can he approach thy dagger, whereas when he brandishes his dagger it becomes at that moment⁷ like a finger nail.

۱ چو پر ناخن. The text should read thus.

۲ چنان یینند MSS. (A) (B).

۳ MS. (B) writes چرم قمر.

۴ This line should read. نشاند در ضمیر آهن و قلب حجر ناخن. MSS. (A) and (B).

۵ Text از سوز پسر MSS. (A) and (B) have از سوز سپر which must be wrong

۶ The text is wrong, we should read برد از پنجه جور صہر سگ سیور ناخن MSS. (A) and (B).

۷ The text it appears should read انگاهی MS. (A).

If his pride so misleads him that he finds fault with you, the tip of his finger becomes as dust in his hand and his nail as nothing.¹

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world,² if there had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of the finger tip it had not been well.

If the envier of the nail of thy bravery bears a grudge against thee, perchance poor fellow it is because he does not know that the nail is poisonous.

I have brought in the word nail (*nākhun*) as *radif*³ in this poem which is like a charm. Verily it is as useful in magic, as the hair of the head or the tip of the nail.⁴

Oh king, do not desert me, so long as the spiteful heaven strikes every moment one nail upon another by way of producing the notes of my fate.

Inasmuch as the mention arose of 'Amīd, who was controller of all the states of Hindustān, it is essential to reproduce something from poems of his which are rarely met with :

Arise 'Amīd, if thy heart is not cold and dead

Leave thy love-poems, and speak the praise of the Lord of the world.

Praise the Court of Heaven, for he has raised on high many an azure dome without the irksome aid of tools ;

¹ MS. (A) و هدر ناخن

² MS. (A) بناء روی عالم

³ رديف *Radif*. The name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme but in no way essential to it. Thus in this poem the word ناخن *nākhun* is the *radif*, the rhyming letter or قافية *qāfiyah* being ئ (r). In MS. (A) these verses are in the order given here.

⁴ In Persia it is the custom to bury the parings of the nails, and the cuttings of the hair, lest some harm should happen to the owner should they fall into the possession of a malicious person with magical power. The butchers also make a hole or a cut in the blade bones of sheep for the same reason, as they are considered a powerful instrument of magic. In the list of charms given in Gaster's translation of the "Sword of Moses" we find "69, to send plagues, take (parings?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd and go out to the cemetery and there say No. 69 and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses and afterwards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house" J.R.A.S., Jan. 1896, p. 185.

He has appointed two kings (the Sun and Moon) to travel over this blue dome, and has allotted to them the planets as attendant cavaliers on all sides.

The tiring woman of his skill has displayed a hundred beauteous stars at nightfall from behind the curtain of nine folds.¹

He has ordained for the lady of the world, in Night and Day two able handmaids with the titles of Rūmī and Hindū (*i.e.*, fair and dark).

Without any shop-keeper in the small shop of the sky, he has suspended in one corner a pair of scales with two pans.²

His skill has caused the crimson anemone³ to grow upon the summit of the mountains, his bounty has caused the Sūrī⁷ and Rāhū⁷ to blossom in the garden.

1 The nine heavens, beginning from the lowest are :-

فلك القمر ١ Falak-n-l-qamar (Moon).

فلك العطارد ٢ Falaku-l-uṭārad (Mercury).

فلك الزهرة ٣ Falaku-z-Zuhra (Venus).

فلك الشمس ٤ Falaku-sh-Shams (Sun).

فلك المريخ ٥ Falaku-l-Mirīkh (Mars).

فلك المشتري ٦ Falaku-l-Mushtarī (Jupiter).

فلك الزحل ٧ Falaku-z-Zuhal (Saturn).

فلك الأبراج ٨ Falaku-s-sawābit (Fixed stars).

فلك الأطلس ٩ Falaku-l-Atlas (The plain sky).

N.B.— اطلس Means an unstamped coin)

See the *Qhiyāṣu-l-Inghāt*.

See also *Aīn-i-Akbarī* III. (Jarrett) 37, note 1.

See also Kashshāf Bib : Ind. Vol. II., p. 1134 and seqq.

2 The constellation Libra, called جرخ (tarāzū-i-charkh) or میزان (mizān). قرازوی (tarāzū-i-falak) or قرازوی (tarāzū-i-falak).

3 سویری “A beautiful red rose of an odoriferous and exhilarating flavour” (sic.) Steingass. In the *Hasht Bihisht* of Amir Khusrū, we find لب پر از خندہ چون گل سویری راهو. None of the dictionaries give this word nor can I ascertain what the flower is. شقاۓق النعمان *Shaqā'iqu-n Nu'mān* so called because of its redness as

being likened to the flashing شقیقۃ of lightning or from the sense of “blood” as resembling blood in colour so that it signifies “pieces of blood,” (Lane) s. v. شقیقۃ

*At one time with the point of the compasses of his bounty
he has limned the form of the month : at another with the
pen of his favour he has delineated the two eyebrows.

The face of day by his bounty has become a blaze of whiteness 100.
The locks of the night by his skill have become a marvel of
blackness.

The kings of the earth¹ with submission and humility, in
search of honour have rubbed their faces in the dust of
his threshold.

Every month has its moon upon the plain of the sky, at one
time curved like the *chaugān*,² at another round like the ball.
So just is he, that at the time of dispensing justice he has
never injured any one even an hair's breadth by oppression.
That one who sought his food in the heart's blood of grapes
he made on the morrow black with disgrace like the cheek
of the plum.³

The partridge with its (weak) claws could attack a hundred
hawks if so many heads of ants give such power to the
partridge.

The morning breeze bestowed out of his all-encompassing
bounty upon Chīn and Khatā⁴ the perfume of the bag of
the musk deer.

Hear from me oh friend, since you have heard the declaration
of unity, a piece of advice to hearing which both your ear
and mine are attentive.

Beware of giving an ear to the sound of the strings of the harp.
Beware of turning your attention to the flagon fashioned of
earth (wine flask).

Those who in this way live on good terms with their lovers,
such as you, do not say, Where is one of that company ?

مُجَازِيٌّ (Salāṭīn-i-majāzī) So-called kings, as opposed to
سَلَطِينٌ حَقِيقِيٌّ (Salāṭīn-i-haqīqī) true kings, i.e., the prophets.

چوگان² According to the *Burhān-i-Qādī*⁴ this name is given to any stick
with a bent end, especially to the bent stick with which they play the
“duhal” and “naqqāra” (kinds of drums). Also applied to a long pole
with a curved end from which is suspended a steel ball as one of the insignia
of royalty. Here it is a “polo” stick.

³ Wine is forbidden to Muslims by their religion, Cf. Qur'ān, II. 216 and
V. 92.

* 4 طَحْخَن Khatā Cathay vid. D'Herbelot, II. 431 Khathai.

Do you yourself behold every morning, for the dove on the garden bough by its song of Kū Kū¹ bears witness to this beneficent one.

101. Cast thine eye upon the ground that thou mayest see poured out there many a friend of kind aspect, and many a sweet-natured loved one
 Do thou 'Amid again lay hold of the thread of confession of unity
 And hang it upon the rosary of thy prayers as it were pearls.
 Oh Sovereign Lord ! world-possessing Deity who art ever-living
 Yet without (the intervention of the vivifying) spirit,² and eloquent without a (material) tongue.

کو کو ۱. The song of the dove, Where ? Where ?

رُاعِي
 آن قصر که بر چرخ همی زد پهلو
 بردگـ ۲ او شاهان نـ اندـ دـ ی دـ
 دیدـ دـ کـ بـ رـ کـ نـ گـ وـ اـش فـ اـ خـ ۳
 آوازـ هـ مـی دـ اـ کـ کـ اوـ کـ کـ (Omar Khayyām).

You palace towering to the welkin bne
 Where kings did bow them down and homage do
 I saw a ring dove on its arches perched
 And thus she made complaint Coo. Coo, Coo Coo (Whinfield).

The pious Muhammadans in India say that the ringdove's note is سبـحـانـ تـيـرـيـ قـدـرـتـ سـبـحـانـ تـيـرـيـ قـدـرـتـ. Subḥān tērī qudrat, Subḥān tērī qudrat. Praise be to Thee for thy power.

² روح Rūh is the vital principle the "breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7) as distinguished from the نفس nafs or conscious manifestation of life, or the consciousness itself. Thus we find in the Qur'ān XV. 29.

وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوحِي
 wa naftu fihi min rūhī, "and breathed into it of my spirit;" and again in Qur'ān V. 116.

إِنْ كُنْتَ قَلْنَةً فَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ نَعْلَمْ مَا فِي نَفْسِي

In kuntu qalnuhu fagad 'alimtahu ta'lamu mā fi nafsi.

"Had I said so verily thou wouldest have known it, thou knowest what is in my soul."

It is said in a tradition that God created Adam and put into him a نفس nafs and a روح rūh.

It would seem as though the word نفس nafs connotes the same idea as the word mind, using this word in the sense of the phenomena produced by

By thy order three daughters have come forth from the soul ¹
Without the pangs of childbirth, and without the intermediary
influence of a husband.

Compared with thy ancient order what is Kisrā ² and what
is Qaiṣar

In face of thy decree what is the Khāqān and what is Halākū ?
Without thy command no ant can draw a single breath
of its own will,

Without thy knowledge no sleeper turns from one side to the
other.

the action of the دُوْج *rūḥ* or vital principle upon matter: the highest form of matter, with which we are familiar, namely, the nerve structures of the human brain, admits of certain phenomena which in their totality we call mind: the existence of a higher form of matter capable of higher manifestation than those which come within our present experience is obviously possible. A force apart from matter may, for anything we know, exist in a way that we cannot figure to ourselves for want of some example. Such a force self-existent would be دُوْج *Rūḥ*.

¹ These three daughters here referred to are the three divisions of نفس *nafs*. نفس *nafs*, is by Arabian metaphysicians divided primarily into two divisions (a) نفس لعقل *nafsu-l-aql* which is also called **النفس الناطقة** *annafsu-n-nātiqah* the reason, mind, or discriminating faculty and (b) نفس الحياء *nafsu-l-hayāt* the breath of life.

The first of these is again sub-divided into two, that which commands and that which forbids: thus they say قلآن يوامر نفسيه *fulānum ya'āmiru nafsiyah* *nafsaihi*. Such an one consults his two minds, i.e., weighs the pros and cons.

See Lane article نفس and دُوْج, also *Ghiyāṣu-l-lughāt*, and *Kushshāf* art. نفس.

² **کسری** The Chosroes. **قیصر** Cæsar; an Emperor.

خاقان A Turkish word meaning Emperor. The name given to the Emperor of China and potentates of Chinese Tartary. (See de Courteille *Turk. Orient. Dict.* خاقان). Khāqān. Originally the title Qaān was given to the supreme sovereign of the Mognis, while the subordinate princes of the Chaghatai and other Chingizi lines were styled only Khān.

After a time the higher Qaān lost its peculiar distinctive dignity and was used by many besides the sovereign (see *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross), p. 30 n. 1).

هَلَّاكُو Halākū, descendant of Changiz Khān.

Although I like a harp am hump backed and head downwards,¹
 Yet in the assembly of thy hope I play the air of Yā Huwa.²
 On that day when out of awe of thee all the assembly of the
 prophets own their allegiance on bended knee,
 Oh Lord do thou of thy clemency bestow upon me, wretched
 man that I am, forgiveness, for I am defiled with disobedience
 and engulfed in it on all sides.

His also is the following in praise of the prophet *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*³

I fashion now a garment of song the embroidery of whose sleeve, flows gracefully from the⁴ adornment of the soul
 as the ornament of its divine Creator

102. I choose the path of thy forming by the ornament of straightforward praise,
 Because the two worlds are an indication⁵ of the embroidery
 of its sleeve;
 Rose of the garden of the prophetic office, than whose spikenard⁶

¹ The word جنگ chang in its original sense means bent or curved, hence it means a hook, and especially the hook called also "gajak" كيچ with which elephants are driven. Another secondary meaning is the bent hand and fingers of man, or the claws of animals and talons of birds. Also the name of a musical instrument (*Burhān-i-Qāfi*). The جنگ was played with a plectrum called زخمة Zakhma, and from its description as كوز Kūz and سرنگون sarnigūn was like the عود 'ud of the Arabs, and very similar to the mandolin of our times.

² ياهوا. Yā huwa. An invocation to the most High—equivalent to "My God and my Lord."

³ These words are not in M.S. (A) which has no introduction to the poem. MS. (B) has وله قصيدة في النعوت.

⁴ MS. (A). بجرود (B). بجرود MSS. (A) and (B) حناءه.

⁵ سنبيل Sumbul (*Nardostachys jatamansi* N. O. Valerianaceæ) νάρδος, or spikenard of the ancients, a perfume held in high esteem. (S. John xii. 2).

In the *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* it is stated that there are two kinds of Sumbul—Sumbul-i-Hindi, and Sumbul-i-Rūmī.

It is laxative and a tonic to the brain.....useful in dropsy, in flatulence and as a haemostatic in metrorrhagia.

The perfumed sumbul is the variety called Sumbul-i-Hindi while the Sumbul-i-Rūmī is also called Nardin.

See also *İbnü-l-Baitar* (Sontheimer), Vol. II., pp. 58 et seqq.

the morning breeze has never borne from Chin to Mâchin¹
a rarer odour from the fragrant musk.

Head of the created beings of the world, by whose glorious
advent, the heaven has brought forth a pearl of great
price from the shell as an offering.

The heaven has placed its two standards firmly planted in the
seventh of its citadels, throughout the length and breadth
of the world in the five stated times of prayer²

His onyx-like³ eye has not cast one glance upon the signet of

¹ Cf. Tieffenthaler III. 107. Abul Feda (Reinaud) II. II., 122. D'Herbelot Vol. II. Art Khatâi. Mâchin or Mahâ Chin see *Āin-i-Akbarî*, II. 118 and note 2.
"Japhet is credited by Orientals with the paternity of Chin who received the Celestial empire as his inheritance and begot Mâchin his first born."

² The phrase **نوره مسدس** means literally the six-sided oven-shaped (world).
The six sides or divisions of the world are—

عالی‌الانسان, *ālamu-l-ins*, the world of mankind.

عالی‌الجن, *ālamu-l-jinn*, the world of the jinn or genii.

عالی‌الملاکة, *ālamu-l-malâ'ikah*, the world of angels.

عالی‌الحيوان, *ālamu-l-haiwân*, the animal world.

عالی‌النبات, *ālamu-n-nabâ'at*, the vegetable world.

عالی‌المعادن, *ālamu-l-ma'âdin*, the mineral world.

The five stated times of prayer are known as—

فجر *fajr*, **ظهر** *zuhûr*, **مغرب** *maghrîb*, **عشاء** *ashâ* and **مغرب** *maghrîb*.

The two standards **علم** *'alam* are the sun and moon, cf. Qur'ân, XXXVI., 38, 39.

³ M. S. (A) reads **جزع عش**. His onyx-like eye, &c.

This must be taken to refer to a saying of the prophet Muhammad "The cornelian for me and the onyx for my enemies." According to the *Nukhbatu-d-dahr* (p. 69), he said this "because the onyx causes its wearer to become ill-tempered, rash, precipitate, and litigious.....There are several varieties of onyx.....the best is that in which the markings are of equal breadth.....The whiteness of the onyx increases as the moon waxes, and diminishes as it wanes. The onyx softens when boiled in oil, sparkling and emitting light.....The people of China (صين) where the onyx is found, will not approach the mines on account of the unluckiness of the stone, so that only the poorest class will work there.

One property possessed by the onyx is that of curing scald-head in children; it also acts as a sialagogue causing them to dribble when it is hung round their necks."

See also Lane Art. **جذع** where it is stated that the wearing of an onyx in a signet induces anxiety, disquietude of mind, grief and terrifying dreams.

Solomon¹ because there is the stamp of his seal upon everything from the moon above to the fish below.²
 Fate and Destiny are his guardians, Eternity and Hope his helpers,
 Earth³ and the time are his advocates, angels and heaven pledged to him.
 His lip is honey and his cheek a rose, what an advantage to both worlds,
 His gulangabin⁴ (confection of rose and honey) relieves the tremor of disobedience,
 The mouth of the shell is full of the pearls of his pearl-like words,
 The belt of the horizon is bejewelled with his widespread faith,
 The prosperity of the body of the faithful is in his left hand, and the good fortune of the face of those who follow the path of his religion is in his right hand.
 The pages of the seven heavens are but an atom of his being, The two worlds, compared with the stream of his might, are but a sweat drop from his forehead,
 The tongue of a green lizard⁵ is one of the marks of his seal, The web of the spider was a curtain which concealed his relation,⁶

¹ Solomon's power lay according to tradition in the signet of his ring, on which was engraved the "most mighty name."

See Lane Arabian Nights introduction n. 21 and Chap. i. n. 15. This stone was supposed to shew Solomon every thing he wished to know.

See D'Herbelot art. Solimān.

² Called بهمهوت Yahmūt upon which the world is said to rest. *See page 152, n. 2.*

³ MS. (A) زمی و زمان گلنگیین

⁴ The properties of the rose are said in the *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* to be laxative, expectorant, and anaphrodisiac : while honey is said to be a light dew which falls upon flowers and is collected by bees, it is hot and dry in the second degree. It relieves dimness of vision and is a stomachic tonic, is a laxative and expectorant. *Sadīdī* further says that honey is beneficial to old men, but injurious to youths and people of hot temperament, is aphrodisiac when heated with pulp of roses, and cures the bites of snakes and of dogs. Neither book mentions its use in the treatment of tremors specifically, but *Sadīdī*'s statement that it is good for old men may refer to senile tremors.

⁵ This line should read. سچلش به سماری رقمی سو بربان

In the moon-bedecked heaven, one glance of his cleft the heart of the moon the beloved of the sky into two halves as though it were a piece of cloth.¹

Both beasts of prey and birds have girded the loins of faithfulness to him.

Both young babes and old men have opened their lips in his praise.

The rose and the thorn of fragrant flowers are the fruits of his love and kindness.

The (sweet) sugar and the (bitter) colocynth are both reminders of his love and wrath.

The garden, in submission² to his creative power, like the violet has scratched its cheek (with vexation), Look! there is a blue mark upon its jasmine cheek.

His body is composed of spirit of divine sanctity, which is the purification of³ the spirit of the human. One cannot reach to his essential constitution, for his composition is of light.

note 3, for the story of the lizard. When Muḥammad was fleeing from Mekka to Medina in company with Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, his father-in-law, they came to a cave in the Jabal Ṣaur and took refuge in it from their enemies. In order to conceal their whereabouts a spider was directed to spin its web over the entrance, which led the pursuers, who had followed them thus far, to conclude they had not entered the cave.

Haiātu-l Qulūb. See also Muir's Life of Mah. II. 257 *note*.

Compare the following lines by Ya'qūbu-l-Manjātīqī, quoted by Ibn Khalliqān.

إِيَّاهَا الْمَدْعِيُّ الْخَارِدُ عَنِ الْفَخْرِ لَذِي الْكَبِيرِيَاءِ وَالْجَبَرُوتِ
نَسْجٌ دَادَ لَمْ يَفْدِ لَيْلَةَ الْغَارِ وَكَانَ الْخَارِدُ الْعَنْكَبُوتِ

Oh thou who art so vain glorious! leave glory to him who is the lord of might and of power

David's weaving would have been of no service on the night of the cave
The honour was all given to the spider.

See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane), Vol. IV., p. 375.

According to another account immediately after Muḥammad and Abu Bakr had entered the cave, an Acacia tree grew up at the entrance and a pair of pigeons had already nested in it, while a spider's web closed what remained of the entrance. D. Herbelot II. 231 *art.* (Hegrah).

¹ MS. (A). *چو قبراء*.

² MSS. (A) and (B). *چون از نیاز خلقش*.

³ MSS. (A) and (B). *که صفت روح انسی*.

When Barāq the lightning fleet came under his stirrup he leapt towards the highest heavens so that the curved crescent moon was like the hinder part of his saddle.

When his courser trod the face of the plain of the earth he placed his foot in such a way that the heaven became like the earth to him.

One step of his reached to the extremity of the earth from the house of Ummahāni,¹ the second step reached to the Sidra² from the earth like the angels.

The orb of the sun, the untamed steed, was led along in his cavalcade.

The moon having stamped a brand upon its quarter with its horseshoe shaped crescent.

Consider the goodness of his nature in that for our sakes in the next world, he has long pleaded the cause of his followers with a heart full of pity.

Wisdom, by his favour, is drawn out from the well of superstition by the rope of the cord of Chastity³ which was his mighty title

104.

Asad Ullah leaving his lair, with his polished spear has torn out the heart of the envious cur-hearted ones like the tongue of a dog.

A band⁴ like the ants of the ground travelling fast⁵ along a path slender as a hair.

Shining like the lightning from the brilliancy of the torch of his religion.⁶

A band (of men lost) like a hair which has fallen into heaven⁷ by reason of his wrath fell into the fire from the bridge, with their waists bound like the ant in their hostility.

¹ See note 2, page 105. See Qur'an Sur. XVII.

² A tree in the seventh heaven having its roots in the sixth : " After that I was taken up to Sidratu-l-Muntahā and behold its fruits were like water pots and its leaves like elephants ears " (Mathew) Mishkātu-l-Muṣābiḥ, Vol. II. p. 694.

See also Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*. (Sidratu-l-Muntahā).

³ جبل عصمت MS. (A) (B) Qur'an Sur. III. 98.

⁴ MS. (A) گردشی This alludes to the Muslims.

⁵ MS. (A) پروانہ.

⁶ MS. (A) شمع دینش.

⁷ MS. (A) and Text بخمریں MS. (B). These are Kāfirs, infidels.

On the surface of the board of his sincerity who can raise his head in deceit¹ since not even the heaven survives the throw of his two dice.²

Seven pillars are established by his four friends, for the seven heavens which are firmly fastened to the pole.

Of these four stars³ there are two conjunctions both of which are fortunate. The Moon and Jupiter⁴ are in conjunction, each one with its own partner.

In the two ears of the four elements how happy is my earring.
From the two earrings⁵ sprang eight Paradises with the
two lights which give sight to the eyes.

'Amid has devoted his powers in all directions to sing his praises, if perchance the good and bad of his words may gain some currency.

How can I boast of my descent, here, when I from my heart supplicate the intercessor of the day of judgment whose religion God approves.

From the embroidery of my eulogy, what legality⁶ is evident,
in my magic? It is like wine whose pure brilliancy is
enhanced by the crystal cup.⁷

From the sugarcandy of his sayings the lips of the parrots

دعا ۱ MS. (A) (B).

² MS. (A) (B) كعبيتين ٨٥ نـ چـ رـخ Ka'batiuin. The temples of Mekka and Jerusalem.

⁸ The first four Khalifs the “rightly-directed.” MS. (A) reads دو قران.

⁴ Both the Moon and Jupiter are fortunate. See Ibn Khaldūn Proleg: (De Slane) II. 217 and seqq.

⁵ دو نور، Their eight children. هشت جنت دو قرطہ ; Hussan and Husain. 'Ali and Fatima.

⁶ See Ibu Khalliqān (Slane) III. 344 n. (8). Magic was held to be unlawful except the magical effect of eloquence such as in poetry which is called **اسْحَرُ الْحَلَالِ** *As-saḥru-l-halāl*. Hāfiẓ says,

معیز سمت این شعر یا سحر حلل

هاتف آورد این سخن یا جبرئیل

Is this poem a miracle, or is it lawful magic?

as a heavenly messenger brought this message or was it Gabriel himself?

See Hughes' Dict. of Islam article Magic, also Lane sub voce ~~sorcery~~.

⁷ This couplet is omitted in MS. (B).

MS. (A) reads چو پیاله شد معینش.

are imbued with sugar as though from the tray of eloquence they have eaten the crumbs of his wisdom.

105. What person am I, what parrot am I, I that sing these verses ?
When I sing his praise it is like the buzzing of a fly. May the breath of the parrots of my soul not fail for a single moment from the singing his praise and proclaiming his triumph.

ANOTHER QAŞIDA.¹

Oh thou from awe of whose order the heaven is bowed in submission, the proclamation of thy might is this, Thou standest alone thou hast no companion.

Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, thy dominion is the dominion of uprightness.

Thy empire is no changeable empire. Thy rule is not a divided rule.

The rays of the brightness of thy holiness are the portrayers of the sun and moon. The recluse of thy kingdom is in the highest altitude of Simāk reaching even to Samak.²

At one time thou givest to the partridge of the day wings and feathers of fiery hue, at another in the liquid cage of the heavens thou makest the moon-tailed pigeon of the night³ as an angel.⁴

Thou hast broken the cup of the moon at the head and foot of each month.⁵ Thou hast bound thine all-encompassing contemplation around the star Parak.⁶

¹ MS. (A) has the words **أیضاً**. *Aīzān lahu* Also by him.

² The fourteenth house of the houses of the Moon. There are two Simāks one As-Simāku-r-Rāmī, the lance-bearing Simāk (Arcturus); and the other As-Simāku-l-A'zal, the unarmed Simāk (Spica Virginis.) Both of these are in the feet of the constellation Leo. The word Simāk is said by the Arab commentator on Ulug Beg to denote great altitude, in derivation from the root Samaka to rise, to be exalted. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) Vol. I. note 11.

Samak, the fish, which is below the Earth bearing on its back a cow which bears the earth on its horn. (*Ghiyāzu-l-Lughāt*).

³ مَدْبُو Burhān-i-Qāfi'. A bird having claws, with a black and white tail from which they make feathers for arrows : Also a pigeon all black with a white tail.

⁴ MS. (A) reads **غلک** which seems to have no meaning. The text reads **ملک** with a variant **غلک** which we find in MS. (B).

⁵ Both in the new moon, and in the last quarter, the moon has a defective form; crescent or decrescent.

⁶ پُرک Parak. The star Canopus. *Burhān-i-Qāfi'*.

Thy power is the gardener, the four quarters of the earth
are his tilth. Thou hast cast around that as the shelter of
an eyelid, the bounty of the seven oceans.¹

From the midst of the oven of the east, thy order bringeth
forth the loaf of gold of the west after the silvery loaf.²

In the garden full of thy skilled works, the hand of the tiring
woman of the morning-breeze rubs on the rouge of adorn-
ment like the beauties³ do over the patches.⁴

The rose with the mark of the mole on its cheek, displayed
its buds. Like the cheek of the beauty the moon displays
its face from the heavens.⁵

On the extremity of the plain of spring, issuing from the door
of thy creation, the tulip sits with a shield, the willow
stands with its arrow.

The jasmine and the rose proclaim thy skill with lip and
cheek.

Thy care preserves the sugar of the confection with salt.⁶

Except thy eternal existence how can any caravan arrive at
secondary existence?⁷

In the eye of truth there is *kuhl*⁸ (of ornament), in the eye

¹ These are according to the *Burhān-i-Qāfi‘*.

بَحْر جُرْجَان، بَحْر طَبْرِيَّة Baḥr-i-Jurjān, Baḥr-i-Tabariyya.

بَحْر نَيْطَس، دَرْبَى رُوم Daryā-i-Nīṭas, Daryā-i-Rūm.

دَرْبَى مَغْرِب، دَرْبَى چِين Daryā-i-Maghrib, Daryā-i-Chīn.

بَحْر خَوازِم، Baḥr-i-Khwārazm.

² MSS. (A) and (B) read حَبَك.

³ MSS. (A) and (B). تُرک مَثَال.

⁴ خَالٌ - حَبَك "A patch" for the face (*Burhān-i-Qāfi‘*).

⁵ I read here حَوْن رَخْ تُرک مَكَّهُ او روی نماید از فَلَك. This seems the best reading. Both MSS. (A) and (B) lend countenance to it. The reading in the text is impossible.

⁶ That is to say the sweet lips of his beloved are so piquant that it seems as though they were tinged with salt. Conserve of roses is called پاروارش *parvarish*.

⁷ قَدَم (qidam). Existence from all eternity. For هَدْوَس (hudūs) see note 4, page 1.

⁸ The كَحْل *kuhl* was used as a collyrium. مِيل كَشِيدَن (*Mil Kashidān*) is to put out the eyes. مِيل *mil*, called also مُلْمُل *mulmul*, is the boskin or style used for applying the *kuhl*.

of infidelity and doubt there is the probe (of destruction). Whoever has the inscription on his ring in accordance with thy way¹ verily is saved, but whoever has on his forehead the brand of opposition to thee verily he is lost.

In the glory of thy approbation why should any one take to craft? Why should the saw of Nūh ibn Lamak² cut down every tree?

The parrot of my life at the remembrance of thee has remained safe from the snare of grief,³ just as in the ocean of Jupiter the Fish is safe from the net.⁴

Like an Ethiopian and a Greek, the day has taken away from thy threshold a gold embroidered mantle, the night has despoiled thee of a dress distinguished by a plumed⁵ cap.

One draught of thy kindness is equal to the display of several rows (of cups).

A morsel of thy favour is for the accountants⁶ several laks.

107. As long as thou drawest him as by the end of the cord, no one turns away his face from the door. It were better that the neck of the heaven should be in the noose of the Milky-way.

Thy wrath drives out the pride of tyrants⁷ from their heads, by means of the point of the sting of a mosquito⁸ not by the advanced guard of an army.

¹ MS. (A) reads مهش but this is an error.

² نوح بن ملک. The text and both MSS read نوح بن لمک. See Genesis

v. 28-30. Noah the son of Lamech; also Gen. vi. 14.

³ زد غم MSS. (A) and (B). The text reads wrongly زد غم

⁴ When Jupiter enters the constellation of Pisces he is in the ascendant.

⁵ فلك كلک Text کل کلک (B) [MS. (A)] کل کلک

⁶ کلاہ پردار=kulah-i-pardar. (*Burhan-i-Qâsi*).

⁷ مل جو بده MSS. (A) (B).

⁸ حباب را جباره MS. (B) [MS. (A)] حباب را Text جباره.]

⁹ پشش MS. (A)

In the *Nâsikhû-t-tawârikh* of Lisânû-l-Mulk we find the following account of this incident:—

"The cause of the death of Nimrod was this, that after despairing of his ability to burn Abraham, in consequence of his protection by the Almighty, the idea of entering into conflict with the Most High entered his head, and

If the drops of the bounty of thy nearness distil upon the palate of my heart say to the clouds of supplication "Do not rain" and say to the tear of hope "Do not fall."

I am fulfilled with thy bounty like a pearl in the cloudy weather.¹

Not like the wine flask which comes forth from the assembly after yielding the benefit of its fulness.²

I have attained the dignity of eloquence from thy consent.

By thy help it is that this joyful sound³ has been placed in my hand by destiny.

How long shall I utter cries of grief round the carpets of Emperors, because at thy door there is a sustenance-gaining world free from vexation.⁴

Wine which gives you a headache is better cast on the ground. A carpet if it be of silk⁵ is more fit to be burnt than thorns.

he ordered Abraham to be brought before him; then turning towards him he said, Oh Abraham, bid your God to come with his army, and array himself against me in battle so that the one who conquers may have the upper hand. Tomorrow, that is Wednesday, we will arrange the battle field before this city, and test man with man.

Then having reviewed his army he came out from the city with a countless array, and drew up in line on the battle field.

The prophet Abraham came out alone and unaccompanied, in face of that vast host, and stood there. Suddenly, by the command of the Almighty, the face of heaven became darkened by a cloud of mosquitos, which are the most contemptible of all creatures, and they at once began to sting the army of Nimrûd, and put them to flight, and most of those worthless ones died. Nimrûd, on seeing this, in fear and shame turned his back upon the whirlpool of death, and fled into his fort. Suddenly a single mosquito entering after him stung his lip, and reached his brain. For forty years the mosquito fed upon his brain, after which Nimrûd died in abject misery."

As the mosquito is known to be the intermediary host of certain parasites and may be the means of conveying infective disease, there may be a substratum of truth in this fable.

¹ در غشیان MS. (A). The text reads wrongly د در غشیان

² That is to say my fulness is one which is permanent, like that of the pearl which remains hidden in the shell, not transitory like that of the wine flask which leads to emptiness.

³ حمک *khumk* literally means the sound of clapping the hands from joy.

⁴ بی کلک MS. (A)

⁵ By the laws of Islâm, cloth made entirely of silk is not permissible for use either as clothing at times of prayer, or as a prayer carpet. Cloth woven of silk and cotton mixed is permissible and is called مشروع *mashru'*.

Oh Lord, with that rose of benevolence from the exhalations
of whose excellence the olfactory sense of the angels
is refreshed while the musk of Chin remains dry as a
husk,

Let me refresh the olfactories of my soul every moment,
until I am on the brink of the grave ; that my dust may
be like a rose garden far removed from the pricking of
thistles.

The possession of sincerity, and true equity, the root of
modesty, and the secret¹ of truth, the house of religion
is founded on all of these both by bond and deed.

On the heaven of his prophecy, for the travellers along the
high road of the sacred law, each of these four pillars² is a
sign of the injunction Go on thy way and be pure.³

108 May every breath of my life be praise and glory, until the
breath of the morning, that each breath may then be a
worthy present for the soul.

Think that the pupils of my two eyes are four in affection,
(i.e., four Khalifs).

Otherwise thou wilt fail to gain Paradise, and art ready for
the door of hell.

What good will apostasy do you when 'Ali is independent
of you ? How can gold shew its perfect purity if the
touchstone does not shew the shine of it ?

What blame is it to the body of the lute if during the tune⁴
either its silken string breaks, or its bridge slips down.

Go, and open the letter of the Prophet in all sincerity, that
it may efface from your mind the suspicion as regards
"Faddak."⁵

¹ MSS. (A) (B) شیر حق.

The term رافضی *rāfiṣī* is applied by Sunnī Muslims to any of the Shi'ah
sects. See Hughes. *Dict. of Islam*. Art. Rāfiṣī.

² The four khalifs.

³ *Hadīq*. مَلِكُ اهْسَابِي كَالنَّجُومِ بِإِيمَانِ أَهْدَدِيْتُمْ My companions are
like the stars, whichever of them you follow you will be led by it.

⁴ بِنَفْعِهِ دُر MS. (A).

⁵ *Faddak* was an estate near Medina which Muhammad left to his daughter
Fatimah.

After the prophet's death Abu Bakr took it and Fatima demanded it of

And he who like the ill-omened owl¹ boasts of being a Khārijī²

him, he replied : "Thy father said that we who are prophets do not leave hereditary legacies, all that I leave is for Moslims.

نَسْنَسٌ مَعَاشُ الْأَنْبِيَا لَأَنْوَرُتْ مَا تَرَكَنَا هَا صَدْقَةً

The Shi'ahs say that Abu Bakr seized Faddak by force. The post denies this assertion in the above verse.

¹ يوم شوم. The ill-omen attending the owl is common to all countries, probably from the habit it has of frequenting ruined buildings. The Arabic proverb indicates the estimation in which the owl was held.

لو كان في اليومه خير ما تركها الصياد

Si in ulula bonum fuisset, eam venator non reliquisset. Freytag Meid. Prov. II. p. 572.

The story told by Mas'ūdī about Bahrām points in the same direction. See Ibn Khaldūn (de Slane). Prolegomenes, I. 107.

In the *Haiātu-l-Haiwān* there is a story told of Al Mā'mūn who in the course of his peregrinations one day saw a young man writing something on the wall with a piece of charcoal. He ordered his servants to see what the man was writing and it was as follows :

يا قصر قد جمع فيك الشوم واللوم متى يعشش في اركانك الابوم
يوم يعشش فيك البوم من فرجي اكون اول من نيك صرخوم

Oh palace ill-luck and curse are assembled in thee ;
When will the owl make her nest in thy pillars ?
Happy the day when the owl builds her nest in thee !
I shall be the first to announce thy downfall.

He explained this before Al Mā'mūn by saying that he was in great distress and hoped to benefit by the ruin of the palace.

² The name Khārijī was given to any one who denied any one of the true Imāms (see Cureton's *Shahristāni Mild wa Nihāl*, page 85.)

See the article Khawārij in Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*.

The Khārijī heresy was that any man of no matter what nation or tribe may be appointed Khalifah provided that he was a good man and was elected by the whole body of Moslims.

See for a fuller account of this sect. Sale's Qur'ān. Preliminary Discourse, p. 123 (Ed. of 1857) (Badger. *Imāms and Sciiyids of Omān*, Appendix, pp. 374, and seq.) (Osborn, *Islām under the Arabs*, p. 116). The last mentioned gives a full account of the origin of this heretical sect when 'Ali and Mü'āwiya met at Siffin from which the following is an extract "The valour of 'Ali was brilliantly seconded by that of his favourite lieutenant Malika-l-Ashtar, the Marshal Ney of the Arabian Army. A tremendous charge by Malik at last forced a wing of the Syrian troops to give ground. Gradually the whole line was forced back, the retreat became a rout."

However at this critical moment Amron ibn al-'Ās knowing the fanatical character of 'Ali's troops, ordered a number of Syrian soldiers to advance

compared to the confidant of the cave¹ is like the night-flying bat² in comparison with the standard of the day (the Sun). Put aside your desire of rebellion, say not a word save in respect, how can a dog contend with a tawny lion.³

What power have you to decide between the companions of the Prophet, you who from foolishness like a blind man, seek the softness of ermine from the stoat.⁴

It were better that the skirt of the time was freed by skilful management, from the impurity of those abomination-working sects before that this sound reaches their ears
*What brought you into hell?*⁵

Oh Lord! although for a long time my heart has been afflicted by the darlings of Chigil, and held fast by the rosy-cheeks of Yamak⁶

towards their line bearing copies of the Qur'an fixed to the heads of their lances. "Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow" they cried "let the Book of God decide between us."

'Ali's soldiers thereupon turned upon him headed by certain men whom Ash-Shahrastānī names, and insisted upon 'Ali recalling Malik Al-Ashtar from fighting against the Muslims "or" said they "we will assuredly deal with you as we dealt with 'Uṣmān" and insisted upon the matter in dispute between 'Ali and Mu'awia being settled by arbitration.

¹ *Abū Bakr*.—The sole companion of Muḥammad when he fled from Mecca to Medinah, cf. Qur'an ix. 40.

² إِلَّا تَنْصُرُوهُ فَقَدْ نَصَرَ اللَّهُ أَذْخَرَهُمْ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا ثَانِيَ الَّذِينَ اذْهَبُوا فِي الْغَارِ

Unless ye help him, and God did help him when these who disbelieved drove him forth the second of two, when they twain were in the cave (of Jabal Saur).

² شَبْ بَرْكِی. MSS. (A) and (B) have شَبْ تُرْک which seems to have no meaning.

³ Kizil Arslān is the Turkish for "red lion." He was son of Ildighiz the first of the Atābaks of Azar baijān whose dynasty commenced in 555 H. and ended in 622 H. Muḥammad the elder son of Ildighiz succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by Kizil Arslān who was assassinated in 587 H. (D'Herbelot) (Beale).

⁴ فَنَكٌ. *fanak*. The animal commonly known by the name دالل *dalla*, weasel or stoat.

⁵ قُرْآنٌ lxxiv. 43. فِي جَنَّاتٍ يَتَسَاءَلُونَ مَنْ أَنْجَيْتَنِينَ مَا سَلَكْتُمْ فِي سَلَقْرٍ

In gardens shall they ask each other about the sinners—what drove you into hell-fire?

⁶ *Chigil*. The *Būrhan-i-Qāti'* says: A city in Turkestān where inhabitants are exceedingly beautiful and are unequalled in archery.

Yet in the beginning of the *nūn* and *dāl* of my age (54) 109.

after the year *khā* and *nūn* and *hā* (655 H.),¹ thanks
be to God that the bird of my ambition has burst the
bonds of this net, and gone free.

I have washed my hands of the one, and have freed my foot
from the other, springing out of both snares like the clay
pellets from a pea-shooter.²

At thy footstool henceforth my constant cry is "I repent,"
my supplication is to thee, my secret thoughts and open
dealings are with thee.

Thou shewest me mercy at that time when by the intoxica-
tion of the wineskin of death both my chin and jaws are
cold and shrunken.³

When my breath is bound upon the balista of my body like

Yāqūt says: A city lying beyond the river Sīhūn in Turkestan near Turrār. Thence sprang Abū Muḥammad 'Abdīn Rahmān ibn Yāhīn ibn Yūnas Aljīlī the Khaṭīb of Samarcand in the days of Qadar Khān he died in Sha'bān 516 H.

Yamak. Name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its people. *Burhān-i-Qāfi*.

Yāqūt does not mention this.

¹ The above shews that 'Amīd Lūmākī was born in the year 601 H. The mode of reckoning is that always adopted. There does not appear to be any intended double entendre here; though the word دل which stands for 54 means good guidance, no meaning can be attached to the دلخ which stands for 655. See page 99 note 4.

² تُفَكْ *tufak* is a long tube for throwing clay balls through by the force of the breath cf. تُفَنگ. Steingass' Dict.

It is also called پُفْک *Pufuk*.

cf. English pop-gun, traced by Skeat (*Etym. Dict.*) to the base *Pu* expressive of the act of blowing. Skt. *bukk*.

پُف کردن *puf kardan* to blow out—to puff.

چراغی را که ایزد بر فروزد

هر انکس پف کند رسش بسوزد

A lamp which God has lighted.

He who attempts to blow it out burns his beard.

³ و must be added in the text after the word سکوت. MS. (A). This appears to mean that when he is at the point of death he finds mercy. The intoxication is the unconsciousness resulting from approaching death, and the retraction of the chin and lower jaw in the death struggle is believed to be the effects of the wineskin.

a missile, then the stone of the balista,¹ of death strikes my body breaking it as though it were an earthen jar.²
 Grant me a place at the banquet of thy pardoning mercy,
 At that time when the Angel of Death says to me "Take and eat,"³
 Shewing his helplessness Amid thy slave offers these verses in praise of thy excellence to the best of his power.
 Accept these few brief words from this vile cur,⁴
 For this mangy cur is a partner of your journey.
 Thy praise is written on my heart, afterwards comes the praise of the Prophet. May every word besides these be erased from my heart.

AN EULOGISTIC QASIDA.

Oh thou upon whose jasmine-like face are the countless toils of the violet-hued locks.
 By whose ruby lips the brilliant pearls are imprisoned,
 Thy locks are an armourer who every moment brings forth
 Fragrant chains to fetter thy lily-like face.

110. Thy lily face is better confined by the links of thy spikenard-hued locks.
 Bid the morning breeze as it breathes not to remove the chains (of thy hair) from thy rosy (cheeks).
 Thy mouth is like a delicate bud which bursts into smiles; Loosen the folds of that bud even if with the point of a thorn.
 Thy rose-petalled cheeks are adorned by the bonds of thy dark and fragrant locks.

¹ This appears to be the author's meaning. The convulsive breathing is compared to the jerking action of the balista.

² If we read **گزک** for **گزق** the meaning will be "strikes it with the elephant goad." There is some uncertainty about the meaning of the word **گزق**. One meaning is according to the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* "an earthenware vessel which is used for holding dates."

فتنک **گزق** **فتنق** **گزق** should be the reading. MS. (A) MS. (B) read **فتنک** **گزق**.

قُتْقَق (*qutuq*) is a Turkish word signifying any thing eaten as a relish.

گازاک (*gazak*) is the Persian equivalent of **قُتْقَق**. (*gutuq*).

⁴ This translation is admittedly inelegant, but it is inevitable.

Save on thy rose who has ever seen so becoming a bond?

Perchance thou didst say, thy face is like the rose and tulip to look upon, the fragrant down on thy cheek is like the edging of a bed of tulips.

Thy cheek was not fit for this, why does it bear its chain, like me who bear my chain in the time of the reign of this monarch.

The world conquering king Naṣīru-l-Haqq (ally of the truth), he who places upon the hands and feet of meanness a thousand fetters by his generosity.

Wālā Muḥammad Balban, who entangles rebels in the time of war, in the noose of his wrath.¹

Oh king of the age, by whose auspicious fortune the treasurer of Fate has undone the fastenings of the shell of the mine of prosperity.

Beneath the saddle of the confusion of thy enemy on the day of fighting, each girth of thy saddle becomes sixty-four² thongs to bind him.

He is like the opium, provoking quarrels and suspicion,

If his opium remains enclosed within the poppy head.³

When the aromatic odour of thy good qualities removed the bond from the wrinkled mouth of the musk bag of Tātār, ambergris gained a fresh odour⁴ from its fragrant breeze, and the rose bud too was loosed from its prison by the newly arrived spring.

111.

¹ These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above.

² شَصْت وَچار بند I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate explanation of it.

³ MS. (A). أفيونش گر بماند. The *Bahrū-l-Jawāhir* sums up the properties of opium thus قلیله ینفع و ینوم و کثیره یقتل *galiluhu yanfa' wa yanām wa kagiruhu yaqtulu*.

In small doses it is beneficial acting as a soporific, in large doses it kills.

No mention is made of its quarrel-provoking properties, and from the second-half of the couplet it would seem as though the quarrels are provoked by its cultivation rather than by the drug.

⁴ نسیم توشی. MS. (A). The text reads توشی نسیم.

The heaven every moment casts the fetter of intoxication on those who are drunk with the cup of thy favour, by the obstruction of their brain.¹

Thy kingdom is a rivulet flowing from the spring of satisfied desire; safety, enjoyment and pleasure are the banks of this stream.

In such a way open the road of equity for the ends of victory, That by thy justice no fetters may exist in the world save the locks of lovers' hair.

You see one who has assisted injustice in his soul in whose path

Destiny places countless ² obstacles.

Like Naushirwān when thou knockest at the door of justice, Thou keepest not the chains firmly fastened on bad and good.

In thy reign, it behoves that no one in his lifetime should see any fetter, save on the foot of the cypress and the finger-bearing leaf of the Chinār.³

The knot of the dragon's tail and the dragon's head ⁴ is a fetter on the sky, come and relieve the distressed heaven from its bondage.

That the sun and moon may become relieved of the affliction

¹ Both MSS. (A and B) have هر که انگند. I am not satisfied with this rendering but can suggest no better.

.² بیشمار بند. MS. (A) reads صد هزار بند.

³ *Platanus orientalis*. The oriental plane has a broad palmate leaf. It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour.

⁴ عَدَدْ گُرْدُون met caput et cauda (رأس و ذنب) pro quo etiam dicuntur عَدَدْ تِين (dual), qui est termini, techni: astron: *Bh.* "Caput et cauda draconis, i. e., nodus ascendens et descendens." Vüller sub voce دَرَق. The *Istilâhâtu-l-Fâhûn*, says that the 'Uqdatu-r-Râ's is also called 'Uqdatu-sh-shimâliya and the 'Uqdatu-z-Zanab is called 'Uqdatu-l-Junâbiya, and the two together are called *Jawaâzahr* جوازه. These terms are fully explained in the Article الخاتم p. 510, Vol. I. See also Lane s. v. تَنِيد where the terms are explained as being the ascending and descending nodes of the planet.

of eclipse¹ in the knot of the dragon's tail,² like me who am in the bond of distress.

Thou hast ordered that the learned should be imprisoned,
Beware that thou layest no bond upon the learned.

Woe is me ! Honour them rather out of policy, and on the 112.
newly wedded bride of eulogy bind the princely pearl
taken from the casket of my heart.

Has ever any monarch placed a bond on literary men out of love of empire and usurpation ?

I, at all events, am a talking parrot, not a hunting falcon,
the hawk's jesses are not rightly placed on the legs of parrots.

Why do you imprison me, as from my secret heart there is an evident fastening (of grief) fixed upon the door of my heart's fortress.

Loose my bonds, and by way of conquering the fortress, fix

¹ As regards the word كسوف *kusūf* it is generally held that this word is more specially applicable to an eclipse of the sun while خسوف *khusūf* is applied to denote an eclipse of the moon. The *Ghiyāsu-l-Lughāt* applies it to either : while the *Kashshāfi Iṣṭilāḥat-i-Funūn* lays down that كسوف should be used to denote a total eclipse, and خسوف a partial eclipse ; كسوف moreover indicating only a change of colour, while خسوف denotes a total loss of colour. *Lune* however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language الکسوف is the partial loss of the light of the sun, and الخسوف is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition.

ان الشمس والقمر لا يخسنان لموت احد او لحياته

As ك is a much earlier letter than خ it is probable that originally at all events كسوف stood for an eclipse either of the sun or moon, the meaning being subsequently modified for convenience.

² Compare the Hindū mythological monster Rāhu.

The name Rāhu by which the ascending node is designated is properly mythological and belongs to the monster in the heavens which, by the ancient Hindūs, as by more than one other people, was believed to occasion the eclipses of the sun and moon by attempting to devour them. Burgess, *Sūrya Sidhānta*, p. 50.

Mythologically Rāhu is a Daitya who is supposed to seize the sun and moon and swallow them thus obscuring their rays and causing eclipses. Rāhu and Ketu are in astronomy the ascending and descending nodes. Rāhu is the cause of eclipses and is used to designate the eclipse itself. (Dowson *Dict. of Hindu Mythology*, p. 252.)

the bond of thy heart upon the mercy of the threshold of the Creator.

My heart was wounded by the tyranny and oppression of the heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart.
No one has seen half a dāng weight of gold in my possession,
And, even if he has, I would not willingly undergo imprisonment for the sake of it.¹

Gold has no value in my sight, how can I pledge it like a usurer so as to get twelve for every ten.

I have eloquence like pure gold, another man has gold itself,
Open your hand in bounty to me, and keep him imprisoned.
Do not keep me so long in suspense waiting for my release,
My imprisonment has turned my blood to water in this weary waiting.

At least kill this hapless innocent with the sword of thy wrath,

113. But do not imprison me, for imprisonment kills me² with its perpetual agony.

My name has become famous for eloquence from east to west,
Is it fitting to put fetters on the feet of such a famous poet?
Wisdom said to me long ago by way of advice,
Chain thyself at the threshold of the victorious king.

I was indulging in these hopes, when the king himself shewed kindness and imprisoned this miserable one as though he were a murderer.

You may be quite sure that imprisonment is not required in that place in which the seal of the treasury was opened by his generosity.

First thou didst fasten, then thou didst loosen,³ Oh! noble bounty ! I carry the fetters from thy door into the presence of the Almighty as a memorial.

It was the sword of royalty [which loosened them] by the

¹ MS. (A)

در بند من نه دیده کسی نیم دانگ زر
ور دید بهران نکنم اختیار بند

In MS. (B), the first line is like the text, the second like MS. (A).

² MS. (A) می کشیدم

³ MS. (A) باز کشاده

mercy of the Most Bountiful; had that not been so the imprisonment would have utterly ruined me.

Since¹ you 'Amid girt the loins of loyalty in the service of the throne, therefore by his care the days of your imprisonment were brought to a happy termination.

As long as the young and sprightly maidens to the distraction of their lovers, have purposely bound their cheeks with the chain of youthful bloom.

So long may the door of good fortune be closed in every direction to your enemies,

And by the sword may the bars of both fortresses be opened.

QASIDA.

My eye is the boundless ocean, the thought of my heart is a bark,

In sorrow my bark sets forth on the floods as they flow from my eyes.

Night and day I float in the flood of tears, how can my bark 114
live in the midst of the raging billows of blood ?

How can I expect to win my desire from the vile world ?

How can I launch my bark on the surface of a gutter ?

Although my bark in this ocean, now sails on and now lies at rest, sailing with the seven sails,² and resting on the four anchors.³

¹ MS. (A) جون

The text as it stands must be translated, If thou hadst girt would have been brought &c.

It is evident from this Qasida that 'Amid Lomakī was imprisoned, but I can find no reference to it in the account of him given in the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā*.

² The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the **هافت اندام** *haft andām* (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (5) and (6) the two hands, (7) the feet or (1) the brain, (2) the heart, (3) the liver, (4) the spleen, (5) lungs, (6) gall bladder, (7) stomach.

This name was also given to a vein by section of which it was supposed that blood was withdrawn from the seven members first mentioned.

³ The four anchors are the four "humours," according to the old humoral pathology. **الدم** *ad-dam*. The blood. **البلغم** *al-balgham*. The phlegm. **الصفراء** *az-safrā'*. The bile. **السوداء** *as-saudā'*. The black bile.

The four anchors may however be taken to be the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water.

Of what use to me are those sails and those anchors,
If my bark is suddenly overwhelmed by the billows of
death?

In this age I sought fidelity from the tyrannical,
Who has ever seen a boat on the Jihūn in the month of
Mehrgān¹

In front of the claws of this crab² and the revolution of the
nine heavens, loosen³ thy four anchors and then launch
thy bark.

The sea-monster of avarice of my soul turns back, otherwise⁴
one might drag the boat to the shore by some contrivance.
With the exception of the philosophers how can anyone

1. "In former times (says Albirūnī) this day (Mihrājān) used to coincide with the beginning of winter" at which time the Jihūn would be frozen and unfit for navigation owing to the intense cold. Yāqūt states that in the winter the Jihūn freezes so hard that the ice is five spans (about 40 inches) thick, that the people dig wells through the ice with pick-axes to get water, and that caravans and carts cross the ice, which become like a high road covered with dust. This continues two months. Concerning the word Mihrgān, the *Burhān-i-Qāfi*⁵ says, "Mihrgān is the seventh month of the Shamsī year, which corresponds with the position of the sun in Libra, which is the beginning of autumn. The feast of Mihrgān is the next greatest feast among the Persians to that of Nauroz, and, like this latter feast, is divided into two, *Mihrgān-i-khassa* and *Mihrgān-i-'amma*; the feast of Mihrgān lasts for six days beginning from the sixteenth of the month. It is said that God Almighty laid out the world on the 21st and endowed bodies with souls on that day. They say also that Faridūn ascended the throne on that day. The meaning of Mihrgān is the binding of affection (محبت پیوستن) and it was so called because for the above reasons the people were treated kindly by their rulers on that day.

Others again say that there was a king of the Persians named Mihr who was a great tyrant and was consigned to hell in the middle of this month, so that they called it Mihrgān in the meaning of death of a tyrannical king. (*Burhān-i-Qāfi*).

According to others Mihr is the name of the sun, who is said to have for the first time appeared to the world on this day. This is indicated by the custom of the Kisrās of crowning themselves on this day with a crown on which was worked an image of the sun and of the wheel on which he rotates.—(Albirūnī).

See also Albirūnī (*Chron. of Ancient Nations*), p. 208 and seqq.

² At the commencement of spring when the Sun enters Cancer; i.e., March 21st.

³ بکش او.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) have دی و.

guide the ship out of the whirlpool of this world to its final haven of refuge.¹

Do not set thy heart upon the ebony ²-like world, because a ship built of ebony is overwhelmed in the sea of this worthless world.

Do not seek for safety when loaded with boastfulness
For an overloaded ship is speedily wrecked.

Seek security from sorrow at that time when you have been wise enough to make, as I have, a ship from the planks of the praise of thy lord.

The centre of kingship of land and sea Tāju-l-Haqq, who 115.
made a ship of safety for traversing the ocean (Qulzum)

of sorrow.

Sinjar ³ who is like the sky in dignity, in fear of whom sedition navigated its ship in the direction of the crossing of the ocean of Qairawān.⁴

سوی حاصل عقبی۔

² He compares the world to ebony because of its blackness indicating misfortune. Ebony بُنوس is said in the *Burhān-i-Qāfi* to be "a black wood which when placed upon the fire emits a pleasant smell like the عود ('ud) or aloes, when rubbed down with water and used as a collyrium it relieves night blindness, given internally it dispels calculus of the bladder."

The *Bahrū-l-Juwāhīr* says that ebony "is a black wood which sinks when thrown into water," hence the poet assumes a ship built of ebony would sink.

³ Abul Hāriṣ Sinjar Ibn Malakshah ibn Alp Arslān was Sultān of Khurāsān, Ghazna and Māwarā-u-n-Nahr. He was the sixth of the Seljūq Sultāns,

He was excessively liberal, and was supposed to be wealthier than any of the Persian kings. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Ghuzz tribe in 548 A. H. (1153 A.D.) but eventually escaped and was at the time of his death in 555 A.H. on the point of recovering his throne. He was born according to Ibn Khalliqān in A. H. 479, in the environs of Sinjār whence he received his name. One authority places his death in the year 552. He died at Merv. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Sacy) I. 600.

See also D' Herbelot art Sangiar. Vol. III, p. 202, et seqq.

⁴ Qairawān, Long. 10° E. Lat. 36 N. is situated in the North of Africa, in the province of Tunis. It is the ancient Cyrene, the modern Kairwān. At the commencement of the Musulman occupation it was the capital of Africa. *See Abul Feda (Renaud) II. i. 198.* The ocean of Qairawān is the Mediterranean.

In Abul Feda (*Annales*), we find that Qairawān was founded in the year 50 • H. (665-666 A.D.) and was completed five years later.

From the breeze of his smile in the ocean, the ship produces
from every dry stick the branch of saffron.¹
When his auspicious prow turns towards the ocean the ship
looks like a pearl emerging from the sea.
The heaven offers itself as his ladder when, arriving near the
shore, the ship stands in need of a ladder.
At that time when his ship floats over the crimson tide of the
blood of his brave enemies,
If we look, it appears as though his ship crosses over the dry
(sparkling) water of the points of daggers and spears.
Thy enemy saw his life like a spare (from which he must
escape) and the ship of his desire shattered to pieces by
thy bond-loosening arrow.²
By the good fortune of thy arrival the ship sails along on
its breast, on the tops of the waves to the very highest
heavens.³
Thy dagger lays open the breast of thy envious enemies just
as, by means of its keel, the ship opens the lips of the
waves and the mouth of the ocean,
At that time when, in pursuit of the punishment of thine
enemies, the morning breezes hasten their march and thy
ship goes with slackened rein.

116. From this lake Khusrū demanded a ship (ode),
Saying such and such a ship is fit for this wide ocean.
I obediently set it sailing over the face of that ocean,
Although that ship was not fitted for such a sea.
When the sea of my mind burst into waves in thy praise, I
made the word کشٹی (*kishti*) the *radif* by way of trial.
If the ship had not been like a fish, tongueless in its essence
It would not have addressed me except as "Ocean of benevo-
lence and mine of eloquence"
Among the profoundly learned is there anyone better than

¹ See page 41, note 2.

² MS. (A).

رَبِّيْرَبِّنَدْ شَگَانْشْ حَيَاْتَ رَا دَشْمَنْ
چُودَامْ دَيَدْ هَمَهْ رَخَنَهْ اِيرَمَانْ گَشَتَنْ

³ MS. (B) has the same with the exception of رَخَنَه for رَخَنْ in line 2.

⁴ MS. (A) and MS. (B) both have wrong readings of these lines.

'Amid who has launched his ship from the Nile of excellence,
into this Clysm¹ of eloquence.

Always, as long as in the shape of the crescent moon, with each new month, the ship appears on the bosom of the ocean of the sky,

May thy boat of wine, bright as the sun, and liquid as fire,
float upon the water of delight for ever and ever.

QASIDA.

Happy art thou! at the sight of whose maddening glances
the stag is intoxicated.

The snood of whose musk-fragrant ringlets puts the stag to shame.

The eye of the narcissus is embarrassed by thy glances.

The stag is harassed by envy of those muskladen locks.

Though the stag roamed round the garden a hundred times
he saw no bed of violets to equal the bloom on thy cheeks.

What magical power is there in that eye which, with one glance,³ captivates hearts from within and hunts the stag from without.

From envy of the musk-coloured spot³ which stands like a drop of dew upon thy rose-like cheek, the stag without respite nurses a lacerated heart in his breast.

117.

¹ The بحر قلزم Bahr-i-Qulzum. Clysmæ. The Gulf of Heröopolis, or Western Gulf of the Red Sea, through which the Israelites passed on dry land. It is the modern Gulf of Suez, and it is probable that Suez occupies the site of the ancient town of Clysmæ. Epiphanius mentions τὸ καστρόν τοῦ κλέβματος as one of the three ports of the Red Sea, the others being Elath and Berenice.

There was in ancient times a fork or arm of the sea of which the "Bitter Lakes" are remains. The canal of Trajan beginning at Babylon entered the Red Sea at Clysmon.

² MS. (A) (B) **عَمْرُو** اَذْ.

^٣ Cf. يا حیداتي حین يرضی و بـمـانـی حـین يـسـخـبـطـ آـکـاـ من وـرـدـ عـلـیـ خـدـیـکـ بـالـمـسـكـ مـنـقـطـ بـیـنـ اـجـفـانـکـ سـلـطـانـ عـلـیـ ضـعـفـیـ مـسـلـطـ

Thou my life art when thou smilest
But my death when thou art angered.

Ah ! thy cheek like summer roses

With the grains of musk be sprinkled!

Needs must that with those two love fascinated eyes,
The stag should endeavour to protect himself from the snares
of thy locks.

When the story of thy fragrant tresses reached him,
The stag curtailed his narration of the bag of musk.

The stag suffered from the effects of the intoxication of thine
eyes,

And he got rid of his headache by drinking of the cup of the
assembly of the world-subduer.

The auspicious lion, protector of the crown of true religion,
Sinjar,

In whose estimation the fierce lion of the sky is but a stag.

The stag thought right to carry a fragrant ball of camphor¹
taken from the dust of his threshold, to Khitā as a memorial.

Perhaps it was from the dust of his dignity which became² the
ornament of the sun, that the stag obtained superiority
over the wild beasts by reason of his musk-bag.

Happy art thou star-arrowed one, whom the demon-hearted
fear and shun as³ the stag avoids the lion.

An enemy who falls into thy clutches does not escape ;
Who has ever known the stag to escape from the claws of the
lion ?

118.

At that time the stag prided himself upon being fleeter than
thy charger, now in sooth the stag is ashamed of his slow-
footedness.

At the time of attack, how can the stag in spite of all his
efforts, reach the dust which is thrown up by thy char-
ger's hoofs ?

Think it not strange if from the abundance of his bounty, the
lynx goes slowly on foot, and the stag swiftly like a horse-
man.

"Twixt thine eyelids reigns a Sultān,
Helpless, lo ! I bow before him.

This comparison of the mole on a cheek to grains of musk is one of the
commonest similes among Persian poets.

¹ The sun is called شامام کافر shamāma-i-kāfir.

² بود MS. (A).

³ MS. A. جو.

Compared with the fragrance of thy goodness how can the stag boast¹ of the dried blood of his navel in Tātār.

By the aid of thy words which are like an antidote, I have no fear, even though the stag shall become like to one that feeds on snakes.²

His food is the snake, but afterwards like the elk, besides the antidote, the stag offers in every direction the bag of musk. In the land in which thou art, by reason of thy great justice the lynx sits sorrowful, and the stag stands to comfort him. The day that thou purgest him he shews only his right shoulder when the stag rushes from the right to the left of thy army.

In reliance upon thee if a stag were to cherish a young lion in its bosom it would be no wonder.

What power have two hundred enemies against thy prowess ? What does the hunting leopard think of a head of a thousand stags ?

Thy enemy will be able to engage in conflict with thee.

At that time when the stag's horns are capable of fighting the lion.

¹ MS. (A) *دیک جو*.

² The elk is said to feed on snakes and the water which collects at the corners of the eye (inner canthus) is reputed an antidote for all poisons. (*Burhān-i-Qāfi'*).

The following is abridged from the *Haiātu-l-Haiwān*. "The stag is fond of snakes which it eats wherever it can find them, commencing from the tail of the snake. Sometimes the stag gets bitten by the snake in which case its tears flow down, and fill two hollows beneath its eyes large enough to contain the finger, here they congeal and become solid like wax. This wax is used as an antidote against the poison of snakes and scorpions, and when given by the mouth is useful as a remedy for other poisons. The stag also eats crabs, and hunts for fish by walking along the margin of the lake or river, when the fish come out of curiosity to see it, this fact is made use of by fishermen who are wont to dress in the skin of the stag.

The horns of the stag, which are shed yearly, are of great service to mankind, more especially as a remedy for impotence, and to facilitate parturition. If a portion is burned and administered mixed with honey it acts as a vermifuge, and when used as a dentifrice removes discoloration of the teeth. Used for fumigation it drives away reptiles and other venomous animals. If a portion is hung round the neck, the wearer will not sleep so long as it remains there. A draught of the stag's blood dissolves stone in the bladder."

119. In the meadow of thy favour the stag has never seen his quarters and sides as thin as his legs.
 Conqueror of the world, I have bound "The stag"¹ with thirty-three couplets in thy praise by way of experiment as though it were a camel.
 It is fitting that the word "musk deer" should be repeated as *radif* a hundred times since thou hast sent me in thy kindness a stag twice.
 Formerly the stag thought of nothing but the musk-bag, now he makes the glory of thy praise his constant occupation.
 'Amid has opened the musk-bag of wisdom in singing thy praises, like the musk-bag upon which the stag prides itself.²
 Always, as long as men search for musk on the surface of the ground, and no musk deer lays aside its power of producing musk,
 May the perfection of thy justice reach such a height that the stag may extract musk from the hunting leopard.
 Mayest thou roam at large and enjoy thyself in the meadow of fortune, just as the stag roams over the meadows in spring time.
 Fasting has made his form which was like the Närwan³ slender as a reed, and has made his face which was red as the Arghawān⁴ pale like the saffron.

¹ The word *ءَحُّ* *āhū* stag, occurs in every couplet of this qaṣīda.

² كَبَوْسٌ *mishk* is said to be the congealed blood of the navel of the stag of *Khitā*. (*Burhān-i-Qāfi* and *Makhranu-l-Adwiyā*). The latter work says "It is very difficult to procure genuine musk, it is only brought as a great rarity as a present to kings and great rulers mixed with saffron and a little camphor as a remedy for headache; and is used alone or with other drugs such as the testicles of the beaver (*Castoreum*) as a stimulant snuff in paralysis and other cold diseases of the brain, for which it is also used by inunction. Smelling it removes the evil effects of poisons, especially of *bish* (aconite) and *qurānu-s-sumbul*. (?) It is also very useful as a collyrium in many diseases of the eye.

It is a cardiac tonic removing palpitation, and faintness, relieves dysentery and globulent distension. A suppository of musk assists parturition."

See also Ibn Baiṭār (Sontheimer) Vol. II. pp. 513 *et seqq.* for a full account of the statements of various authors regarding musk.

³ نَرْوَنٌ The Närwan is described in the *Burhān-i-Qāfi* as a very graceful tree with abundance of leaves; called also گلناز *Gulnar*.

⁴ اَرْغَوْنٌ The Arghawān according to the *Burhān-i-Qāfi* is a tree with

How can it be saffron for it has not made me smile.¹

Fasting has made my cheek yellow like the Zarir² through weeping, and my tears red as the Arghawān.

How can it be a tulip, for fasting makes his cheek like the 120
Khiri.³

How can it be a cypress, when fasting makes it weak and tremulous?⁴

brilliant red flowers, a drink made of which removes the effects of intoxication. The wood is burned and used as a pencil for the eyebrows which it causes to grow and become black. Ibn-Baitār (Sontheimer) says, (Vol. I. p. 28).

"The tree is very abundant in Isfahān and bears brilliantly red flowers which are edible, having a sweet taste which is communicated to wine. The wood is soft and when burnt yields a black ash which is used as a cosmetic. The decoction of the root bark when drunk is a certain emetic" Sontheimer does not give the botanical name. See note 4 page 109.

¹ See p. 41, n. 2.

زَرِير Zarir. The *Burhān-i-Qāṭī* says this is "a herb with which they dye clothes, it is called also asparag (اسپارگ) According to some however it is the leaf of Zard choba (turmeric) some other authors say it is a flower. It is also the name given to the bile, and also to jaundice. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭī*)

In Vüllers we find اسرگ (Asparag) herba flava tingendo inserviens, alias زَرِير (Zarir) or وَارِس (wars).

According to Ibn Baitār, (Sontheimer) وَارِس wars is Memecylon tinctorium—N. O. Melastomaceæ, regarding which Drury in his *Useful plants of India*, page 291, says, "The leaves are used in dyeing affording a delicate yellow lake.....they are also good for dyeing clothes red...by itself it gives an evanescent yellow.

خَيْرِي خیری A flower of which there are many varieties

خَيْرِي خَطَائِي *Khiri-i-Khiṭā'i* — is dark purple

هَفْت رَنْج هفت رنگ *Khiri-i-Mirdīnī* — is violet. It is also called مِيرْدِينی میردینی *Haft rang.*

صَحْرَائِي *Khiri-i-Sahrā'i* — is red and white; called also **خَيْرِي خَرامِي** *Khiri-i-Khirāmī*.

گل همیشه بہار *Khiri-i-Shirāzī* — is yellow; called also **خَيْرِي شِيرازِي**

• • *Guli hamesha bahār* and in Arabic عَصْفَنَى 'Asfir (*Burhān-i-Qāṭī*).

See also Vüllers.

According to Ibn Baitār (Sontheimer) this plant is the wall-flower *Cheiran-* thus *Cheiri*. N. O. Cruciferae.

⁴ MSS. A and B have توان. The text reads نوان which is a better reading.

His form stately as the Närwan is bowed like the reed,
Has any one ever seen fasting proceed from the Närwan and
cypress of the garden?

Till his face, which was like a full-blown rose, drew back again
into the bud there was no certainty that the rose and the
garden had commenced their fast.

Till his full moon once more became a crescent moon¹ who had
clearly seen fasting overtaking the sun and moon of the
heavens.

The shaft of grief is broken in my heart, for his stature has
been brought by fasting from the straight form of an arrow
to the shape of a bent bow.

It is two days since I have seen jar upon jar of sugar² in
that very moment when fasting set its seal upon his lips.

I am in astonishment at her sugar-distilling lip which is like
the pistachio, for there is sugar in the jar on each side and
fasting in the middle.

Because of her love her mouth is less than an atom, nay
even less than the minutest atom, can any one imagine that
a minute particle such as this can endure fasting.

Look! how marvellous it is with what skill she imprisons
fasting between those particles of ruby which scatter
sweetness.

With a glance she drinks my heart's blood because she
thinks that by taking a draught of blood she will openly
break her fast.

This heart of mine is faint with longing for her lips.

In this desire that I may break my fast with the seeds of the
pomegranate.³

¹ The text has تکھاں MSS. A. B. have جلھاں which is right.

² Nizāmī Ganjamī says.

نگ شکر tangshakar, means the lip of a mistress, and also a sugar jar
of special form having a very narrow mouth.

نگ شکر ز نگی شکریں

نڈگ دل نرز حلقہ کمرش

The heart of the jar of sugar from the tightness of her honied lips, is
more tightly bound than is the cincture of her waist.

³ Cf. Nizāmī (*Sikandarnāma*).

Haply she has hung the amulet on her silvery mouse-like neck, so that wisdom like a fasting cat has been compelled to remain fasting.¹

My tongue has become dry like that of one fasting in advising her.

For thy form is like a fresh blown rose, fasting is the autumn wind (which withers it).

Although thou openest thy lips like a bud which had been closed by fasting, just as I broke my fast at the table of the praise of my Lord;

The ocean of benevolence, champion of the truth, round the table of whose bounty men and genii broke their fast;

Muhammad whose vanguard is like destiny, the joints of whose spear broke their fast with the blood of the enemies (trickling down) from the point.

He, whose right hand is like that of Isfandiyār, has also, from the liberality of his hand, caused the age² to break its fast on this side of the seven stages.

Before the generosity of his heart, the ocean and the mine, have, in their utter poverty, considered fasting to be their bounden duty.

Hail O King! in whose just reign the wolf, as though it were a shepherd, has kept its fast to secure the safety of the flock.

Thou art like the two first fingers,³ a close companion of the heavens, just as fasting goes hand-in-hand with prayer.

Thy existence is the twin brother of kingdom, just as fasting is the twin brother of *Zakāt, Hajj* and *'Umrah*.⁴

لَبْ از ناردازه دلاویزتر
زبان از طبرزد شکر ریزتر

A lip more alluring than the seed of the pomegranate
A tongue far sweeter than the whitest sugar.

A favourite simile with Persian poets.

¹ These couplets occur in this order in MSS. A and B.

² MS. (A) reads *کشاده* دهه which is the reading adopted here.

³ وسطی سینا باغی The forefinger and middle finger which are most commonly used together to oppose the thumb.

⁴ زکوۃ Zakāt or almsgiving is one of the five foundations of practical religion, Qur'an ii. 77. وَقُولُوا لِلنَّاسِ حُسْنًا وَأَقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتُوا الزَّكُووةَ.

"And speak to men kindly, and be steadfast in prayer and give alms." The proportion to be given varies with the different kinds of property.

22. The breeze of thy good qualities like the fragrance of the perfume of the breath of the faster,¹ has carried fasting as a special offering to the garden of Paradise.
- Thou hast cast out the custom of tyranny from the kingdoms under thy sway, inasmuch as thou hast relieved waste countries of taxes, and excused the feeble from fasting.
- The spirit of man is often broken by the vicissitudes of the heavens² just as his bodily fast is broken by bread.
- In this time no one, from the time of Jamshid till now, remembers fasting at the table of such a host as thou art.
- At the smell of the table of thy bounty the guest has considered it incumbent upon him, whether in the feast or in the fray, to fast from food of all kinds.
- The bird of thy arrow has broken its fast, like the gnat of Nimrûd on the brain of thy enemy in the cup of the skull (the cup of vapours).
- For the maintenance of thy kingdom, young and old have fasted, both the old and the new creation.
- The revolution of this six-storied world is full of the mention of thy glory, just as fasting fills the seven members of the body in this darkness.

Hajj. The Pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent upon all Muslims who have the necessary means.

'Umrah. The lesser pilgrimage, which may be performed at any time except during the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of Zül Hijjah. See Hughes (*Dict. of Islam.*)

نَسِيمُ خَلْقٍ تُوْجُونْ طَيْبٌ مَشْكُوبٌ خَلْوَفٌ ¹ *Text.* (MSS. A and B
چُونْ طَشْتَ مَشْكُوبٌ خَلْوَقٌ the
خَلْوَفٌ

khulūf is defined as the smell of the breath of one who fasts.

A Hadîs says.

خَلْوَفٌ وَمِنَ الصَّائِمِ أَطْيَبٌ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ مِنَ الطَّيْبٍ.

The breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour.

See also Lane. *Art.* خَلْفٌ. It became altered (for the worse).

The Qâmûs, says

وَخَلْفَ فِمَ الصَّائِمِ خَلْوَفًا وَخَلْوَقَةً تَغِيرَتْ رَائِحَتَهُ.

² Both MSS. (A) and (B) agree with the text. I take the word بِاهَاتٍ abâhât to be a plural formed by Bâdâoni on the analogy of اعْمَاهَاتٍ ummahât, and to stand for the نَهَاءَاتٍ نَهَاءَاتٍ nuh abâ-i-'uhwîya, the nine heavens.

On this earth, the worlds children (have fasted) with such endurance that the spiritual beings will never be able to break the fast.

I stood before thee with my loins girt in honest service, as though fasting, because fasting is not one of my objects, neither openly nor in secret.¹

My manliness actuated by ambition bowed the knee to me² 123. and said,

Imagine that both your pen and your finger tips are fasting. The claims of thy generosity caused me to break my fast³ and consume my time, had it not been for that I would have speedily imposed a fast upon my words.

Had not the praise of thee been the sustenance of my powers of speech how could the point of my tongue have broken its fast by breaking into poetry?

Like the parrot, my first morning food⁴ is the sugar of gratitude to thee, not like the *humā* do I break my fast upon bones.

Who is able to break his fast in this way at the time of bringing in the "radif" better than 'Amid, with the draught of trial.

He has broken his fast with a feather from the wing of the bird of praise, because at this time fasting is the best nest for the bird of praise.

¹ MS. (A) reads زبایزید نه پیدا و نی نهان روزه MS. (B) reads the reading in the text is

زمانه بونی و پیدا و نی نهان روزه

All of these readings appear to be corrupt and the following reading seems reasonable, and has been adopted in the translation.

زمانه بونی و پیدا و نی نهان روزه

² The text reads شماربرد but MSS. (A) and (B) read نماز برد

³ مفتر MS. (A)

⁴ "The following is the routine of a fast day. About half an hour after midnight, the gun sounds its warning to faithful men that it is time to prepare for the *Sahūr* (صُور) or morning meal." (Burton's *Mecca* I. p. 110 note) see also Lane's *Modern Egyptians* for the observances of the month of Ramazān.

Always, as long as fasting brings as its reward from the bounty and mercy of God, a hidden treasure worth a hundred princely treasures,

Mayest thou be famed¹ for generosity and kindness in this world, for fasting points the way to the highest heaven.

ANOTHER QASIDA.

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the Simurgh²
I have made my nest beyond the axis of earthly sphere.
Why do I bear the shame of every bird in this ill-omened
land?³

124. I have gone like the 'Anqā⁴ and have made my resting place in the mountains.

¹ MS. (A) reads **شان** instead of **فمان** as in the Text.

² The bird of the mountain of Alburz which nourished Zāl when he was abandoned there by order of his father Sām, and taught him the language of the country. On restoring Zāl to his father she gave him a feather from her wing and said " Whenever thou art involved in any difficulty or danger put this feather on the fire and I will instantly appear to thee to ensure thy safety." See *Shāh Nāma* (Atkinson) p. 75 *Shāhnāma*, Turner Macan, Ed. I. pp. 97 et seqq.

³ There is a play on the word **بوم** here which cannot be preserved.

⁴ Another name for the Simurgh, and a synonym for anything rare and unattainable. (See *Burhān-i-Qāfi* under the name **عنقای مغرب**)

There is a long account of the 'Anqā in the *Haiyātū-l-Haiyān* where it says on the authority of Qazwīnī that the 'Anqā is the largest of all birds which can seize an elephant as easily as a kite snatches up a rat. It once lived among men, but caused them so much annoyance that by the prayers of a holy prophet it was banished to an uninhabited island in mid ocean beyond the Equator, full of enormous animals. When the 'Anqā flies there is a sound like thunder and floods. It lives 2000 years, and pairs at the age of 500. It is said that the claws are made into large drinking cups. A description of the mode of capturing the 'Anqā is also given but is too long to quote.

Among the proverbs of the Arabs one is حلقـت بـه عـنـقـاء مـغـربـ which is said of any one of whose reformation there is no hope. " May the Anqā fly away with him."

الجـود وـ الـغـول وـ الـعـنـقـاء نـالـه اـسـمـا اـشـيـا لـم تـوـجـد وـلـم تـكـنـ They also say **والعنقا ناله اسماء شيئا لم توجد ولم تكون** Liberality, the Ghūl, and the Anqā are three names of things unattainable and non-existent.

To dream of the 'Anqā is also said to ensure marrying a beautiful woman, or if already married, to ensure having a brave son.

Until the bird of my ambition swoops down upon the harvest of the lower world, I have made the harvest field of the sky full of grain-like stars.

Why does the moon display the halo-harvest when it does not shew a single grain to any one, whereas I with one single grain of manliness have bound many a sheaf.

By the light of the knowledge of God, I have made the newly wedded virgin bride of reality to shine in the chamber of wisdom with the brilliancy of the day.

The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the almanac of the Creation, I have proved one by one by comparison with the astronomical tables¹ of intellect.

In the bridle of four rings, that is the trappings of the four elements, great is the training which I have given the unruly steed of my passions.

I have made the parrot of my soul, whose cage is the form of this uncouth body which is like a midden, every moment to rival the nightingale of the verdant² garden.

The parrot has left for the garden, the kite of lust which is following it circling round and round my nature I have detained within the midden of the body.

In many an art for which³ the scientists had no taste

I have made as great progress, hundred fold as they are, as a man who follows but one art.

My intellect has served to light the lamp of the treasure of science, I have made my skill the oil which supplies the light to the wick.⁴

The jewel of the secret of reality has been acquired in such a (perfect) way that I have made my mind the storehouse of the treasury of secret knowledge.

Once by way of vaunting in the rose-garden of desire,

125.

¹ The text (and also MS. B) has an absurd reading بود زیج the real reading is نویزیج as is seen in MS. (A).

² MS. (A) سدز گلشن. There is a verbal antithesis between گلشن (gulshan) garden and گلخان (gulhan) dust heap in the Persian which I have attempted to imitate by the words garden and midden.

³ MS. (A) کزان The text and MS. (B) read گزان.

⁴ MS. (A) and (B) both read در مقابلش The text has در مقابلش.

I displayed the brilliancy of my skill particoloured like the peacock.

The falcon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.

They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary windowless tower

Had not my ambition carried me far beyond the seven windows (of the sky)

A tower, narrow; ay! at that time even narrower than my heart, (so narrow that) you would say I am a cord and have given myself a place in the eye of a needle.

It is the constellation of the Archer, and I am like the Sun, and have by my cold sighs changed the bright spring of the world into the bitter cold of winter.¹

This was not all; the good tidings of my bad fortune brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood which is upon my head.

The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert,

Whereas I am resting upon a (hard) iron (prison) seat.

The seven-headed dragon (*The Sky*) hides its head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpent (*night and day*) under my skirt.

They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bīzhan in the well of tyranny. I have not seen Manizha² nor have I committed the crime of Bīzhan.

¹ The Sun enters the constellation of Sagittarius in the commencement of the winter.

² The daughter of Afrasiyāb. When Bīzhan undertook to clear the country of Arman of its plague of wild hogs, after fulfilling his task he was led by the machinations of his companion Gīrgīn, who was jealous of him, to intrude upon the retirement of Manizha, the beautiful daughter of Afrāsiyāb, and press his suit, which he did with such success that after some time their amour was discovered and Gersiwāz was sent by Afrāsiyāb to put Bīzhan to death: by the intercession of Pīrān the punishment was averted, but Bīzhan was imprisoned in a deep pit. At first Manizha was condemned to undergo the same punishment but her doom was changed and she was allowed to dwell near the pit, all the people being forbidden by proclamation to supply her with food. Eventually, by the help of Rustum, Bīzhan was freed and he and Manizha went to Irān together. (See Atkinson's *Shāh Nāma*, pp. 300 and seqq.). See also page 116 note 5.

Patience has the strength of Rustum,¹ as one may say,
I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the
arm of Rustum-like patience.

All of my companions are free to follow their occupations
while I am fast in prison,

God forbid I should be the only one of all mankind to have 126.
committed this fault.

The times are out of joint, if not how can the following of
the Ishrāqi philosophy² which I followed so excellently
have thrown me into misfortune ?

The shaft of the tyrannical heavens passed through and
through from the back, although I had armed my breast
with the cuirass of patience.

My body longs for food in the captivity of sorrow, and I have
prepared for its support my blood as its drink, and my heart
as its meat.

Once I was like the tulip in complaining, but then afterwards
I made myself like the lily ten-tongued (but silent.)³

Like the violet I have let my head fall forward (in sorrow)
from dearth of benefactors, and though like the lily I have
ten tongues I am become dumb in thy praise.

I am suffering the punishment of my words, because in my

¹ Rustum extricated Bizhan from the pit by drawing him up with his amand or lasso.

² اشراقیہ. The Illuminati. A sect of Philosophers, of whom Plato was one, who, instead of following the precepts of any revealed law, looked to their own proper inspiration and mental illumination, which they held to be the result of spiritual meditation. Hājī Khalifah, III. p. 87, writes as follows : *Philosophia illuminationis (Hekmet el-ishrāc) sive Neo-Platonica inter veteres disciplinas philosophicas eundem locum tenet quem Theosophia inter doctrinas Islami simili modo, quo philosophia physica et theologica inter illas disciplinas eum tenet quem theologia dogmatico-scholastica inter has.*

In the حاجی ملا هادی سبزواری by شرح منظمه we find : Philosophers are of four kinds,—those who arrive at wisdom simply by meditation, those who arrive at it simply by purification of the mind by seclusion and retirement, those who arrive at it by combining these two. These last are called the Ishrāqi sect.

See Hājī Khalifah علم الحکمة See also de Slane, *Proleg.* Ibn Khal : III. 167.

³ The MS. (A) has خیشتن را ده زبان The text follows MS. (B).
See note 1 page 101.

lying flattery I have made every beggar a king, and have made the (worthless) Lādan¹ into frankincense.

At one time I have proclaimed Suhā² superior in brilliancy to the moon,

At another I have scorned the river as being inferior to the drippings of a sieve.³

I have made friends with Avarice, like 'Amid from the lust for blood, and for that reason I have made contentment my enemy.

I have subjected my spirit, which is like a high mettled horse, to the burthen of labour, because of the tyranny and meanness of the heavens, see now what a jade he has become.

127. I have made barren my truth-adorning heart and my jewel-producing nature, without the help of *Qitrān*,⁴ not now only but long ago.

لادن *Ladan*. The resinous balsamic juice of *Cistus creticus* and other species; according to the *Burhān-i-Qāfi* it is called also عنبير عسلی *Honey-ambergris* and is used in medicine. It is the juice of a plant growing in sandy soil, of which goats are very fond, and their hair becomes covered with the exudation, the best is collected from their beards; *si femina quædam, cui in utero fœtus mortuus sit, vaginam suam vapore ladani vaporaverit, fœtus ille mortuus illico excidit*. See also Ibn Baīṭār (Sontheimer) I. p. 409.

It is the لد of Genesis xxxvii. 25 and xliii. 11, where it is translated in our version *myrrh*. The Greeks called it στακτή. The true *myrrh* (*Ar. مرمر murrūn*) is different.

The بسب اشہب *Ashhab* is the white ambergris which was accounted the best.

2 A small obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

3 MSS. (A) and (B) have فيض عزيزان but غوريزان is a better reading.

4 *Qitrān*, the exudation from species of mountain pines, black in colour, used according to the *Burhān-i-Qāfi* (and *Qāmūs*) for inunction of camels affected with mange. It is, according to these, the exudation of the tree called عرعر 'ar'ar, (Juniper) the properties of which are thus enumerated in the *Makhzanul-Adwiya*: Deobstruent, diuretic, emmenagogue, relieves cough and chest pains, and pain in the spleen; relieves flatulence, haemorrhoids, flatulent colic or uterine pains. Sitting over a hot infusion of it causes uterine spasm, while a poultice of it is antisudorific. I can find no mention in either of these books of its use as an abortifacient. It is perhaps *Juniperus Sabina* (Savine) which is powerfully ecbolic. According to Ibn Baīṭār (Sonth.) II. p. 94, it is *Pinus cedrus*, but this appears to be incorrect. See also II. p. 189, sv عرعر 'Ar'ar.

The word مثروون is derived in *Burhān-i-Qāfi* from استر and ون i.e., mule-like, because mules have no offspring.

This one poem¹ of mine is worth a whole *Dīvān* and a hundred caskets of jewels, nay more, every verse of it have I made better than particoloured hair¹

Imprisouient has brought me to lamentation, ard from the delicacy of my speech you see the joy which I have given in the very midst of my lamentation.

Oh Lord, give me my sustenance from the date-tree of thy favour, I have made the bird of my heart to sing the praises of thy Unity.

Present me with the robe of honour of thy protection, for thy court is my original refuge, lo I have fled to my refuge. Keep far from the darkness of infidelity,² hypocrisy, hatred and enmity, that heart which I have embellished with the light of sincerity to Thee.

Keep thou the Sun of Divine knowledge shining within my heart, for I have made my heart the mine of the jewels of true belief.

SULTĀN GHİYĀŞU-D-DĪN BALBAN-I-KHURD

Who had the title of *Ulugh Khān*, by the consent of the Maliks and Amirs adorned the throne by his accession in the *Qaṣr-i-Safed*

شعر: The word شعر here has its double meaning. Saifi in his prosody says, "A bait (poem) is called *bait* for the reason that *bait* means a house and they compare the *bait* of poetry (شعر) with the *bait* of hair (شعر) and he quotes the verses by Abū-l-Alā Ma'rā

الحسن يظهر في البيتين ورقة بيت من الشعر و بيت من الشعر

The brilliancy of beauty is shewn forth in two tents
The tent of poetry (*sha'r*) and the tent of hair (*shi'r*)

شرك² *Shirk*. "Idolatry: paganism: polytheism." Ascribing plurality to the Deity. Associating anything with God.

The Wahhābī writers define *Shirk* as of four kinds:

شوك العلم *Shirku-l-'ilm.* Ascribing knowledge to others than God.

شوك التصرف *Shirku-t-tasarruf.* Ascribing power to others than God.

شوك العبادة *Shirku-l-'ibādah.* Offering worship to created things.

شوك العادة *Shirku-l-'ādah.* The performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God.

Hughes. *Dictionary of Islām*, p. 579, Art. *Shirk*. 9. v.

See also Qur'ān. xxxv. 38 and xlvi. and 3, and various other places.

(the White Palace) in the year 664 H.¹ He was one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din, each one of whom had attained to the dignity of Amir. Inasmuch as the reins of government had been in his hands even in the days when he was merely Ulugh Khān, the affairs of the State very quickly came into his grasp. He would not allow people of low origin to have the slightest authority. It is said that a man named Fakhr, who had for years served as chief of the Bāzār, had recourse to one of

128. the Sultān's more intimate attendants, and offered a very large sum² on the condition that if the Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban would speak with him once only, he would give him all this money and valuable property.³ When this request was represented to the Sultān he would not entertain it, and said 'to converse with people of low and mean extraction will lower my prestige.' He was altogether opposed to oppression, and, in the early days of his reign, punished certain of his Amirs on account of some tyranny which they had practised upon their subjects, and having handed over one or two of them⁴ he permitted the complainants to exact retaliation, and after that these Amirs had paid the blood money, for shame they could never come out of their houses as long as they lived, and at last they left the world.

Verse.

Reputation arises from equity and justice;

Oppression and kingship are as the candle and the wind.

And all his praiseworthy qualities may be estimated from this, that he used never to omit the ceremony of purification, and on going into an assembly where one was preaching he used to

¹ Of the six years which intervened between the events recorded as having occurred in 658 H. and the accession of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban there is no known historical record. The *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Ziāu-d-Din Barānī only begins from Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban.

² MS. (A) has the word مال between تقبيل and بسيار.

³ MS. (A) reads گرانمند و جنس.

⁴ يکدیگر را بسته. According to Firishta one of these was Haidār Khān the Amir of Oudh, who had killed a man in the fury of intoxication. Balban after enquiry had the Amir publicly flogged, and delivered him to the widow as a slave. He bought his release with a sum of 20,000 silver tankahs but never left his house afterwards and died from shame. (See also Elliott, III. 101.)

isplay emotion, and weep much, while as regards his treatment of edition and revolt he used to shew himself a merciless repressor.

He laid claim to the glory of an Emperor, because of this
 That he adorned the world with wisdom and equity,
 In days of retirement he would wear a blanket;
 And he strove in prayer and supplication
 His eyes fixed upon the ground, his heart boiling like a
 cauldron;
 A heart eloquent of speech, but a silent tongue;
 Till his heart perceived with the eye of secret knowledge
 All that was visible of these intricate matters.

In this same year of his reign Tātār Khān the son of Arsalān Khān sent from Lakhnāti sixty-three elephants as a present; and in this year the Sultān proceeding to Patiali¹ and Kanpila, built the forts of Patiali, Kanpila, Bhojpūr, and certain other forts, and with five thousand cavalry crossed the Ganges on the pretext of making preparation for an expedition to the Jūd hills. In two days after leaving Dehli he arrived in the midst of the territory of Kāithar² and put to death every male, even those of eight years of age, and bound the women, and inflicted such chastisement that up till the reign of Jalālu-d-Din the territory of Badāon and Amroha remained safe from the ravages of the Kāitharis,³ and he threw open all the roads of Bihār and Jaunpur, and all the roads of the Eastern part of India which were closed, and made over the territory of Miwāt, which lies in the Doāb, to strong handed governors, with orders to put to death the rebels, which they did, imprisoning some. Then he made an attack in the direction of the country at the foot of the Sintūr

129.

¹ MS. (A) بَطِيلَى Patiāli. The printed text has بَيْتَالِي Betāli.

Patiāli. In Aliganj tahsil, 22 miles north of Etah, a ruined fort still exists (Hunter Imp. Gaz.)

Kanpila. In Farakhabad district, celebrated in Mahābhārata—(Imp. Gaz.)

Bhojpūr. The residence of the Ujjainiah Rajahs, west of Arrah and north of Sasseram, a pargana in the Sirkār Rohtās Bihār.

² So also Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī. Firishta reads كَانْتَر Kateher. MS. (A) reads كَانْتَر Kānthar. The district of Rohilkhand is meant.

³ Who Firishta says were notorious robbers and brigands.

hills,¹ and built a fort on those boundaries, and having called it Hisār-i-Nau (New Castle) proceeded to the Jūd hills, and brought an army² towards Lāhor, and rebuilt the castle of Lāhor which had been laid waste by the Mughūls in the reign of Sultān Muizzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh. Here he became ill, and the news of his illness³ reached the confines of Lakhnautī, and Tughrāl, Nāib of Amin Khān, who had been appointed to succeed Sher Khāu in that district, laid the foundation of rebellion, and fought with his master Amin Khān and came off victorious, and having imprisoned him gathered round himself the paraphernalia of royalty, and gave himself the title of Muizzu-d-Dīn, and completely defeated some imperial troops which had been sent to oppose him. Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn brought up an army against Tughrāl but he went towards Jājnagar and Tārkila (Nārkila)⁴ and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Beg Birlās⁵ was ordered to pursue him, the Rāī of Sunārgām named Dhanūj⁶ offering his services to the Sultān engaged to bring Tughrāl, and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn proceeding by forced marches found Tughrāl, who had fled into a jungle,⁷ walking about off his guard, and having put him to death sent his head to the court. The Sultān conferred that kingdom with a canopy and baton of office on his younger son Bughrā Khān, Governor of Sāmāna, who eventually received the

130.

1 MS. (A) reads كوهایہ سنبوز Kohpaya-i-Sanbūz. This seems to be a copyist's error, but I cannot suggest the true reading. The Kumāon hills must be meant.

2 حصار نونم نہاد MS. (A).

3 Neither Firishta nor Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī mention this.

4 مارکیلہ and در بچرہ سرو نشنه

5 MS. (A) reads ملک اختیار الدین تکرس را Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Tangras.

Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī calls him Malik Bārbak Bektars Sultānī. See Elliott, III. 117, note.

6 Called Danūj Rāī in Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī. See Elliott, III. 118, note.

"The Jājnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunārgānī, presently mentioned as on the road to Jājnagar, is described by Rennell as being once a large city and now a village on a branch of the Brahmaputra 13 miles S. E. of Dacca."

It is marked in Rennell's Map given in Vol. III. of Tieffenthaler "Sonner-gong." See Map N. 6. See J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 82.

7 The printed text and MS. (A) both have گریختند می گشت
The above appears to be the meaning.

title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din, and then left for the capital. Since, after the death of Sher Khān (who was uncle's son to the Sultān and one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din, and Governor of Lāhor and Dibālpur, and had read the *Khuṭbah* in Ghaznīn in the name of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din, the Mughūls during his governorship not daring to invade Hindustān) the road of communication had become opened¹ to the Mughūls, accordingly Sultān Balban, to remedy this, despatched his elder son Sultān Muḥammad, who is known as the *Khān-i-Shahid*, and *Qāān-i-Mulk*, (having first conferred upon him a canopy and baton of office, and the signs and insignia of royalty, and having made him his heir-apparent, and giving over Sind with its dependencies to his care) with full equipment towards Multān, and the country right up to Tattha and the seacoast was in his possession. Amīr Khusrū and Amīr Ḥasan of Dehli remained in his service for five years in Multān, and were enrolled among his intimate companions. On two occasions he sent large sums of gold from Multān to Shirāz and begged that Shaikh Sa'dī,² *may God have mercy on him*, would come to live with him. The Shaikh did not come, excusing himself on the score of old age, but commended Mir Khusrū to the care of the Sultān, writing in excessively laudatory terms concerning him, and sent a collection of autograph poems. Sultān Muḥammad used to visit Multān every year to see Sultān Balban, and used to return distinguished with robes of honour and all

¹ The Calcutta text exactly reverses the meaning by reading **وَانْشَدَ بُود**. Thus losing all the sense of the passage. Cf. MSS. (A) (B).

MS. (A) has, correctly, **وَانْشَدَ بُود**

² Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Muṣilī ibn 'Abdu-l-lah as-Sa'dī. He was a native of Shirāz where his family for generations had been famed for eminence in learning. He is said to have lived to a great age, accounts differing between 102 and 112 years (Béale says 120). He spent 30 years in acquiring sciences, 30 years in travelling (he made the Hajj fourteen times) and 30 years in quietude : He died in the year 691 H. (1291 A.D.) He was the contemporary of many great men, among them Amīr Khusrū of Dehli who entertained him. His *Kulliyāt* are of world wide reputation. The *Majma'ul Fuṣahā* (I. 274) from which the above is taken does not give the date of Sa'dī's birth, and gives the date of his death as 791 H. which is wrong. According to the account given by Beale Sa'dī was born "about the year 571 A.H." The above account would however place his birth in either 589 A.H. or 579 A.H. Of his works the *Gulistān* and *Būstān* are the best known.

For a full account of Sa'dī see the preface to Platt's *Gulistān*. See also *Ātashkada*, p. 284.

possible rewards and distinctions, and on the last occasion on which they were able to meet, the Sūlṭān instructed him in private with excellent counsels and pleasing discourses, which are mentioned in the books of the Histories of Dehli, and having granted him permission to depart sent him to Multān; and in the same year Itimar¹ the Mughūl with thirty thousand horsemen having crossed the Rāvi by the ford of Lāhor caused great commotion in those districts, and the Governor of Lāhor sent a petition to Khān-i-Shahid² telling him of what had occurred. He while in his assembly read 30,000 as 3,000 and, marching with a large force, by rapid and continuous marches arrived at the boundaries of Bāgh-i-Sabz,³ on the banks of the Lāhor river where he engaged the infidels and attained the dignity of martyrdom. This event took place in Zū-Hijjah of the year 683 H,⁴ and Mir Hasan⁵ of Dehli composed a prose lament, and sent it to Dehli. It is copied here in its very words.

The Lament of Mir Hasan.

It is an old story that the tyrannous sphere, though it may, for a time knit the knot of complaisance, and make a covenant of mutual sincerity, turns from its promise, and that discordant time, although it professes to shew acquiescence, and makes specious promises of fidelity, fails to perform them.

The wanton-eyed heaven, the pupil of whose manliness is sullied by the defect of the mote of meanness, at first, like a drunken man, gives some bounty in a case where there has been no favour received to demand it, but in the end, like the children, takes the

¹ I'timar. Both in the printed text and in MS. (A) Ziān-d-Din Barnī calls him Samar. Firishta calls him Timūr Khān.

² Called Khān-i-Shahid or the "Martyr Prince" because he fell in battle opposing "the accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changiz Khān" (Elliott, III. 122.)

³ MS. (A) باغ سبز MS. (B) باغ سر the text reads باغ سریں Bagh-i-Sarīr with a footnote variant Bagh-i-Sard.

⁴ Ziān-d-Din Barnī says 684 H.

⁵ Ziān-d-Din Barnī attributes this lament to Amīr Khusrū. (Elliott III. 122). Firishta also states that Amīr Khusrū escaped when the Prince was killed, and wrote a lament. It seems probable therefore that the lament should be attributed to Mir Khusrū. The Hasan which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A)(B) may have had its origin in a copyist's error.

gift back again without any treacherous conduct having been committed. The habits and customs of the oppressive times are cast in the same mould, whether by experience or by hearsay, we see or hear that whomsoever it perceives coming to perfection like the moon, it desires to darken the face of his fulness with the blot of defect, and whomsoever it finds rising like a cloud him it strives to tear to pieces, and to scatter his substance to the extreme boundaries of the horizon. As in this orchard of amazement and garden of regrets, no rose blooms without a thorn so no heart escapes the thorn of sorrow. Alas! for the newly sprung verdure which has become yellow, withered in the bloom of its beauty by the autumn of calamity. Alas! for the many fresh-springing trees which have been laid low in the dust of the ground by the fierce blast of Death.

132

- Consider the winds of Autumn, how chill they are and cold,
The cowardly blows they have dealt alike at the young and old.

One of the examples of this allegory is the death of the late Emperor Qā'ān-i-Mulk Ghāzi,¹ may God make manifest his demonstrations and weigh down the scale with his excellencies, on Friday the last day of the month of Zū-l-Hijjah in the year 683 A.H., when the moon, like kindness in the heart of infidels, could nowhere be seen, the Sun with the company of the army of Islām came forth to smite with the sword, and the great Prince who was the Sun of the heaven of the kingdom, with the light of holy war shining on his noble brow, and the unchangeable determination of "jihād" firmly planted in his illustrious mind, placed his auspicious foot in the stirrup. By night they submitted to his judgment which solved all difficulties, that Itimar with the whole of his army had advanced into the plain at a distance of three *farsangs*. When morning broke, he commenced to march intending to leave that place, and at a distance of one *farsang* coming face to face with those accursed ones,² elected to draw up their forces in a place on the outskirts

¹ Qā'ān-i-Mulk Ghāzi. The eldest son of Ghīyāsh-d-Dīn Balban who was Khān of Multān. See page 187 ante.

² آن ملے عین را MS. (A)

of Bāgh-i-Sarir¹ on the banks of the river of Lāhor. Accordingly he very strongly fortified a large village which was close to the river, and made such dispositions that when the infidels came against it, both rivers² should be in the rear of his army, so that neither could any man of his own army turn in flight nor could any injury be inflicted upon his army by that troublesome horde³ and in very truth that choice of position was the acme of caution and the very height of skill in that world-conquering Khān, but since when Fate is adverse the thread of all plans becomes tangled, and the orderly row of enterprises becomes disordered,

He who falls in with evil fortune by the way,
His affairs fall out just as his enemies desire.
His Fortune like a mad man loses the right way,
His senses, like the nightblind, fall into the well.

By chance that day the Moon and the Sun, which may be compared to kings, were suspended in the sign of the Fish,⁴ and Mars, whose blood-red aspect is entirely due to the blood of the princes of the people, had drawn out from the quiver of that sign the arrow of disappointment and the dart of disobedience against that Orion⁵ (white) girdled Khān, who was like Leo coming forth from a watery sign; the house of fear and calamity and the proofs of sedition and signs of harm thus became evidently

باغ سبز باغ تیز MS. (A). Probably the before mentioned.

² The Rāvī and Sathnj. This battle was fought close to Multān, and is described by Firishta, who states that after having routed the Mughūl army, the Prince and some of his retainers were resting by the bank of the river when they were attacked by one of the Mughūl chiefs who was lying in ambush with 2,000 men, and the Prince was killed with many of his followers; the army which had taken the alarm returning just in time to see him die.

³ I read مخاذيل شاقدہ MS. (A).

⁴ MS. (A) reads در نشانِ عاصی

جاء القضا ضيق الفضا Lit. When Fate comes, the plain becomes narrow.

Other proverbs of this kind are the following :—

اذا نزل القضاء بطل الحذر When Fate comes, caution is useless.

اذا نزل القضاء عمي البصر When Fate comes the eye is blind.

manifest, while the hint and indication of the proverb “*In face of Fate wide becomes strait*” became written on the consecutive pages (of his history). In short, at midday just as the courier of the heaven reached the country of noon, and the day of that world-conquering Emperor was approaching its decline, suddenly a band made its appearance from the direction of those infidels. The Khān-i-Ghāzi at that same moment mounted his horse and issued an order in obedience to which all the cavalry and the body servants and retinue and retainers, in accordance with the mandate ‘Kill the infidels all of them’,¹ drew up in a line a hundred times stronger than the rampart of Sikandar.² After ordering the right wing and dressing the left wing, he himself of noble qualities, stood in the centre like the moon and the host of the stars, ready for the *jihād*, while the Tātār infidels, *let confusion and dismay come upon them*, crossed the river of Lāhor, and confronted the ranks of the Muslims. Thereupon these wild-loving desert-born savages, placing the feathers of the owl³ upon their illomened heads, while the Ghāzis of Islām, kings of Turkestan and Khilj and notables of Hindustān, and all the soldiery made the battlefield a place of prayer—as the Holy Apostle, *may the blessings and peace of God be upon him*, declared that the holy war was closely allied to prayer, saying *We return from the lesser holy war to the greater holy war*,⁴ reciting the takbīr⁵

134

¹ See, Qur'ān IX. 5.

فَاقْتُلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ حِينَ وَجَدُّ نَهَارٍ

² The thick-wall said to have been built by Alexander the great to restrain the wild natives of Northern Asia: commonly known as the wall of Gog and Magog. See D'Herbelot Vol. I. p. 640, II. p. 282. Ibn Khaldoun, Proleg.: I. 162.

³ The owl called by the Arabs غراب الليل is a bird of ill omen and is held to be unclean, Muslims being forbidden to eat its flesh. (*Haiyātu-l-Haiwānāt*).

أَوْ كَانَ فِي الْبُوَءَةِ خَيْرٌ مَا تَرَكَهَا، لَصِيَادٌ

Hence the proverb
Had there been any good in the owl the hunter would not have passed it by. See also page 157, note 1. See also J. A. S. B. 1877, p. 81.

⁴ According to Sūfi writers there are two *Jihāds*. *Al-Jihādu-l-Akbar* or “the greater warfare” which is against one’s own lusts: and *Al-Jihādu-l-Asghar* or “the lesser warfare” against infidels (See Hughes. Dict. of Islām art. *Jihād*.)

⁵ Crying *Allāhu Akbar* الله اکبر God is Almighty. See *Mishkātu-l-Masāib* X, ii. 1.

raised their hands in prayer, and in the first attack they put to the sword a considerable number of ablebodied men of the Mughūl cavalry, and the lances of the Maliks of the Court so wounded the limbs of their enemies that above each of them the blood spurted up like a spear, while sixty selected Turks interweaving their arrows like closely-woven cloth, made it appear as though the weft (of existence) of the Tātārs was being torn to shreds.¹

In the beginning of the fray the arrow of the king leapt forth
The Tātārs were all laid low.

As often as the great Lord, lion-hearted, wielding the sword,
with a blade as bright as his own faith, sallied forth to
attack from the midst of the ranks.

You would say that the sword was trembling in that battlefield
at the excellencies of the monarch, and becoming in its entirety
a tongue was saying to him, Up and make an end of these accursed ones, and entrust their discomfiture to thy servants, but do thou thyself refrain from personal action, for the sword is double faced, and the scimitar of Fate pitiless in its wounding—no one can tell what may happen to any one of us from the decree of the All powerful. I close my eyes against the fatal eye.²

Go not, that I may bind thy dust upon mine eyes.

Act not, for I greatly fear the evil eye.

The heaven has never seen such a brilliant countenance,
I am as rue upon that fire to guard that eye.³

- As long as he strenuously performed the duties of fighting and
15. warfare, each of the weapons as it were entered into colloquy with
him—the spear was saying, Oh King! refrain your hand from me

¹ There is a sequence of plays upon words in the original which cannot possibly be preserved in a translation. قير *tir* is a kind of cambric or lawn. It also has the usual meaning of "arrow."

² عین الکمال An eye supposed to have the power of killing with one glance. The Arabs says نقا الله منك عين الکمال May God blind the fateful eye to thee.

³ سبند According to *Burhān-i-Qāfi*, a seed which is burned to avert the consequences of being "overlooked" by the evil eye. See Vüller's Lexicon.

For an interesting account of charms against the evil eye see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

this day, for the tongue of my point by reason of constant fighting and slaying is blunted, and I have no power left of opposing the enemy with thrusts, I fear lest I should leap up and should commit some untoward act. The arrow too was saying,

Thou, the knot of whose bowstring opens the knot of the Jauzhar, do not advance to meet this danger.¹

I myself in rushing forth to destruction cast dust upon my head, lest the close-eyed beauty of the heaven,² who sits on the fifth roof near the door of the eighth mansion,³ sitting in ambush, out of temerity and spite, should discharge against you the shaft of error from the bow of fraud and malice ; the lasso was saying, to-day the thread of planning should not be let go from the hand of deliberation, for I am contorted with anxiety at this precipitate conflict and ill-considered battle ; wait a while ! for Islâm and the Muslims are like the tent ropes connected with the tent of your favours. Oh God ! in dealing with this people, do not so long delay putting the halter round their necks.

I have willingly put my neck in the noose for thy sake

Thou art my lassoer, who takest me with the noose of thy locks.

In short, that mighty king, the defender of the faith, the uprooter of infidelity, from mid-day till eventide attacked that impious crowd with the whole main body of his army, cheerfully and willingly, while the shouts of the victors in the fight, and the clamour of those eager for the fray⁴ deafened the ears of the world and of the sky,⁵ and tongues of fire which leapt from the heads of

¹ MS. (A) has فندق as has the text. MS. B فندق Neither is intelligible.

Possibly we should read مفسدة mafṣada. Jauzhar the head and tail of Draco, see Burhān-i-Qāṭī also ‘Āin-i-Akbārī, II. (J.) p. 9, also Kashshāf, I. 202.

میادا توک تنگ چشم فلک ² MS. (A).

³ I read ترادرخانه نزد در خانه هشتم MSS. (A) and (B) have وسانیده which makes no sense unless we supply a word such as برو for which there is no sanction. The text reads ترا و برو but it seems to me نزد is more likely to be right. It might easily have become ترا by copyist's error.

⁴ MS. (A) غالبان وغا و غلبان طالبان غزا This is a better reading than the text.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) read صماع for استماع in the text.

the flashing spears, and tongues of the swords made not a single mistake in even in a letter in transmitting the message of destruction. In that uproar like the day of resurrection every one thought of this *Āyat A day when a man will flee from his own brother*,¹ the surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men who have lost their sons² was full of blood, and the face of the sky like the head of sons who have killed their fathers, full of dust.

Alas ! my father why dost thou submit to the steel of the fire-like sword

Oh ! dost thou wish to inflict the wound of orphanage on my heart.

In the very midst of this weary conflict, and amid all this pain and anguish, suddenly an arrow shot by Fate struck the wing of that falcon of the field of foray, and the bird of his life took its flight from the cage of the body of that noble one to the gardens of the Compassionate and meadows of Rīzwān³

Verily we are God's and verily to Him do we return.⁴

At that same moment the backbone of the religion of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, broke like the heart of sorrowful orphans, and the rampart of the religion of Muḥammad fell in like the grave of poor people of low origin, and the assistance which the arm of the king alone could give slipped from our grasp, and the confidence which the army of the Muslims had possessed⁵ was lost. Exactly at the time of sunset,

¹ Qur'ān Sur : lxxx. 34.

² MS. (A) بسر بیاد داده. The text has بسر بیاد داده which is bald and destroys all the antithetical force of the sentence.

In MS. (B) the word بسر is omitted.

³ MS. (A) گلشن حنان و روضہ رضوان Rīzwān, the name of the door-keeper of the garden of Paradise. The word means "Pardon" "forgiveness."

⁴ The formula of resignation to the Divine will uttered by pious Muslims in all times of adversity, more especially bereavement or in presence of death. In the Qur'ān II. 150, 151 we read, "We will try you with something of fear, and hunger and loss of wealth and souls and fruit; but give good tidings to the patient who when there falls on them a calamity say, 'Verily we are God's and verily, to Him do we return' these, on them are blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they it is who are guided." (Palmer).

⁵ بینة الإسلام see Lane, Ar. Dict. بینة الإسلام. The place which comprises El-Islām (meaning the Muslims) like as the egg comprises the young bird, or the congregation or collective body of the Muslims.

the sun of the life of that king whose sun was setting sank into the west of extinction, and the heaven, after the habit of mourners, dyed its raiment blue, while falling tears began to course down both its cheeks. Saturn, by way of fulfilling the requirements of fidelity and the demands of mourning, turned its robe to black and bewailed the people of Hindūstān because of his death. Jupiter, in pity for that dust besoiled body and blood-stained mantle rent his garments and cast his turban in the dust.

And Mars, may the hand of his power be tightly closed as the eye of the beauties, and the face of his sustenance be dark as the locks of Ethiopians, sore wounded by compassion for that calamity, with a rankling thorn¹ which brought forth his heart's blood, was trembling like the Fish² before the Sun, and like the Ram³ in the hands of the slaughterer, while the Sun, for shame that it had not striven to avert this calamity and prevent this disaster, came not forth,⁴ but sank below the earth, and Venus when she saw what violence the heavenly bodies were undergoing at the hands of Time, played her tambour more vehemently,⁴ changed the tune of the drum, and commenced music in a fresh measure, and because of the death of that slave-cherishing king, others in place of uttering musical strains began to weep, and Mercury⁵ who in forage and conquests in accord with the scribe, used to write many records of victory, in that tyranny⁶ was blackening his face with the contents of his inkhorn, and was clothing himself in a garment of paper made of the sheets of his own records, while the new moon in the shape of a crescent on the horizon, with bowed stature, in that day of judgment which had visited the earth, was striking its head on the wall and performing all the customary mourning duties.

137.

١ خار عقرب. *Khār-i-'Aqrab* The thorn of Scorpio. Mars is called خار عقرب.

٢ حوت *Hüt*. The sign Pisces.

٣ حمل *Hamal*. The sign Aries.

٤ يزيف في حدائق زاد في اطنبور *taṣallūm* MS. (A) MS. (B). The textual reading نظم must be wrong.

The طنبور *tanbūr* is a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire played with a plectrum. The word was originally دنب بره from its being likened to the tail of a lamb. (Lane).

٥ Mercury is called دبیر فلك *Dabir-i-Falak*. The scribe of the sky.

٦ تظلم *tazallūm* MS. (A) MS. (B). The textual reading نظم must be wrong.

Thou placest thy cheek in the dust, alas, I wish not this
for thee

Moon of my days, I do not wish thee to pass beneath the
Earth.

If thou goest out to the chase (*i.e.* diest) thy dust is my life :
My life ! is the solitude of thy dust pleasing to thee ? I do
not wish it for thee.

May God, be *He exalted and blessed*, raise the purified and
sanctified soul of that warrior prince to lofty heights and high
dignities, and give him, from time to time, cups full of the bril-
liancy of his beauty and glory, and make all the kindness, and
clemency, and affection, and care which he evinced towards this
broken down worthless one, a means of increasing the dignity and
wiping out the faults of that prince. Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds !

And Mir Khusrū¹ also on that day fell a prisoner into the
hands of Lahori, a servant of the Mughūl, and had to carry a
nosebag and horsecloth upon his head. He recounts this circum-
stance in these words—

I who never even placed a rose upon my head,
He placed a load on my head and said “It is a rose.”²

And he composed in poetry and sent to Dehli two elegies written
in *tarkib-band*³ which are found in the anthology known as

میر خسرو¹ For an account of Mir Khusrū see index reference.

The poet, relates some of his experiences as a captive—“At the time
that this learner of evil, the author, was a captive in the hands of the
Mughūls—may such days never return!—travelling in a sandy desert, where
the heat made my head boil like a cauldron, I and the man who was with
me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream by the roadside. Although
the naphtha of my life was heated I would not inflame it with oil by
drinking a draught of water. Both my guard and his horse drank their
fill and expired immediately.” Elliott, III, Appendix, p. 545.

² جل means both *horsecloth* and also *rose*. There is a difference in the read-
ings. MS. (A) reads, تو بُرَة بُرْسَرْ نَهَاد وَكَفَنَا جَل MS. (B) is like the text.

³ ترکیب بند. In this class of composition a certain number of verses
having the same metre and rhyme are followed by a couplet in the same
metre but having a different rhyme—then the original rhyme is reverted to
for a certain number of verses, and is again followed by a fresh couplet
having the same metre, but a rhyme differing from both the original rhyme
and that of the first interpolated couplet—and so on. In Tarjī'band as

*Ghurratu-l-Kamāl.*¹ For a space of a month more or less, folk used to sing those *tarkib-bands* and used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house.

The following is one of them :—

- 138.
- Is this the Resurrection day or is it a calamity from heaven which has come to light ?
- Is this a disaster or has the day of Judgment appeared upon the earth ?
- That breach which has appeared this year in Hindustān has given entrance to the flood of sedition below the foundation of the world.
- The assembly of his friends has been scattered like the petals of the rose before the wind.
- Autumn the leaf scatterer has, one would say, appeared in the garden,²
- Every eyelash, in the absence of friends, has become a spear-point to the eye, and each point of the spear has brought blood spouting forth to a spear's length.
- The heart writhes in agony since Time has broken the thread of companionship ;
- When the string is broken, the pearls are scattered far and wide.
- Such a flood of tears has been shed by the people on all sides that five fresh rivers have appeared around Multān.³
- I wished to bring my heart's fire upon the tongue in the form of words,
- When lo ! a hundred tongues of fire appeared within my mouth.

has been stated elsewhere, the plan is similar to the above, but the interpolated couplet is always the same. This interpolation occurs not more than seven times both in Tarkib-band and in Tarji'band.

¹ *Ghurratu-l-kamāl.* The longest of the four Diwāns of Amīr Khusrū. It contains poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life ; for an account of this and the other "Diwāns" see Elliott, III. Appendix. See also Hājī Khalīfah, IV. 311.

² MS. (A) reads گلستان for بوسنان.

³ MS. (A) agrees with the text. MS. (B) has a worthless reading

هیچ دیگر اندر مولتان آمد پدیده

I dug deep in my breast, empty of all desire, and tears burst forth from both my eyes ; when the earth is hollowed out then springs of water make their appearance.

Weeping has taken the bloom off my cheek, and disgraced me, because by reason of it, the skin has left my cheek and the bones have come in sight.

The planets are all conjoined in my eyes¹ perchance it portends a storm, since in a watery constellation a conjunction of planets is seen.

I only wish for that same collection (of friends) and how can this be !

139. It is essentially impossible—how can this *Banātu-n-Na'sh* become the Pleiades² (How can mourning become joy).

With what omen³ did the king lead his army from Multān and draw the infidel-slaying sword in order to slay the infidels.

¹ The text has در چشم we should read در چشم as in MS. (A).

The astrologers state that when a conjunction of all the planets shall take place in one of the watery constellations (Scorpio, Pisces, Aquarius) a deluge like that which destroyed the world in the time of Noah will occur again.

² This couplet differing as it does in rhyme, but being in the same metre is characteristic of ترکیب بند *tarkib band*, see p. 196, note 3.

بنات النعش *Banātu-u-na'sh*, this name "The daughters of the bier" is given by the Arabs to the constellation *Ursa Major*. See Lane, s. v. نعش -

The origin of the name "The daughters of the bier" is said by Sedillot in his Notes to the *Prolegomenes des Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Beg*, to be that "the Arab Christians called the "Chariot" or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear *Feretrum Lazari*, and the three stars (the handle of the plough) of the tail *Maria, Martha ac ancilla*." The Persians have a superstition that if two people are together and one of them points out this constellation to the other, one of the two will die within the year.

The allusion to the Pleiades is explained by the following verses of *Ibnul-Amid* (see de Slane, *Ibn Khall.* : III. 263).

"I have seized on one of the opportunities which life offers to form with my companions a part of the band of the Pleiades, and, if you do not aid us to maintain our rank in that choir by sending us some wine, we shall be sad like the daughters of the hearse."

The Pleiades is considered a fortunate asterism (cf.) Job. xxxviii. 13, "The sweet influences of Pleiades."

³ MSS. (A) and (B) read طالع تاچه.

When they brought him tidings of the enemy, with that strength which he possessed, ruthlessly he displayed his wrath and unfurled his standards.

That army which was then present sought for no second army,

For this reason that Rustum must not be indebted to an armed host.¹

One assault took him from Multān to Lāhor, saying

In my reign can any one rebel against me?

Am I not such a lion, that my sword which is like fire and water

Has by its slaying turned every year of theirs to dust and ashes?

Such torrents of blood often have I set flowing over the earth,

That the vulture flies² over the surface of blood like a duck over the water.

In this year to such an extent do I stain the earth with their blood,

That the evening twilight reddens with the reflection of the earth.

He was bent upon this enterprise and did not know that the Destiny of heaven had drawn the line of fate across the writing of the page of intention.

His eyes were smitten by the stars; if I have the power I must heat a needle, and like a shooting star thrust it into the eye of the seven planets.

The first day of the month became Muḥarram³ for him, 140. not for him only but for all people.

¹ These verses are transposed in the text. MS. (A) and MS. (B) give this order.

² MSS. (A) and (B) read برس خون پر کشید.

³ MS. (A) reads غرہ میں محرم.

The Martyr Prince was killed on the last day of Zūl Hijjah the morrow of which was the sacred month of Muḥarram.

The 'Āshūrā (the tenth) is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. We read in the *Mīkhāz* (VII.) Ibn Abbās said "I did not see his highness intend the fast of any day which he considered more noble than the 'Ashūrā and the fast of Ramaḍān." Again "the fast of

Since at the end of Zül Hijjah he drove his dagger into
the neck of his enemies.

That the day of 'Āshūra might arrive he entered the ranks
of holy war like Husain; the dust of his steed served as
collyrium for the eye of the brilliant moon.

What an hour was that when the infidel reached the van of
the army!

One upon another his squadrons passed over the river and
came upon them unawares.¹

Thou didst see the king's steed,² casting the cloud of dust
to the sky.

The wind-footed courier charging the infidels worthless
as dust.

He raised a turmoil among the stars by the shouts of
his army.

He produced an earthquake in the world by the rushing
of his cavalry,

From the roll of the drums, the neighing of the horses, and
the shouts of their riders, he caused a quaking of the
plain and desert and mountain.

His horses were reeking (with sweat), with shoes as hot as
fire, so that the hoofs of each fiery-shod steed struck
sparks.³

What awe was there! at one time drawing up for battle,
What terror was there! at another time raising the battle
cries.⁴

141. From the flash of the sword in his hand he scattered heat
and oppressiveness around him.

the day 'Āshūra I am hopeful will cover the faults of the coming year."
(Matthews, Vol. I. p. 402).

"It is the only day of Muharram observed by the Sunnī Muslims, being
the day on which, it is said, God created Adam and Eve, heaven and hell, the
tablet of decree, the pen, life and death." (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*).

جوق جرق آب را بگذشت و ناله در رسید and آن چه میاعت ^۱ MS. (A) reads

جنگ instead of خنگ as in the text. ^۲ MS. (A) reads

وز سم هر آتشین نعلی. ^۳ MSS. (A) (B.) read

آن چه هیبت بود گاهی کارزار آراستن ^۴ MS. (A)

وان چه دهشت بود گاهی تیرو دار انگیختن

MS. (B) reads the same as (A) repeating هیبت in the second line.

While the very thought of his spear pricked the heart like
so many thorns.
The brave-hearted were attacking, bent on consuming their
enemies,
The faint-hearted were plotting intent upon flight.
[Whiles, the king the cherisher of brave men, in that
field of battle,
Was doing deeds of bravery and urging on the warriors].¹
Striking manfully blow after blow upon the ribs of the
unmanly cowards,
And sending forth flames of fire from his well tempered
sword.
Raising aloft like Jamshid the standard, to restrain the
demons,
Urging on his steed, like the sun, to capture kingdoms.
Bringing the sky into supplication from that affliction.
Making the sun perform the *Tayammum*² with that dust.
[At that time when there was a distinction between brave
and coward,
Many a one there was whose lips were dry and his cheeks
pale].³

These lines are omitted in the text but are in both MSS.

گلا شا مزد پرور اندران میدان کار
کار مردان کودن و مردان کار انگیختن

تیسم *tayammum*. This word signifies "Intention" and is restricted
the *Wuḍū* or ablutional ceremony performed with sand instead of water,
which is permissible under certain circumstances, as for instance when
water cannot be procured without incurring undue risk or labour.
rān V. 9. "If...ye cannot find water then take fine surface sand and wipe
ir faces, and your hands therewith." This like so many of Muhammad's
actions was excellent as a sanitary measure.

The text and MS. (B) are both wrong here, repeating the preceding
d as though this poem were a *tarjī'band*. The following is the correct
ding as given in MS. (A)

اندران وقت که فرق از مرد تا ناممرد بود
ای بسکم را که لبها خشک و روها زرد بود

onsequently in the translation I have omitted the incorrectly repeated
s, and have given these in their place.

The day was cast into darkness when they hurled¹ one upon the other,

The sun became pale when dagger was interweaved with dagger.

The day was nearing its decline, seeing that the swords² were weaving a sky of rust over the sun of the army.

The rows of swords in both ranks resembled (the teeth of) a comb,

The combatants are entangled one with the other like hair with hair.³

142. The Earth looked like a sheet of water when cuirass was knit with cuirass, the plain resembled a rose garden when shield was woven with shield.

The heaven flies away as though flying from an arrow,
The arrows flying above their heads are thick as the feathers of a wing.

When half the force of the infidels had their heads swept off by the sword

Those infidel heads⁴ which were matted together like the locks of black hair.

Ruby-red drops of blood sprang like tears⁵ from the sword
So that the gold-woven standards were besprinkled with the jewels.

Each single head was cleft in twain when the swords blows met.

¹ MS. (B) reads تاونند which is the best reading.

² This is the reading of MS. (A) مک از زنگار تیغ MS. (B) follows the text but with no intelligible meaning. The reading of MS. (A) is not quite satisfactory and it seems possible that we should read از جنگار تیغ i.e. The warriors' swords.

³ MS. (A) has the following:—

شاد را مانند آن صفحه‌ای تیغ از هر دو سو

MS. (B) has شاند را مانند while the text has this as an alternative reading for شاند را زانست.

MS. (B) is the reading adopted for this line, reading however باغنند (text) and MS. (A) for تاونند MS. (B) in the second line.

⁴ MS. (A) کافران هر سر.

⁵ Insert از before MS. (A).

The cloven heads became as one again when head was
thrust against head.

The slain were lying on all sides of that verdant plain¹
Like the figures which they weave on the green brocade.

Long had they been striving even from morning till even-
ing, face to face, and hair to hair, and hand to hand.²

The king³ wished to spread the carpet of victory but to
what avail

Since the heavens had woven that carpet in another pattern.

⁴ [His auspicious sword did not cease from contest for
one moment.

From the declining day till night in that day of declining
fortune].

Oh Lord ! was that blood which flowed over the face of the 143.
plain

Or was it a river urging its waves toward the lips of the
thirsty.

Just as water drops to the earth when you sift it⁵ in
a sieve

So the blood dript from the limbs of the weary warriors.

The mortally wounded lay in the death-agony writhing on
the ground, while from his throat blood burst in billows,
spouting in the air.

The arrows drove the bodies over the sea of blood like
boats,

Plying their oars madly and urging their course onwards.⁶

¹ MS. (A) reads کشتنگان افتاده در اطراف آن صحراي سبز which is the reading adopted.

² MS. (A) reads رو بروی و مو بموی و بسو بسو بر یافتند.

³ MS. (B) reads رو برو و موبیمو و سوبیسو بر یافتند.

⁴ MS. (B) reads incorrectly خواست شد.

⁵ The text and MS. (B) are again wrong here giving in this place the couplet beginning اندران میدان, see page 196 note 3, instead of the lines which should follow

یک زمان شمشیر اقبالش نیاسود از قتال
از زوال روز تاشب اندران روز زوال

⁶ MS. (A) بینزی

⁶ These lines follow here in MS. (A) in the text they are five couplets later.

The river bore those (the infidel enemies) to hell and the stream bore these (the Muslims) to Paradise, although the blood of infidel and Muslim was flowing side by side. The chargers were plunging and the heads of the riders falling.

The feet of the horses speeding and the heads of the riders bowling along.

Every spurt of blood which spurted from the body struck by an arrow

Leapt without restraint like a man who leaps to avoid an arrow.¹

The arrow of every man who from stoutness of heart had an arm nerved for the fight, fitted accurately to the bow flew straight to the heart of the enemy's army.

And he who from faint-heartedness has lost command of his arms and legs, was running now to the water and now to the plain.

The king, the commander of the army, was urging on the charger of his fortune, and it galloped with him in drawing up his line, and planning the scheme of action.

144. The heavens turned Victory backwards seizing it by the hair,

Although Victory was speeding towards us having left the accursed (infidels).

² [The infidels were expecting the coming of night, to take to flight,

Suddenly the scale of the balance turned against us].

What a night was that! when the sun had fallen from the sky!

And demons were hurling fire upon the earth, and the stars had fallen.

When nothing of day remained for that sun of fortune.³

¹ These lines follow here in MS. (A) which reads چون کسی گز تیر بجھد.

² Here again the text and MS. (B) are wrong. Here should follow as in MS. (A).

کافر اندر منتظر شب ۵۶ تا پیروون شود

ناگهان میزان مارا پلہ دکر گون شود

آفتاب بخت را

³ These are omitted in MS. (B.). MS. (A.) reads آفتاب بخت را

This and the following are transposed in the text.

Some little daylight remained when the sun (of royalty) fell.

Although Husain of the famous Kerbelâ¹ was in straits for want of water.

He was the Muḥammad whose end came upon him in the water.²

The heart of mankind became (full of holes like) a fishing net because, from the craft of the demon the royal signet which was on the hand of Solomon fell into the water.³

The infidels were wallowing in blood as the donkey wallows in the gutter, the believers lay in the mud like jewels in the mire.

One army was passing through the water of the flood of disaster,

The other parched with thirst had fallen in with a mirage. Each one of them was put down on the tablet of the earth for this reason that their affairs had fallen into the account of the day of reckoning.

¹ A city in 'Irāq 50 miles south west of Bagdad and six miles west of the Euphrates. Husain was slain there A.H. 61 in conflict with Yazid ibn Mu'awia on the 10th of Muḥarram; the name of the place where Husain was cut off from the Euphrates was called Kerbelâ. See Hughes Dict. of Islām art. *Husain*.

² MS. (A) reads ۸۵ در آتش بے آب افتاده بود but the text is the correct reading.

It refers to the circumstances already related under which the Khān-i-Shahid, the Martyr prince met his death. Firishta relates that having defeated the enemy the "generals of Hindustān discarded all caution and pursued the fugitives while the Muḥammad, the Martyr Khān, who had not performed the mid-day prayer, went hastily with 500 of his army to the margin of a large tank which then was near, alighted and engaged in prayer when his party were suddenly attacked by one of the Mughūl Generals with 2,000 men who were in ambush" (*Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I. 143. *Bombay Edition*.) The Prince after a gallant fight was killed by an arrow and most of his men killed. It was here Amir Khusrū was taken prisoner but escaped.

³ The following is greatly abridged from the *Qissatu-l-Anbiyā*. Solomon's famous signet ring in which lay the secret of all his power was stolen from him by the jinn *Aṣṭarjī* who while Solomon was bathing, personated him and demanded the ring from his wife (*Yaminah*) to whom he had entrusted it. Obtaining it from her he sat on the throne and ruled the kingdom, Solomon having been cast out as an imposter. Solomon entered the service of some fishermen who used to give him two fish daily as his

The skull caps which were lying in the fresh crimson blood
looked like cocoanuts engraved and ornamented with
vermilion.¹

45. The wounds of the heart were weeping tears of blood in
bidding farewell to the soul, and the bodies were lying
desolate owing to separation from life.

Alas ! many were the living who were lying among the
dead overcome with terror, their bodies blood-stained and
their eyes sunk in (feigned) sleep.

Look at the deeds of this crafty old wolf (the sky) for lions
were as though bound in chains and elephants in fetters
at the hands of (infidel) dogs.

[This was not a battle, I verily saw that that was the day
of resurrection. If these are the tokens of the resurrec-
tion, then I have seen it].²

Look at the revolution of the heaven, for it brought about
such a change, that it made the centre of Islâm to go
round and round (in perplexity) like the compasses.³

wages, one of which he ate but sold the other to feed the poor. In the mean-
time Aṣaf recognized that it was not Solomon who was ruling, and brought
40 holy men (رَبِّيْب) before the throne each bearing an open copy of the
Taurât (Book of the Law) which they read aloud; Aṣtarjî the demon was not
able to bear this, rushed up to the roof of the palace, cast the ring into the
water and fled. Solomon happened to be fishing that day but being tired fell
asleep on the bank of the river, a large snake came out of the water and
taking the green bough of a tree in its mouth was fanning Solomon as he
slept, when the fisherman's daughter passed by; she ran off to her father
and begged him to marry her to Solomon. Eventually this was settled
(though Solomon protested his inability to provide a dowry) and Solomon
married the girl. The fish which had swallowed the ring fell into their net
on the following day and was given to Solomon with two other fish, Solomon
took them and sold two of them and gave the other to the fisherman's
daughter to fry. She struck a knife into it and the ring fell out, the whole
house becoming illuminated, she screamed and fainted, Solomon seized the
ring and put it on, thus recovering his lost kingdom.

¹ MS. (A) reads کشتنگان را سر کامهای سر which seems preferable.

² The text and MS. (B) are again wrong: the proper lines here are
نی فزع بود آن قیامت را معین دیده ام
گو قیامت را نشان اینست پس من دیده ام

³ MS. (A) reads (variant adopted) دایرات آسمان بن MS. (B) is the same
as the text except that it reads پوکار in both lines.

Has one ever seen an atom carry off the water of the sun's
spring?

Has one ever seen a stone, which has rivalled the princely
pearl?

When the king entered the cave of the protection of God,
that man is a dog who did not wake the sleepers of the
cave¹ with his lamentations.

That he entered the secret cave (of death) when fleeing
from his enemies, is no disgrace.

The elect of God (Muhammad) fled towards the cave to
avoid the attack of his enemies.²

And if a spark reached him from the arrow of his enemies
this too is right³ for the wrath of Nimrod at last com-
mitted Abraham to the fire.⁴

And if he went to the holy place (Paradise) do not be vexed
and count it as a shame to him⁵ for 'Isā through the
spite of the Nazarenes devoted his life on the cross.

And if the (infidel) dogs were crafty as foxes to him, say
this, that it is of a piece with the dog like behaviour
which was shewn to ('Ali) the Ḥaidār-i-Karrār (lion of
repeated attacks).⁶

And if the demons caused him to drown, then say this that
it is like when a demon drowned Rustum in the ocean.⁷

Every year he used to devote his life and energy to fighting
the Mughūls,

At last he yielded up his precious life in this endeavour.

¹ Qur'ān, Sūratu-l-Kahf, XVIII. The seven sleepers of Ephesus. MS. (A)
reads سگست آن آدمی کونه سگست شکست ;
and the text reads کونه گونه for گونه.

² MSS. (A) and (B) read از رزم خصمان.

³ The text and MS. (B) are hopelessly wrong here: the correct reading
MS. (A) is از تپر خصمان هم درواست.

⁴ Qur'ān, xxi. 52-69.

- Said they Burn him and help your gods if ye are going to do so
We said Oh fire ! be thou cool and a safety for Abraham.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) read از ننگ شان دل بد مکن. The reading in
the text ننگنا is inadmissible.

⁶ Abdur Rahmān ibn Muljim slew 'Ali with a sword while engaged in
prayer on the 19th Ramazān 35 A.H. in the Mosque of Kūfa.

⁷ See Shāh Nāma (Turner Macaulay), Vol. II., p. 748. l. 8.

This is one of the tricks of fate which at one time sheds blood and at another gives life;¹ we are powerless, it is useless to strive against the all-powerful tyrant (fate).
The mighty lion when stung by the ant roars aloud in agony.

The infuriated elephant when pricked by a thorn shrieks from pain.

[It was on Friday, the last day of Zūl H̄ijjah that this battle took place]

At the end of eighty-three and the beginning of eighty-four].²

The sun and moon wept over the face of that one of auspicious features,

Day and night wept over the youth of that short-lived one.
Like his orders, tears from the eyes, flowed from east to west

Behold the obedience of the servants³ who wept without any master.

In his reign birds and fishes were so happy

147. That the fishes wept in the water and the birds in the air.

The heavens with its thousand eyes wept over the people of the earth like vernal showers upon the grass.⁴

The dew which falls every morning from heaven and waters the earth, consider that as the tears of the stars who are weeping in the highest heavens.

The people of Multān, men and women, weeping and tearing their hair, in every street, face to face and every where.

No one could sleep at night for the noise of the wailing, and the beating of the drums, for in every house the mourners were weeping bitterly.

1 MS. (A) مه ده جان و گه

2 MS. (A) has the following lines in place of those in the text

جمعه بود و سلیمان ذی اکتوبر که وفت آن کارزار

آخر هشتاد و سه آغاز هشتاد و چهار

1st Muharram (684 A.H.)

3 بندہ فرمان بن

4 This couplet is omitted from MS. (B).

They were preparing to perform the *wazū* in the water of their eyes,

Hoping for pardon for that they wept at the time of prayer.
Their tongues were blistered like the feet of prisoners,
So sorely did they weep for the captives of calamity.

Their eyes poured forth blood upon the earth like the throat of the slain,

So bitterly did each one weep for his own dead.¹

And if by chance a captive returned from that bond of calamity,

Every one seeing his face wept honest tears of sorrow.

[So great was the weeping that the waves of the tears were greater than those of the Jihūn.

This was my own condition, the state of the others how can I describe !]²

Shall I wring my hands, or shall I with my own teeth make my arm livid,

Or shall I wear clothes of a darker blue than this blue heaven ?³ 148.

Every man of reputation, tattoos his arm with the needle, But when I make my arm blue with my teeth, the name of the king leaps forth on my arm.

Alas ! that he by the tyranny of the blue sky, is sleeping beneath the earth, while ⁴ because of his sleeping there the whole horizon has become blue (dark).

There was both the blackness of the Hindū and the whiteness of the Turk, whereas now both Turk and Hindū are wearing blue (as mourning)

⁵ [It was as though the people were tearing the heavens and dividing them among themselves,

¹ This is the order of the couplets in MS. (A).

² MS. (A) گرد چندان شد که موج دیده از جیهون گذشت
حال من این بود حال دیگران تا چون گذشت

³ Blue was the customary mourning colour in Persia.

⁴ و ز

⁵ This couplet is not in the text nor in MS. (B) MS. (A) reads

آسمان را گویا بدرید و قسمت کرد خلق

بسکه اطراف زمین از جامه شد هرسو کبدود

To such an extent was the earth in all directions blue with mourning garments.]

Now it has become customary to wear blue—so that henceforth it behoves the weavers of white cloth to dye their thread blue in the shuttle.¹

In every street² of Cairo a river blue like the Nile was flowing; to such an extent were blue garments being washed in tears on all sides.

The dyers of blue cloth were as happy as if there was a bridal in their houses, because so many brides had their garments dyed blue in mourning for their husbands.³

The lovely ones who were smiting their foreheads and shedding tears of blood had their cheeks below their eyes red (with blood) while above their eye-brows it was blue.

The beauties have no need of blue (patches) and redness (rouge) after this,

For the cheeks are torn till they are red (with blood) and the face is smitten till it is blue (with bruises).

In such quantities do they tear their hair from their delicate brows, one and all

That the root of every hair becomes blue from such rough treatment.

149. [How long shall I tear out the hair of my head in this lamentation and mourning !

Nay I will pluck this body of mine like a hair from the head of my life].⁴

Alas! that my heart has suddenly turned to blood on account of (the loss of) my friends.

The order of the following couplets differs from that of the text as will be seen.

¹ MS. (A) reads ما کو ياكو for the latter is the correct reading.

² MS. (A) بھر کوی.

³ MS. (A) پیر هنای عروسان

⁴ MS. A. صوی سر تا چند از این غم زار و گربان بر کنم Not in the text.

این تن چون صوی باری از سر جان بر کنم

Alas ! for that assembly who were a constant fresh joy to their friends.

The eyes became flooded with water and blood on account of their friends, so long as I saw my friends in the midst of blood and water.

Such priceless blood of my friends has the earth swallowed That it is my right to demand from the Earth the blood money for my friends.

If it were possible for those who sleep in the dust to arise, I would devote the remainder of my life to secure the existence of my friends.

It were a pity that the eye should have its pupil always with it, and yet that its friends should be out of sight.¹

How can one bear to look at others instead of one's friends, My friends are gone ! How can I embrace a stranger !

How can I clothe any other person in the mantle of any friends !

I will place their dust in my eyes (as a collyrium). How can it be right that the dust of my friends' feet should be so little valued.²

In desire for my friends, even though they sever my head (from my body),

Still the desire for my friends will never be severed from my ³ head.

Oh my King ! whenever thou biddest me I will tear my garment of life to the very edge in mourning for my friends.

My life has been torn to shreds in a hundred places through grief, how can it be right that I should tear a shred into shreds for the sake of my friends.⁴

My friends have gone of whom are you talking,
Once for all bring your speech to an ending and breathe a prayer for my friends.

150.

¹ MS. (A) مود مان در چشم و یار از چشم دور

² MS. (A) The order in the text differs.

³ در هوای دوستانم گر سرم بیرون کنند

⁴ I follow the text here. MS. (A) reads.

[Always remember the departed, especially at the time of prayer,
 Because nothing shews you the way to mercy save the guidance of prayer].¹
 O Lord may the illumination of the sun of mercy light upon their souls,²
 May their souls shine like the sun from the bounty of thy light.
 In the day of battle the Great Khān was their leader,
 May the same Khān be also their leader to the Garden of Paradise.
 If an angel flies thither in desire for him it becomes a fly,³
 May the wings of the peacock of Paradise drive away the flies from them.
 The bounty of mercy is the water of life in the gloom of the grave,⁴
 Oh Lord, in the darkness of the tomb may they have the water of life.
 [When the faces become black from the sun of resurrection
 May the wings of the angels cast protecting shade over their heads].⁵
 When they give⁶ into their hands the record of their deeds taken from the book of punishment,
 May the record bear as its heading the words “A book for the right hand.”⁷

These lines are not in the text nor in MS. (B).

یاد می کن خفتگان را خامه در حال دعا
 کت برحمت راه نماید مگر دل دعا

دل دعا *Dāl-i-du‘ā* *Dāl* signifies the letter with which the word *du‘ā* begins, while *Dāl* also means “that which shews the way.”

یارب از⁸ MS. (A).

در هوایش گر ملک پرد گردد مگس⁹ MS. (A).

در ظلمات گور (A).

⁴ MS. (A) (B) This couplet is omitted from the text.

چون ز خورشید قیامت و ویها گردد میمه
 بر سر از پر ملائک مسایه گوران باد شان

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) بركت دهنده

⁷ See Qur’ān lxxiv. 7, 8, 9 “and as for him who is given his book in his

May the drops of blood which were shed from their throats
Become the most costly rubies of their crown of pardon.
For the thirsty ones¹ whose souls departed for lack of
water,

May the cloud of mercy rain continuously upon their heads.
For the captives² who were long subjected to hardships,
Oh Lord ! may the hope of speedy release make their way
light for them.

151

May the affliction which they suffered in imprisonment, be
to those who have escaped from prison (by death) the
cause of their eternal salvation,
And those who have survived and have returned from
that calamity,

May they experience the mercy of the Author of good,³ and
may the favour of the Sultān be theirs.
Since Muḥammad has departed may the event be happy for
the king. May his son Kaiqubād be most fortunate and
his son Kaikhusrū be blessed.

And the opening [of another threnody]⁴ is as follows :

My heart sit silent in sorrow for no trace of joy remains,
Grief, do thou take away the world, for no joy is left
therein.

In the following ode too he refers to the same disastrous
occurrence :

Behold this calamity⁵ which has be fallen this year on the
frontier of Multan,
The right wing of the believers has been defeated⁶ by the
infidel ranks.

right hand, he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning ; and he shall go
back to his family joyfully.”

¹ MS. (A) تشنگان وار که جانهای شان بی بی ای گذشت I follow the text here.

² This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads کشنگان MS. (B)

³ Vüller. بیزدان.

⁴ These words are not in either MS.

⁵ MS. (A) reads ڈمین بل نگر امساں. This is the preferable reading.

⁶ MS. (A) شکست.

How can I explain that day of resurrection, from the agony of which the Angel of Death would have craved respite.

How can I describe the way in which the Ghāzīs, attacked the front of the Khaibarīs, like the Lion of repeated attacks.

But what help has anyone against the decree of fate which was ordained by and issued from the Almighty.

152. What was the condition of the battle field? it was one load of dead bodies,

So much blood was spilled and the load was lying upon it.¹

The blood of martyrs, poured out like a libation, was mingled with the earth,

The necks of prisoners bound together with ropes in rows, like rose chains,

The heads strangled in the tight noose of the saddle-cords,²

The necks caught in the toils of the head-ropes.

Although my head escaped that game of strangulation,

Still my neck did not escape that noose of torture.

I was taken captive, and for fear lest they should shed my blood

My blood dried up, not a single drop remained in my weak and emaciated body.

I was poured out like water running without beginning and without end, and like bubbles thousands of blisters appeared on my feet from much travelling.

The skin was separated from my feet by the blisters,

Like to the seams of a slipper burst open.

My heart, because of affliction, was as hard as the hilt of a sword

¹ MS. (A) reads ز مین رزم که شد یار کشته بود همہ

MS. (B) زمین رزم که شد باز گشت بود همہ

ز مین رزم چه شد بار کشته بود همہ.

² دوال بازی. See Richardson s. v.

From weakness my body was become wood like the handle
of a club.¹

Not a breath remained in my wind-pipe by reason of thirst,
My belly was like a drum from the duration of my hunger.²
My body was stripped naked like a tree in autumn,
And like a rose torn into a thousand shreds by the thorns.
For sorrow the pupil of my eyes poured forth drops
Like the (scattered pearls) of a necklace broken from the
neck of a bride.

A *Qurūna*³ driving me on in front followed along the way 153.
seated on a horse, like a leopard on a hill range

Fœtor ab isto ore teterrimus axillæ odorí similis,
Capilli oris ejus pubi similes usque ad mentum delapsi.⁴
If I lagged behind a step or two through fatigue
He would draw at one time his falchion⁵ at another his

javelin.⁶

I kept heaving deep sighs and saying to myself
Alas ! I shall never be able to escape from this calamity !
A thousand thanks to God Almighty who liberated me
With my heart free from arrow wounds and my body
unhurt by the sword.

When he desired to make my body a brick for the grave,
Water and clay built up for me anew my palace of years.
But what good to me was my escape from that rope
If snapped like the bond between the *Muhājir* and *Anṣār* ⁷

١ چقمار *Chuqmār*. Pavet-de-Courteille in his Turkī dictionary gives this word as چوقمار *Chūqmār*, with the meanings *massue, gourdin*.

٢ These lines are as follows in MS. (A).

دَمْيَ نِمَانِدَه بَنَيْمَ زِبُودَنْ تِشَنَه
دَفَى شَدَه شَكَمْ مِنْ زِمَانِدَنْ نَاهَارَ

٣ I cannot find this word, possibly it is connected with the Turkī قورچي *qurči*, an armed soldier.

٤ See Elliot and Dowson, III. 528.

٥ طغَانَه *taghāna* there is a Turkī word طوغان *tughān* which means a falcon, and another توغانَك *tughānak* oiseau semblable à l'épervier (P. de C.). Hence the above translation by the word *falchion*.

٦ تَخْمَار *takhmār* a dart having no point (Richardson).

٧ The *Anṣār* or 'helpers of the prophet' were those tribes of El Medinah

All those lives were poured out in the dust like roses
 By the fierce blast of misfortune, this is Autumn not Spring.
 The world full of roses and the assembly emptied of those
 who can smell their perfume,
 How should not my heart turn to blood like the rose bud
 at this treatment!¹

Not one of my friends of last year remains to me this year,
 It is evident that "this year" also will become "last year."
 Do thou also like me, oh cloud of the newly born spring
 Now wash thy hands of water, and rain teardrops of blood.

- 154.**
- Give me a cup, that from the depths of my regret
 I may empty it of wine, and fill it with bitter tears.
 Now that the date is 684 (H.)
 To me in my three and thirtieth year comes the good
 tidings of the thirty-fourth.
 Not thirty-four because if my years should be thirty
 thousand, when one comes to the account of Anuihilation
 neither thirty counts for aught nor a thousand.
 I am not a poet, even though I were a magician, still then
 I shall become dust.
 I am not a Khusrū, even were I a Kaikhusrū, still at that
 time my kingdom would be but the grave.

And in the preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* he writes some epitomised poems relating to this circumstance; the gist of the matter is that they brought Tughral to nothing, and the prince who used to pray with lamentation and tears at the footstool of the best of all helpers saying *Make me of thy mercy a victorious Emperor* rose to such power in the districts of Lakhnauti and Chatar La'l that his head which touched the stars, reached to the starless expanse of the highest heaven, and

who, while in other respects rivals, united so far as to espouse the cause of Muhammad.

The *Muhājirin* were the refugees from Mecca, and to avoid jealousy and strife between them and the *Ansār*, each of the *Ansār* was made to swear an oath of brotherhood with one of the *Muhājirin*. This bond was however broken shortly after the battle of Bedr. See Muir's Life of Mahomed, Vol. III, p. 26, also Palmer's translation of the *Qur'ān*, p. xxxiv. and Hughes Dict. of *Islam* s. v. *Ansār*.

¹ These lines follow here in MS. (A).

Malik Shamsu-d-Din Dabir, and Qāzī Aṣir desired to retain me by seizing my garments,¹ but the separation from my friends seized me by the collar. I was obliged like Joseph to leave that prison pit and turn my steps to² the metropolis, and under the shadow of the standard of the Shadow of God I remained in the city. In those very same months, the Khān-i-Buzurg Qāṣī Malik arrived from the conquest of Damrela,³ and a rumour came to us that my words had reached him,⁴ so that he made enquiries regarding the ripe fruit of my words; unripe fruit as it really was I laid it before him, and it was honoured with acceptance in his private hall of audience, and I was distinguished by a robe of honour and rewards, and I girded my loins in his service and wore the cap of companionship, and I gave for five years more to the Panjāb and Multān water from the sea of my comfortable circumstances, till suddenly, by the potent order of the wise ruler, the star of my glory came into opposition with the inauspicious Mars;⁵ the time of its decline had arrived when the unlucky cavalcade of those born under the influence of Mars came in sight, and at evening time, the bright sun⁶ sank by the revolution of the heaven, a world of brave men struck by arrows had fallen, and the plain of the earth was full of broken cups, and Death itself was saying at that time "Where shall I place my cup and where shall I take my pitcher." The sky fed upon dust and the sun swallowed a bowl of blood.

155.

How can we describe that day of resurrection,
When even the Angel of Death sought protection from
the fray.

In that forge of calamity the rope of the infidels seized me also by the throat, but inasmuch as God Most High had lengthened the

¹ بلبا ساقم دامن گیری بکندد MSS. (A) and (B).

² مصراجع See Muqaddasi. DeGoeje's Glossary, p. 207.

³ MS. (A) نصریله.

⁴ باورسید MS. (A).

⁵ مرتخی نحس. Mars and Saturn are considered stars of ill omen, and are called in Arabic نحسان *nahsān*. The two misfortunes. (See Ibn Khaldūn Proleg ii. 218).

⁶ MS. (A) reads افتاب مشرق MS. (B) افتاب مشرق. So also footnote variant to the text. The former is the reading adopted.

rope of my life, I obtained release, and by the high road I made for the abode of favours, and attained to the sight of the dome of Islām¹ and at the feet of my mother became (as it were) an inhabitant of Paradise, while as for herself, as soon as her eyes fell upon me the fountain of her milk flowed from tenderness towards me.

Paradise always lies beneath the feet of a mother,
See two streams of milk flow therefrom, the sign of
Paradise.²

And I spent some time pleasantly and quietly in seeing my beloved mother and other dear ones in the fort of Mūminpur, otherwise called Patiālī³ on the banks of the river Ganges."

In short, when the news of this heart-rending disaster reached the ears of the Sultān, having observed the duties of mourning for some days, a great affliction fell upon him, so much so that he could never again gird his loins, but he used to occupy himself 156. in all matters, and sent a despatch addressed to Bughrā Khān who had acquired the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din,⁴ to Lakhnauti saying. Since so great a calamity has fallen upon your brother I desire that you should take his place as you are well able to do, that in looking in your face I may be able to forget the numerous

¹ The reading here is very uncertain, the text reads, وَآن شاهراة بلا رازدم which has no evident meaning: MS. (B) reads وَاز شاهزاده بدار الا زدم The word شاهزاده here is clearly wrong. MS. (A) reads دار الا زدم and this is the variant I adopt although the phrase house of benefits is not a very usual one. Still, I have thought it better to take this as the true reading than to suggest other hypothetical readings.

² This refers to the two springs of Paradise mentioned in the Qur'ān, lv. (Sūratu-r-Rahmān). وَمِنْ دُوْنِهَا جَنَّاتٌ فِيهَا عَيْنَانِ نَضَّاحَتْ (Suratu-r-Rahmān).

And besides these are gardens twain In each two gushing springs. The proverb runs بُوشَت در پای مادران See Roebuck O. P. 484.

³ Patiālī "Ancient town in Aliganj tahsil Etah District, N.-W. Provinces situated on the old high bank of the Ganges 22 miles north-east of Etah town." Imp. Gaz. xi. 90. Tieffenthaler I. 198, places it at a distance of about 75 miles from Dihlī and about 20 from Furruckābād.

* See page 186.

sorrows which I suffer on his account. Nāṣiru-d-Din who¹ had acquired permanent and independent control over that district (of Lakhnautī) put off for some time coming to Dihli, and even after coming to Dihli at the earnest solicitation of his father was not able to remain there, "the elephant bethought him of Hindustān"² so that forgetting the demands of filial, paternal, and brotherly affection he became so restless from staying in that place that one day without his father's permission³ together with certain of his kinsfolk he went forth on pretence of hunting, and marching by rapid stages reached Lakhnautī and busied himself with his own affairs.

VERSE.

Why should I not betake myself to my own country?

Why should I not be the dust of the sole of the foot of my friend?

I cannot endure the sorrow of exile and absence from home,
I will go to my own country, and be my own monarch.

Accordingly Sultān Balban, who was very depressed and dejected at this occurrence, so that day by day his weakness gathered strength, as he lay on his bed of sickness, being moreover past eighty years of age, conferred upon the eldest son of the Martyred Khān who was called Kaikhusrū, the title of Khusrū Khān, and gave the affairs of Empire into his hands. Multān too was entrusted to him, and he made him the heir-apparent, and made a will to the effect that Kaiqubād the son of Bughrā Khān should be sent to his father in Lakhnautī. After he had relieved his mind of anxiety as to the succession of Kaikhusrū, and the other testamentary dispositions of the government having occupied him three days, he removed the baggage of existence from this world to

¹ MSS. (A) and (B) نصیر الدین را گ. The text and both MSS. call him Nāṣiru-d-Dīn.

² His thoughts turned homewards. Another proverb of this kind is ذوق چمن ز خاطر بنبیل نمیرود, *zaug-i-chamun zi khātir-i-bulbul namirawaa*, i.e., the desire of the garden never leaves the heart of the nightingale.

³ بی رخصت پدر. MSS. (A) and (B). The reading in the text is at variance both with the sense, and also with the statement of other historians. Barnī says "He wanted to go to Lakhnautī so he found a pretext for doing so and set off thither without leave from his father (E. D. III. 124),

157. the next. This event took place in the year 686 H.¹ He had reigned twenty-two years and some months.

Oh my heart ! the world is no place of permanence and stay,
Keep thy hand from the world—for it has no stability.

SULTĀN MU'IZZU-D-DĪN KAIQUBĀD BIN SULTĀN NĀSHIRU-D-DĪN BIN
SULTĀN GHITĀŠU-D-DĪN BALBAN.

- In the sixteenth year of his age, in succession to his grandfather, by the intervention of Malik Kachhan, who was called Itimar, and other Amīrs who were disaffected to the Martyred Khān, succeeded to the throne of Empire.² Then having bestowed Multān upon Khusrū Khān with his family and dependents, they sent him off there under some pretext and exiled his adherents, and when the Empire became established he appointed all the officers of the state to their old posts in the kingdom, and Malik Nizāmu-d-Din³ was appointed Dādbeg⁴ and they gave Khwāja Khaṭiru-d-Din the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Shāhik Amir Hājib that of Wazir Khān, and Malik Qiyāmu-l-Mulk obtained the post of Wakildar : and after six months he left Dihlī and founded the palace of Kilūghāti, which is now a ruin, near the ford of Khwāja Khizr on the banks of the river Jumna ; there he held public audiences, and by craft getting hold of the Mughals who had newly become Moslims, put the majority of them to death, and banished a certain number of them. The chief author and cause of this action was Malik Nizāmu-d-Din 'Alāqa the
158. Wazir (this Nizāmu-d-Din 'Alāqa is the same in whose honour Muhammad 'Aafi composed the books *Jāmi'u-l-Hikāyat* and

1 1287 A.D.

² Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī* gives a slightly different account of the means by which Kaiqubād attained the succession. He states that shortly before his death Balban summoned to his presence Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī, Khwāja Husain Baṣrī the Wazir and some others and charged them to set Kaikhusrū son of the Martyr prince upon the throne. After his death, however, the Kotwāl and his people who for some private reason (از جهتی کہ آن بکشف احوال عورات داد) had been unfriendly to the Martyr prince, were apprehensive of danger if Kaikhusrū succeeded, so they sent him to Multān and placed the son of Bughrā Khān, Kaiqubād on the throne with the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn (Elliott III. 124).

³ Nephew of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī.

⁴ Chief Justice.

Tazkiratu-sh-Shu'arā); and to Malik Chhajū (who eventually became grantee of Karra¹ and Manikpūr, and whom Mir Khusrū eulogises in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* in these words,²

Khān of Karra Chhajū, conqueror of countries
Who hast encircled thy feet with anklets³ formed from the
lips of Khāns)

was given Sāmāna, his daughter was united in marriage to Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din Kaiqubād. At the end of the month of Zūl Hijjah in the abovementioned year, news arrived that the Tatār infidels whose leader was Itimar had attacked Lahore and the frontier of Multān. The Sultān appointed Shāhik Bārbak with thirty thousand cavalry and giving him the title of Khān-i-Jahān despatched him to oppose them. He pursued the Tatārs as far as the foot of the Jūd hills, and put the greater number of them to the sword, or made them prisoners, and having repulsed them he came to the Court.

Inasmuch as Sultān Kaiqubād, during the lifetime of Sultān Balban, had not attained the desires of his heart, and learned instructors had been placed in charge of him, at this time when he attained to the Empire finding himself completely unfettered he occupied himself with the full fruition of lustful delights, while the majority of the people took advantage of the luxuriousness of his reign to spend their days in wantonness and license. The ministrants of debauchery, jesters, singers and jugglers were admitted to close intimacy in his Court, in marked contrast to his grandfather's reign, and learning, and piety, and integrity were nothing valued ; and Malik Nīzāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa seeing that the

¹ Not كوره as in the text, but, كرّه MSS. (A) and (B) also Barnī. See note 3. Malik Chhajū was brother's son to Balban.

² تعریف کرہ و گفتہ. See Hājī Khalfa IV. 510, 9399, for *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*.

³ In the original there is a play on the word كرہ Karra which cannot be reproduced in English. The lines are as follows : MSS. (A) and (B).

خان کرہ چھجھوئی کشور کشای کزلب خانان کرہ بستی بپای

See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* II. 167, note 2, where Karra is said (as by Ibn Batūta) to have been the place of meeting of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn and Naṣīru-d-Dīn. See also *Karra* Imp. Gaz. of India, Vol. VIII. but Karra is on the Ganges, and lies far away from the line Lakhnauti -- Dihli, but so also does the river Sarjū.

Sultān was immersed in luxury and enjoyment, and utterly careless of his kingdom's affairs, stretched forth the hand of oppression and went to unwarranted lengths. The vain desire of sovereignty came into his heart, so that he set about devising the downfall of the family of Ghīyāṣū-d-Dīn. In the first instance having instigated Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to murder Kai Khusrū the son of Sultān Muḥammad the Martyr, he summoned him from Multān, and in the town of Rohtak raised him to the dignity of martyrdom and sent him to join his father.

159. In the same way he accused Khwāja-i-Jahān of an imaginary crime and had him publicly paraded on an ass through the city, he also imprisoned the Amīr and Maliks of the house of Balban who were related to the Mughals who had recently become Moslims, and deported them to distant fortresses, and destroyed the glory of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn.

Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, when the tidings of his son's ruinous condition reached him in Lakhnautī, wrote a letter full of hints conched in the language of enigma and innuendo to Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn warning him of the sinister intentions of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn out of the hot-headedness of youth, did not act on his father's advice, and after much correspondence it was decided that Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn should leave Lakhnautī, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn should start from Dihli and that they should visit each other in Oudh.

From what Mir Khusrū may the mercy of God be upon him, says in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*,¹ and also from the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*² we learn that Bughrā Khān, on his accession to the throne of Bengāla with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, was coming with a large gathering to attack Dihli, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn also having collected his forces from the neighbouring districts advanced against him in the direction of Oudh; and since the river Sarū³ lay between them the son alighted on this side and the father on

Qirānu-s-Sa'dain. The conjunction of the two auspicious planets, Jupiter and Venus, see H. K. 9399, also E. and D. III. 524.

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, the author of this work is Yāhyū bin Aḥmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindī. (Elliott. IV. 6).

³ The principal streams (of Oudh) are the Sarū (Sarjū) the Ghaghār (Gogra) the Sai, and the Godī (Gamtī). In the first mentioned divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance shew themselves. (*Ain-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. 171).

the other side, and neither was able to cross the river. The Amīrs and Maliks of Ghīyāṣū-d-Dīn's party, intervened with advice to come to peaceful terms, and Sultān Nāṣirū-d-Dīn with a party of special retainers crossed the river, as it had been agreed that the son should sit upon the throne, and the father, standing below the throne, should pay the customary dues of reverence and respect to him. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn from excess of desire forgot that compact, and on the instant his eyes fell upon the splendid presence of his father he came down from his throne and running barefooted, was about to fall at his feet. The father however would not permit this, whereupon each embraced the other and for a long time they wept bitterly, and in spite of all the father's attempts to take his stand at the foot of the throne, the son forcibly took him by the hand, and led him to the throne and seated him upon it. Then he also took his seat, and after a long time the Sultān Nāṣirū-d-Dīn returned to his own camp, and sent as presents to his son a large number of famous elephants and very many extremely valuable presents and curiosities, and priceless treasures from the country of Lakhnauti. The son also sent to his father an equal number of Persian horses, and other kinds of valuable articles and cloth goods, and rare and unique presents such that the account of imagination is unable to estimate their number and value; and all sorts of delight and pleasure burst upon the Amīrs of Ghīyāṣū-d-Dīn and Nāṣirū-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, and upon high and low of the armies, and the Maliks of both parties exchanged visits: Mir Khusrū relates in detail this meeting¹ in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*, and in another place he writes in a *qasida*:

Hail! to the happy kingdom when two kings are as one.

Hail! to the happy era when two truths are as one.

Ain-i-Akbarī II. 305 gives an account of the meeting of father and son. For the river Sarjū, see Tieff. I. 250, 259, 260, 291, also plate XIX. facing page 292, in which the confluence of the Sarjū and Ghāgra is shewn as it was in 1768.

The *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* fixes the meeting between father and son as having taken place at Ajūdhya on the banks of the Ghāgra.

¹ Ibn Batūta gives a somewhat more fanciful description of this meeting of Nāṣirū-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn. Paris Edn. 1855, Vol. III. p. 177, see also Elliott III. p. 596.

Behold ! the son is a monarch, the father a Sultān,
 Behold the glorious kingdom now that two kings are as one.
 'Tis for the sake of kingship and world enslaving power,
 That for the world, two world-protecting kings become
 as one.

One is the Nāṣir of the age, the king Maḥmūd Sultān,
 Whose edict in the four parts of the world is still as one.
 The other is Mu'izzu-d-Din the world's king Kaiqubād,
 In whose grasp Irān and Turān are welded into one.

And this is his also—

161. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dunyā wad Din Kaiqubād Shāh
 Hast thou ever seen one who is the light of the eyes of four
 kings

On the last day¹ when Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din came to bid farewell in the presence of Malik Niẓāmu-l-Mulk and Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, who were both of them counsellors and closely bound up with the Government, he gave Mu'izzu-d-Din many good pieces of useful advice on all subjects, with exhortation, and examples and instances, and first of all warned him against excess in wine and venery, then spoke of his carelessness with regard to state matters, and rebuked him severely for killing his brother Kai Khusrū and the other noted Amirs and Maliks of the adherents of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din ; then he exhorted him to be continually given to prayer and to perform the fast of Ramazān, and to keep all the principal tenets of the Musulmān religion, and taught him certain fixed rules and essential regulations of sovereignty. At the time of taking his departure he whispered in a low tone telling him to get rid of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa as soon as possible, "for" said he "if he gets a chance at you it is small chance you will get" this much he said, and they bid one another farewell with great emotion, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din for a few days remembered his father's injunctions, and gave up his vicious pleasures, but when he had travelled a few stages the merry courtesans and all kinds of enticing musicians and enchanting jugglers, subverters of piety, skilled and clever, crowded round him on all sides, and enticed his feet from the firm path of fortitude and self-

¹ MS. (A) در دویز آخرین.

restraint, by all sorts of gallantries and coquettices, and sense-ravishing gestures and allurements.

The bitter parting advice of his father did not find place in his heart

For this reason that his heart was inclined to sweets of pleasure.

And the elephant saw Hindustān¹ in its dreams and he broke through his forced repentance, which was as filmy as the web of a spider, at the first provocation, and used to say, “ Which advice ?² and what counsel ?

162

I will not give up the delights of to-day for tomorrow
Let tomorrow bring what it may, say to it “ Bring it.”

In opposition to this view is the following,

It befits not a king to be drunken with wine
Nor become entangled in lust and desire ;
The king should be always the guardian of his people,
It is a sin that a guardian should be drunken.
When the shepherd becomes full of new wine
The flock sleeps in the belly of the wolf.

Heavy cups of wine used he to drink from the hands of the light-living cup bearers, and used to snatch a portion from his short ephemeral existence, and in this state malicious time used to foretell this calamity,³

Oh thou whose reign is the reign of faithless friends
From thy love springs hate, from thy honour disgrace,
Thou art as full of turmoil, but as empty, as the drum ;
Lasting for one night like the candle, and for one day like the rose.

In this licentious mode of life he made his way to Dihli where he arrived in the year 689 H. (1290 A.D.). There certain of his notable Amirs became suspicious of his intentions, and withdrew

¹ See note 2, page 219.

² The text has دیم کا misprint for دین کا.

³ The text reads این تکن but MS. (A) reads preferably تکن

to the skirts of the mountains. Sher Khān¹ who was one of their number repented and returned, and was thrown into a prison which he only left to go to the prison house of the grave, the others were punished. They bestowed upon Fīroz Khān ibn Yaghshāsh the Khilji, who eventually obtained the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, the title of Shāyista Khān,² and entrusted the district of Baran³ to his control; accordingly he formed a plot by which he got Malik Ḥimār Kachhan, who had treacherously attempted to slay him, into his power, and took vengeance on him for the deed which he had failed to accomplish. Then was seen the truth of the proverb "He who digged a pit for his brother is fallen into it himself.

Thou hast digged a pit in the way⁴ that thou mayest overthrow others.

Dost thou not fear lest one day thou should'st find thyself in the midst of it?

This was the plan which Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Multān, but Niẓāmu-l-Mulk saw through this device, and kept making excuses for delaying his departure, whereupon certain of the king's retainers at a hint from him, poisoned Niẓāmu-l-Mulk's cup, and despatched him to the land of non-existence. It so happened that this occurrence became a cause of injury to the State. At this same time the Sultān was attacked by paralysis⁵ from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ills and chronic diseases obtained the mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. The greater number of the Amirs and Maliks who were well disposed to him raised his son

¹ MS. (A) reads ارسار خان Arsar Khān.

² MS. (A) شایستی خان.

³ MS. (A) اقطاع بہن.

⁴ MS. (A) تو چاہی کندھ در دل.

⁵ لقوہ. Laqua Facial paralysis. The disease is thus described in the *Bahrul-jawāhir* "a disease in which one half of the face is drawn to one side so that the breath and the spittle come from one side, the lips cannot be properly approximated and one of the eyes cannot be closed."

Kai Kāūs who was an infant¹ of tender years to the throne with the title of Shamsu-d-Din.

In the year 688 H. (1289 A.D.) they made terms with Shāyista Khān who had distanced all his rivals.² Accordingly he ordered all his kinsmen and retainers whom he had summoned from Baran,³ and had stationed fully armed and equipped in readiness on the other side of the river, to cross the river Jumna and prepare to contest the day with their enemies. Certain of the Amirs of the party of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din and Mu'izzu-d-Din came out to oppose him with elephants and a large gathering, and having placed a royal umbrella over the head of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din, who was reduced to a shadow by weakness and emaciation, displayed him from afar off from the summit of the palace of Kilughari where he was but barely visible, and made obeisance to him.⁴ In the meantime Malik Chhajū, brother's son to Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din, who had acquired the title of Kishli Khān cried out "I wish to place Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din upon a boat and take him to his father at Lakhnauti and remain myself in the service of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Kai Kāūs"—In spite of this the people of Dihli, from the highest to the lowest, came to the assistance of Shamsu-d-Din, and having assembled in front of the Budāon gate stood up⁵ to oppose Shāyista Khān in battle, and since the sons of Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhrū-d-Din Kotwāl had been taken prisoners in the fight with Shāyista Khān, and Malik Ḥimār Surkha, who had plotted with the servants of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din to kill Shāyista Khān and carry off Sultān Shamsu-d-Din (Kai Kāūs),⁶ had fallen by the hand of Ikhtiyārū-d-Din son of Shāyista Khān; accordingly Maliku-l-Umarā (Fakhrū-d-Din) opposed the people and prevented their assembling as they desired, till at last the adherents of Shāyista Khān removed Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Kai Kāūs from the throne by force and carried him off to Bahāpūr,⁷ where Shāyista

164.

¹ MS. (A) omits the word لطف.

² The reading of the text is here adopted. MS. (A) reads عديلي مانده بود.

³ MS. (A) omits the words (بود و) after طلبید.

⁴ حوكمة المذ بوحي. I can see no other meaning for these words.

⁵ MS. (A) reads ایستادند.

⁶ MS. (A) omits the word جیکاووس.

⁷ MS. (A) reads بھاپور. Barnī says Bahāpūr (E. and D. III. 134).

Khān was; they then ordered¹ a man whose father had been put to death by Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din to go to the palace of Kilūghari, which he did, and finding the Sultān at his last gasp, he kicked him several times on the head, and then threw him into the river Jumna, and the Empire passed from the dynasty of Ghor, and kingship from the family of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din. This occurrence took place in the middle² of the month of Muḥarram in the year 689 H. (1209 A.D.).³ The duration of the sovereignty of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din was three years and some months.

This is the changeableness of the ancient heaven,
 At one time it is like a bow at another like an arrow;
 165. At one time it feeds you with kindness at another poisons
 you with enmity,
 This is an example of the custom of the revolving heaven.

We learn from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*⁴ that Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din, after the capture of the Shāhzāda, was seized while sitting in durbar during that revolt of the populace, and was bound, and died in captivity of hunger and thirst: in the course of his sufferings he wrote this quatrain,

The horse of my excellence has been left far behind on the plain.
 The hand of my generosity has fallen between the hammer and the anvil.
 My eye which used to see the gold of the mine and the invisible jewel
 To-day alas! is blinded for lack of bread.

And when the tumult between Itimar Surkha and the people of Dihli subsided, and Shāyista Khān had gained his heart's desire and seated the prince upon the throne, and had set the affairs of the kingdom going again, on the second day after this, Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din bade farewell to this transitory⁵ unstable

¹ MS. (A) فرمودند.

² MS. (A) در اواسط.

³ Firishta says 687 H. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* says 19th Muḥarram 689 H.

⁴ The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* gives the date of the death of Mu'izzu-d-Din as the 19th Muḥarram A. H. 689.

⁵ MS. (A) omits فانی.

world, and realised that all that wanton enjoyment had been but a dream and a phantasy.

Quatrain.

If with your love you have lived in peace your whole life long,

Should you taste all the sweets the world can give your whole life long.

Still at the end comes Death to meet you, and then you find
'Tis but a dream you have vainly dreamed your whole life long.

SULTĀN SHAMSU-D-DĪN KAI KĀŪS.

The son of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād nominally ascended the throne¹ in Bahāpūr in the year already mentioned, by the co-operation of Shāyista Khān and Malik Chhajū; and the uncle of Shāyista Khān, named Malik Husain, who had kept quiet at Kilūgharī during the disturbances, for the safe custody of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, had established great confidence. Shāyista Khān made Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān undertake the duties of Regent, and handing over the young prince to his charge, made a request on his own behalf for the districts of Tiberhindā, Debālpur, and Multān, and asked permission to depart thither; Malik yielding up the Regency and Vazīrship to Shāyista Khān² asked for the district of Karra for himself. Shāyista Khān immediately acceded to his request, and conferred on him a robe of honour, and some days later allowed him to proceed to Karra, and Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn Kotwāl having congratulated Shāyista Khān on his accession to such high office and great prosperity was instrumental in obtaining permission for Malik Chhajū to leave.

166.

Shāyista Khān used to bring the prince into the durbār hall and used himself to give audience and to regulate the important affairs of state. After a month or two, he brought Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn on horseback to the palace of Kilūgharī, and imprisoned him, and giving him as his fellows the inhabitants of the prison-house of the grave, sent him to the secret abode of destruction.

¹ MS. (A) reads سلطنت برخت.

² MS. (A) reads بعدهم او.

The duration of the kingdom of Shamsu-d-Din Kāi Kāūs was three months and a few days.¹

The wine of the sky is not unmixed with the brine of sorrow,

The world's one employment is jugglery—naught else.

SULTĀN JALĀLU-D-DĪN IBN YĀHIRĀSH KHILJĪ

Whose name was Malik Firoz and his title Shāyista Khān, came to the throne in the year 689 H. as has already been said,
67. with the consent and assistance of Malik Chhajū Kishli Khān; and inasmuch he had previously been regent and governor of the kingdom ² the affairs (of state) all devolved upon him.

It must not be forgotten that although Shihābu-d-Din Hakim Kirmānī Jaunpūrī,³ the author of the history called *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhi*, deduces the pedigree of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn and Sultān Maḥmūd Mālwī from the stock of Qālij Khān, sou-in-law of Changiz Khān, there is a long story connected with this. This at least is clear that this ancestry has no real authority, any one of sound judgment will be able to detect the falsity of his claim to this descent; and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qālij and Khalj, in spite of the fact that Qālij has too rough a sound for the Turki tongue, and if it had any equivalent (of sufficient softness) it would be Qalj⁴ with the meaning

¹ Neither Barnī nor Firishta reckon Kaikāüs (or Kaiumours) as having had an independent reign, and inasmuch as he was only an infant of some three years of age, it seems more rational to allude to him merely as the puppet that he really was. The only object in raising him to the throne was an attempt to save the kingdom from passing into the hands of the Khiljis. Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, who had been appointed Vizir when Nīzāmu-l-Mulk had been poisoned, was ready to seize upon the throne. The fief of Baran had been conferred upon him with the title of Shāyista Khān, subsequently he was made 'Ariz-i-Mamālik. The plots he contrived to get rid of Kaiqubād have been detailed above.

² MS. (A) omits the word (ملکی).

³ See the *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhi*.

⁴ The editor of the text states in a footnote that this is a mere verbal quibble of no importance, because قلچ qalj and قالج qālij are the same, the alif in قالج being in place of the fathah which follows the ق in قلچ in accordance with the customary mode of writing Turki, further he states that among modern Persians ظ is frequently used for ئ.

of a sword and in some histories it is said that Khalj is the name of one of the sons of Yāfiq, (Japhet) the son of Nūḥ (Noah) *on whom be peace* and that the Khiljis descend from him. God knows the truth of this. To make a long story short, Sultān Jalālu-d-Din divided the greater portion of the valuable appointments between his sons and brothers, and bestowed the following titles—upon his eldest son the title of Khān Khānān, upon his second son that of Arkali Khān, and on his youngest son that of Qadr Khān, while he gave to his uncle Malik Husain the title of Tāju-l-Mulk. In this same way he bestowed various titles upon others, and allotted them estates, and having built a new town, and a new garden on the banks of the Jumna opposite to the Mu'izzi palace he called it a citadel, “The Rocky Citadel”; when it was completed it was called “Shahr-i-nau” (New-town)¹ and in Sha'bān, of the second year after his accession, Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān went to Karra, and became openly rebellious. The Amirs of the party of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlāna with the intention of attacking Dihli, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajū who was to come by way of Karra,² (and)³ Sultān Jalālu-d-Din left Khān Khānān in Dihli and marched against them. Dividing his forces into two army corps he himself went by way of Kol, and reached Budāon,⁴ sending Arkali Khān towards Amroha to oppose Malik Chhajū. Arkali Khān fought the enemy valiantly in many engagements during several days on the banks of the Rahab. In the meantime the people of Bairām Dev the Raja of Kola, which was also called Koela, gave information to Malik Chhajū that Sultān Jalālu-d-Din was in pursuit of him, and having frightened him exceedingly, urged him to take to flight. He was in such dread of the Sultān, that he did not know his head from his heels, and in the dead of night he made his escape, but eventually fell into the hands of the Kuwārs.⁵ Arkali Khān crossed the Rahab,⁶ despatched Bairām

¹ MS. (A) شہر نو موسوم گردید.

² MS. (A) reads کوڑا کوڑا بروئید. The reading in the text is adopted.

³ MS. (A) inserts و here.

⁴ MS. (A) reads از وہ کول و بداؤن رسید. The text is preferable.

⁵ The text gives an alternation reading ذورانیان.

⁶ MS. (A) عبور کرده.

Dev to hell, and pursued Malik Chhajū, and took him prisoner together with some of the other Amirs of the Ghiyāṣī faction. Then he went in the direction of Bahārī and Kasam Kūr, which is the same as Shamsābād,¹ and when they took Malik Chhajū and the other captive Balbānī Amirs in fetters and chains² into the presence of the Sultān, he called to mind their old ties of relationship, and loosed them from their bonds, sent them to the baths, clothed them in rich garments of honour, and made them partake of his own table, sending Malik Chhajū with the greatest marks of respect to Multān.

- 169.** Malik ‘Alāu-d-Dīn who was the brother’s son and son-in-law of the Sultān,³ and had been appointed to the district of Karra, and Ilmās Beg, the brother of ‘Alāu-d-Dīn who subsequently became Ulugh Khān⁴ was appointed to the post of Akhor Beg. In the meanwhile, the summons which is distasteful to all reached Khān-i-Khānān. The Sultān was greatly distressed at his loss. Mir Khusrū wrote the following dirge in memory of him :—

What day is this that I see not the sun shining,
If night has come why do I not see the brilliant moon.
Since two days my sun has remained behind the clouds,
So that in my eyes I see nothing but clouds and rain.
In Hindustān an evident danger has appeared,
On every face I see thousands of wrinkles but I do not see
the Khāqān.⁵
The stone of the royal signet is hidden as a stone in the
mine.
My heart has turned to blood like the ruby for that I see
him not.

¹ MS. (A) omits بادشاد.

² MS. بند و غل (A).

³ MS. (A) has ملک علی الدين را which is a mistake: and omits the بود داماد after the word داماد inserting it after the word بود.

⁴ MS. (A) which reads كه بعد از ان الخان گشت.

⁵ There are plays on the words طح meaning a fault, and the kingdom of Khatā or Cathay, and چین meaning a wrinkle and the kingdom of Chin or China. The title خاقان Khāqān is the title of the Emperors of Cathay. For the meaning of Khāqān, see *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, (Ross and Elias), page 30, note 1.

Lo there is the King, seated on his throne, with his courtiers
 standing round him on all sides,
 All are there, but still I do not see Khān-i-Khānān.
 When I saw fortune blinded, I asked him, Dost thou wish
 for sight?
 He replied, What could I do with sight, since I cannot see
Mahmūd Sultān!

And in the year following, Arkali Khān came from Multān to Dihli, and the Sultān leaving him in Dihli proceeded to Mandāwar, and after his arrival at that stage, having received with anxiety tidings of the revolt of certain of the Ghiyāṣī Amirs, he made over the district of Budāon to Malik Maghlāṭī,¹ sent him off at once and appointed Malik Mubārak to Tiberhindah, then after reducing the fortress of Mandāwar proceeded by an uninterrupted series of marches to Dihli; and in those days a certain Saiyyid ascetic and recluse, holding close communion with God,² relying upon Him, bountiful,³ adorned with so many excellencies and perfections, Sidi Maulā⁴ by name first came from 'Ajām (Persia) to Ajūdhan in the service of the pillar of the Saints the master Shaikh Farid, Ganj-i-Shakkar, may God sanctify his resting place, and sought permission to proceed to the eastern parts of Hindustān. They said to him " Beware of crowds of men, and abstain from intercourse with kings." When he reached Dihli, Khān-i-Khānān, the eldest son of the Sultān, displayed the greatest desire to become his disciple.⁵ In the same way the greater number of the deposed Maliks and Amirs of the Balban party⁶ used daily both morning and evening to sit at the table of that darvesh, who would not accept anything from any one. People used to credit him with alchemistic powers, and used to come in such crowds that a thousand *mans* of fine flour and five hundred *mans* of freshly skinned meat, and three hundred *mans* of sugar used to be the daily

170.

¹ MS. (A) ملک مغلطی.

² MS. (A) صاحب تقریبی.

³ MS. (A) باذلی.

⁴ See Beale's Dictionary, page 240.

⁵ MS. (A) ارادہ اعتماد.

⁶ MS. (A) omits اسکے.

expenditure of the Shaikh which he expended in alms ; the aforesaid Sidi although he engaged always in vigils¹ and the prayers of the five stated times, was, however, never present at the public prayer on Fridays, nor was he bound by the conditions of public² worship in accordance with established custom, and Qāzī Jalālu-d-Din Kāshānī (and)³ Qāzī Urdū and men of note, and trusted chiefs, and all both great and small, used continually to worship at his monastery.

When this news reached the Sultān, the story goes that one night he went in disguise to his monastery, and saw for himself that he expended even more than was reported. Accordingly the next day he held a grand durbār and ordered Sidi Maulā with the Qāzī and the other Amirs who were his disciples, to be brought before him with ignominious treatment of all kinds, bound in fetters and chains. He enquired into the state of the case, and asked each one whether the Sidi laid claim to kingly power. The aforesaid Sidi denied it, and fortified his denial with an oath, but to no purpose. At that time Qāzī Jalālu-d-Din lay under the Sultān's displeasure, he also denied the allegation. The Sultān

171. deposed him, and nominated him as Qāzī of Budāon. In order to verify the claims to Saiyyidship, and to test the miraculous powers of the Sidi, he had a huge fire like that prepared by Nimrūd (for Abraham) lighted, and wished to have Sidi Maulā thrown into that temple of fire. The Ulama of the time, in consideration of the irreligious nature of that order, issued a mandamus which they communicated to the Sultān saying, "The essential nature of fire is to consume things, and no one can issue forth from it in safety unhurt." The Sultān accordingly desisted and gave up that ordeal, but he punished the larger number of those Maliks in that same assembly, and some he expatriated ; and inasmuch as the answers of Sidi Maulā⁴ were all in accordance with reason, and no fault could be found with him either on the score of religious law or logic, the Sultān was reduced to extremity, and suddenly turning to Abū Bakr Tūsi Haidari who was the chief of the sect of Qalandars, and utterly unscrupulous, he

¹ MS. (A) دَعْتَ.

² MS. (A) adds بِيَنَ.

³ MS. (A) omits وَ.

⁴ MS. (A) omits the words وَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ.

said "Why do not you dervishes avenge me of this tyrant," there-upon a Qalandar leapt up from their midst, and struck the unfortunate Sidi several blows with a razor and wounded him, then they shaved off the holy man's whiskers¹ with a knife even to the chin, and stabbed him in the side² with sackmakers' needles, and then, by command of Arkali Khān, the second son of the Sultān, an elephant driver drove a rogue elephant over the head of the poor oppressed Sidi, and martyred him with countless tortures *may God be gracious to him.* They say that this same Sidi, for a whole month before this occurrence used to sing these verses at all times, smiling the while he sang:

In the kitchen of love, they slay naught but the good;
 The weak natured, and evil disposed they kill not.
 If thou art a sincere lover, flee not from slaughter,
 He whom they slay not is no better than a corpse.

And just at this time, on the very day of his murder, a whirlwind black with dust arose, and the world was darkened; there was a scarcity of rain in that year, and such a famine occurred that the Hindūs, from excess of hunger and want, went in bands and joining their hands threw themselves into the river Jumna, and became the portion of the alligator of extinction. Many Muslims also, burning in the flames of hunger, were drowned in the ocean of non-existence, while the rest of the world took these signs and events as proofs of the verity of Sidi and as evidence of his sincerity. Although no inferences can be drawn from facts of this kind, since they may finally prove to be only coincidences, still I myself have seen with my own eyes examples of such incidents, as shall be related in their proper places if God so will it.

172.

God has never cursed any nation
 Until the heart of a holy man has been grieved.

The remainder of the accused, at the intercession of Arkali Khān, were delivered from the danger which threatened their lives, and from the punishment intended by the Sultān; and in this same year the Sultān for the second time marched against

¹ محسن مبارک. MS. (A).

² بربلوی او. MS. (A).

Bantānbhor, and destroyed the country round it, and overthrew the idols and idol-temples, but returned without attempting to reduce the fort. Arkali Khān went to Multān without his permission, at which the Sultān was very vexed.

In the year 691 H. the Mughuls under Chingiz Khān came up against Hindustān with a very large army, and fought a very severe battle with the Sultān's victorious forces in the neighbourhood of Sanām. When the Mughuls became aware of the size of the army of Hindustān they began to make overtures for peace. The Sultān thereupon summoned their leader, who was very closely related to Halākū Khān, and also his son, who called the Sultān his father. They accordingly had an interview and exchanged gifts and presents and each returned to his own country :

173. and Alghū¹ the grandson of Chingiz Khān, embraced Islām, and several thousand Mughuls besides followed his example and having learnt to repeat the sacred and blessed formula, elected to remain in the service of the Sultān. Alghū was selected for the honour of becoming son-in-law to the Sultān. The Mughuls took up their abode in Ghiyāspur in which is now the sacred tomb of the Prince of Holy men Nizāmul Auliya² may God sanctify his resting place. It is commonly known as Mughulpur and those Mughuls were called the "new Muslims."

At the close of this same year the Sultān having gone up against the fort of Mandāwar ravaged and pillaged the country round it and then returned. 'Alāu-d-Din the Governor of Karra, obtained permission in that year to proceed to Bhilsa³ and attacked that country⁴ and brought much booty thence to present to the Sultān, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindūs, he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badāon to be trampled upon by the people.⁵ These services of 'Alāu-d-Din being highly approved,⁶ the jāgīr of Oudh also was added to his other estates ; and since 'Alāu-d-Din was very angry and incensed

¹ See Tarīkh-i-Rashidī (Elias and Ross) p. 34.

² Nizāmu-d-Din Auliya. See Reale Q. B. D., p. 211, also Āīn-i-Akbārī (J) III, 365.

³ MS. (A) reads بھلسا. The text has بھلپور which is meaningless.

⁴ MS. (A) اُن ولیاٹ را.

⁵ MS. (A) omits معبدو after خلق and has خلق for معبود.

⁶ MS. (A) اقتادو for افتادو.

against the Sultān's consort, who was his mother-in-law, and against the daughter of the Sultān, because she always made a practice of speaking ill of him to her father, he was anxious, on any pretext whatever, to leave the Sultān's dominions and go to a distance, and find some place of refuge for himself; accordingly he provided himself with new servants, and making all preparations as to personal clothing and furniture, he asked the Sultān¹ to bestow upon him the district of Chanderī, and leaving Dihlī came to Karra, and from there under the pretence of attacking Chanderī, he went by way of Illichpūr, and made for the frontiers of the country of Deogir; leaving Malik 'Alāu-l-Mulk who was one of his friends, as his deputy in Karra, and having instructed him to temporise with the Sultān, went off somewhere unknown to anyone, and when no news could be obtained of Malik 'Alāu-d-Din's whereabouts for a considerable time, the Sultān was exceedingly sorry.² Suddenly news arrived that 'Alāu-d-Din having gone up against the rebel Deo Gir, had conquered the whole of his country as far as the confines of the country of the Deccan, and had taken as spoil much treasure, and elephants and property, several thousands of horses, together with valuables; silk and cloth goods, and jewels, beyond the limits of computation, and that he was making for Karra. This was a source of great gratification to the Sultān, but the wise men of those times knew very well, both from analogy and inference, that 'Alāu-d-Din³ had gone to that country without permission from the Sultān, and had suffered much annoyance at the hands of Malika-i-Jahān who was the consort of the Sultān, and also from his own wife, and had accordingly faced the world, always nursing in his breast sinister intentions. Now⁴ that he was in a position perfectly to put his rebellious ideas into execution, and had not the access to the Court, it was strange that the Sultān seemed to suffer no apprehension as regarded him; but no one dared represent these views to the Sultān, who was wholly and entirely ignorant of the annoyance which 'Alāu-d-Din had suffered at the hands of the Queen-mother and his own wife, and if by chance they ventured

174.

¹ MS. (A) از جانب سلطان.

² MS. (A) تمام داشت دلخواهی تمام داشت.

³ MS. (A) omits &⁴.

⁴ MS. (A) omits &.

to speak¹ of the possibility of the revolt and treachery of 'Alāu-d-Din, the Sultān attributed it to jealousy, and would never allow the idea of his contumacy or rebellion to enter his head.

In short, at the time when the Sultān was in the neighbourhood of Gwālīr he summoned a council of his Amirs to deliberate about 'Alāu-d-Din and said,² "What in your opinion is 'Alāu-d-Din's object in coming hither with so great display and circumstance, what will he do and what ought I to do? shall I go to meet him by way of Chanderī or shall I remain where I am, or again shall I return to Dihlī?" Malik Ahmād Chap who was a Vazir of sound judgment and ripe experience and loyal to the backbone, did all he could to warn the Sultān by adducing logical arguments and quoting precedents, reminding him of the revolt of Malik Chhajū and the mutiny of the inhabitants of Karṛā, events which were of recent occurrence, as testifying to the probabilities of the present position, and urged him to go out to meet 'Alāu-d-Din on the way by which he would arrive, and to put an end to his ostentatious display and pompous arrogance, to seize his elephants and property, and all the things which were likely to be of use; but the Sultān would not listen to his advice, and launching forth into extravagant eulogy of 'Alāu-d-Din declared that his mind was perfectly at ease on his account in every possible way, "for is he not" (said he) "my protégé³ and foster child, he can never harbour any evil designs against me." Malik Fakhru-d-Din, and the other Amirs also went with oily speeches to the Sultān, and brought forward all sorts of absurd arguments simply to suit the humour of the Sultān, and adducing weak examples induced him to return to Dihlī; Malik Ahmād Chap rose up in wrath from that assembly, and spoke as follows: "If Malik 'Alāu-d-Din with all this⁴ pomp and royal display has arrived at Karṛā and crossing the river Sarū makes for Lakhnautī, I do not know what can be done by any one to oppose him," and lamenting exceedingly the condition of the Sultān he repeated the following lines—

¹ MS. (A) سخن از.

² MS. (A) کنکاں طلبیہ و گفت کہ.

³ MS. (A) پروردہ بواوردہ.

⁴ MS. (A) با این همه اسباب.

A foeman, though small one should never despise,
For a mountain is made up of stones of small size.

The Sultān then came from Gwāliar to Dihli, and 'Alāu-d-Din having reached Karra¹ wrote despatches full of craft and cunning to the Court, and worked upon the avarice of the Sultān by presents of elephants and endless wealth, and begged for a kindly worded letter summoning him to the Court, while all the time he was engaged in preparations to start for Lakhnauti, and having sent his brother² Zafar Khān to Oudh ordered him to hold in readiness all the boats on the river Sarū. The simple minded Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn wrote a command with his own hand in accordance with 'Alāu-d-Din's request and sent it³ by the hand of two confidential and trusted body servants, one of whom was named Imādu-l-Mulk and the other⁴ Ziāu-d-Dīn. These men when they arrived soon perceived by his manner and bearing⁵ that the face of affairs was altered⁶ and 'Alāu-d-Din having prepared the dish for the Sultān, and having arranged for its service at a given signal, handed over⁷ those two messengers to sentries who were charged to keep them so closely guarded that not even a bird should be able to flap its wings near them, then he wrote a letter to Ilmās Beg his brother, who was also a son-in-law of the Sultān,⁸ and sent it to Dihli, couched in these words: "Inasmuch as in the course of this expedition, I have committed many unwarranted acts, in that without taking the orders of the Sultān I proceeded to Deogir, for this reason certain persons have aroused fear in my heart and anxiety—but seeing that I am the loyal servant and son of the Sultān, if he will march lightly equipped and by rapid marches come and lay hands upon me, and carry me off I have nothing to urge against

176.

¹ بکرا رسیده.

² MS. (A) بودار خود طفہ خان the word خورد in the text is omitted here.

³ MS. (A) فرستاد.

⁴ MS. (A) دیگری.

⁵ MS. (A) طرح وضع او.

⁶ MS. (A) گه ورق دیگر گون شد literally "that the leaves had changed colour."

⁷ MS. (A) سپرد.

⁸ MS. (A) اوهم داماد سلطان مود.

imprisonment, and if, as they have said the current rumours are true, and the Sultān's mind is in reality turned against me, I must perforce lay violent hands upon myself and efface myself from the world." When Ilmās Beg laid that¹ letter before the Sultān, he on the instant sent² Ilmās Beg to reassure 'Alāu-d-Dīn and gave him a promise that he himself would follow. Ilmās Beg embarked in a boat, and going like the wind over the surface of the water,³ on the seventh day joined Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and urged him to proceed to Lakhnauti,⁴ but certain of the wise and far-seeing companions of 'Alāu-d-Dīn said, "What need have we to go to Lakhnauti when the Sultān by reason of his excessive greed for the wealth of Deogir, and the elephants and horses of that country will come here lightly equipped⁵ in the very height of the rainy season.⁶ At that time we will take any steps that may be necessary,⁷ and whatever has to be done to meet the emergency, we have it all stored up and we will put an end to him on the spot."⁸ Since the cup of the life of Sultān Jalālū-d-Dīn was full⁹ and his heart was brim full of lust and greed for that fancied and ill-omened treasure,¹⁰ and Fate too had rendered him deaf and blind, not one of these evil designs was perceived by him :

Verse.

When Fate lets fall from the sky a feather,
177. All the wise men became¹¹ blind and deaf.

Casting the advice of his well-wishers behind him,¹² he embarked on a boat with certain of his trusted followers and a thousand

¹ MS. (A) را نامه ان.

² MS. (A) و عده کرد.

³ MS. (A) شد روانه اب بروی.

⁴ MS. (A) نمود تحریص بلکهنوی.

⁵ MS. (A) بشکال ایکسال.

⁶ MS. (A) پیشہ کال or Turkī word, "saison des pluies" (Pavet de Courteilles.)

⁷ MS. (A) هر اندیشه که باید اندیشیم.

⁸ MS. (A) همانجا می.

⁹ MS. (A) پرشدگ و.

¹⁰ MS. (A) شوم هوم میل.

¹¹ MS. (A) گشتنده.

¹² Lit. striking their words on the dorsum of his foot.

sowārs, borrowing his speed from the wind and his haste from the stream, and set out for Karṣṭā : he sent Malik Aḥmad Chap the Vazir with an armed force and a body of retainers by land,¹ Malik Aḥmad Chap was rending his garments but all to no purpose.

Verse.

If the listener will not turn his ear to counsel,
He will reap retribution from the high heaven.

The Sultān, whose life's boat had been wrecked by a contrary wind, and had been cast on the shore of destruction, arrived at Karṣṭā on the 17th of the blessed month of Ramaḍān : and ‘Alāu-d-Dīn, who had kept his forces in readiness, had crossed the river Ganges between Karṣṭā and Manikpūr and had pitched his camp : then he sent Ilmās Beg to the Sultān, sending by him some valuable jewels, with strict orders to use all the means he could devise and all the craft he could command to separate the Sultān from his army and bring him to ‘Alāu-d-Dīn. His confederate therefore went and presented himself before the Sultān, and with great craftiness and deceit, and with obsequious humility represented that² if he had not come ‘Alāu-d-Dīn would have been utterly scared and would have escaped, “and to such an extent” said he, “have the evil speakers stuffed his ears³ with reports of the unkind and ill-disposed utterances of the Sultān, and filled his mind with fear, that even now fear and suspicion is by no means entirely removed from his mind.” There is still a probability of that of which I spoke before, unless the Sultān should shew him some favour and kindness, and should re-assure him, and going alone, without any retinue, should take him by the hand and lead him here.”

⁵ The Sultān taking his blood-thirsty words for the truth, ordered the cavalry escort which accompanied him to remain halted where they were, and he himself, together with a small body of retainers armed and ready for battle, proceeded a short distance forward, going forth to meet Death, while the arch-

¹ MS. (A) ساخت روان.

² MS. (A) گش.

³ MS. (A) اورا گوش.

⁴ MS. (A) omits گوش.

⁵ MS. (A) omits گوش.

178. traitor Ilmās Beg further represented ¹ saying "my brother is in great fear and awe of the Sultān ² and is quaking from head to foot ; and when he sees even this small body of men, he will be all the more alarmed, and will despair of the Sultān's clemency." ³ Accordingly the Sultān ordered this body of retainers to lay aside their arms which they did : those who were closely attached to the Sultān were greatly agitated at this foolish decision, but the Sultān would not be dissuaded by their objections. When they arrived near the bank of the river, the army of 'Alāu-d-Din was plainly visible drawn up in close order fully armed and equipped, and evidently expecting an engagement. Malik Khurram ⁴ the Vakildar said to Ilmās Beg "We left our army behind us at your instigation, and we laid down our arms, what is this that we see an army ready for action ?" He replied "my brother wishes to review his army, and following his usual course, he wishes to make a proper display ⁵ before the Sultān, with an eye to future advantage," the Sultān in accordance with the saying "When fate comes the plain becomes narrow" ⁶ up to that moment even did not discover the deceit of his enemy, but of his own free will walked deliberately into the jaws of the dragon.

Verse.

When the day becomes dark to any man,
He does that which is hurtful to him.

When he said to the stony-hearted Ilmās Beg "In spite of my old age and the weakness due to fasting I came so far,⁷ even yet will not your cruel brother's heart induce him⁸ to get into a boat and come to me ?" Ilmās Beg answered "my brother is unwilling to receive the Sultān empty handed⁹ and with reserve.

" If thou goest empty handed to visit a Sheikh,
Thou wilt get no profit, nor wilt thou even see him."

179. He is busy selecting elephants and valuables and goods to present,

¹ MS. (A) نمود.

² MS. (A) سلطانی.

³ MS. (A) سلطانی.

⁴ MS. (A) ملک خرم.

⁵ MS. (A) در نظر سلطان در آرد.

⁶ MS. (A) گمدم.

⁷ See page 190, note 4.

⁸ MS. (A) دست تهی.

⁹ MS. (A) نمی کشد.

and is quite occupied in that service¹ and he has been preparing food for breaking your fast, and to do honour to the arrival of his guest, and is now awaiting the honoured coming of the Sultān, so that he may be distinguished among his peers by the honour derived from the royal visit." The Sultān all this time was occupied in reading the sacred volume; they reached the river's bank by the time of afternoon prayer and he took his seat in the place they had made ready for him to sit in, and 'Alāu-d-Dīn having got every thing ready² came with a great gathering to pay his respects to the Sultān and fell at his feet.³ The Sultān smiling, with affection and kindness and love smote him a gentle blow on the cheek, and addressing him with great shew of fondness and clemency and warm-heartedness, began to give him words of counsel, and was talking to him affectionately and lovingly, reassuring him in every possible way, and seizing the hand of Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn was drawing him near. At this moment when the Sultān laid hold of his beard, and, kissing him, was shewing him marks of his special favour, and⁴ had given his hand into his, 'Alāu-d-Dīn seizing the Sultān's hand firmly, wrenched it, and gave a signal to a party of men who were confederate and had sworn together to murder the Sultān. Then Maḥmūd Sālim who was one of the scum of Sāmāna, aimed a blow with his sword at the Sultān and wounded him; on receiving that wound the Sultān made for the boat crying out as he ran: "Thou wretch 'Alāu-d-Dīn, what is this thou hast done!" At this juncture one Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn who had been a particular protégé of the Sultān ran behind him and inflicted a second wound which killed him; he then cut off his head and brought it to 'Alāu-d-Dīn.⁵ By Alāu-d-Dīn's orders, the head of the unfortunate oppressed and martyred monarch was placed upon a spear and carried round Kāfrā and Maṇikpūr: from thence they took it to Oudh; and the body-servants of the Sultān who were in the boat were all put to death, some of them threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the ocean of destruction. Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Kūchī fell into their hands alive and was murdered. Malik Aḥmad Chap having made prisoners of the Sultān's army brought it to

180.

¹ MS. (A) خدمت مشغول بآن.

² MS. (A) omits جو.

³ MS. (A) افتاد.

⁴ MS. (A) adds جو.

⁵ MS. (A) اورد.

Dihli and¹ pending the arrival of Arkali Khān from Multān (he was the worthy son of the Sultān and fitted to succeed him in the kingdom) as a temporary measure, with the co-operation of Malika-i-Jahān, seated Qadr Khān the youngest son of the Sultān, upon the throne of Dihli, with the title of Ruknu-d-Din Ibrāhim. The Amirs and Maliks of Jalālu-d-Din's party came one and all to swear allegiance to him at his accession. He retained the name of King for one month. Malik 'Alāu-d-Din lost no time,² but on the very day of the assassination of the Sultān, made open display of the insignia and emblems of royalty, and raising the imperial canopy over his own head³ was addressed as Sultān and⁴ in the middle of the rainy season marching uninterrupted he made straight for the metropolis of Dihli, and showering *dīnārs* and *dirhems* like rain over the heads of the populace, and pelting the people in the streets great and small with golden missiles from balistae and slings,⁵ came to his own garden on the banks of the Jumna and alighted there. Day by day the Amirs of the Jalāli faction joined themselves to him and swore allegiance to him, and by the hope of the red gold, all regret for Jalālu-d-Din was completely effaced from their black hearts.

Liberality is the alchemy⁶ of the copper of faults ;
Liberality is the remedy for all pain.

It is said that by the day when Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din reached Badāon sixty thousand sowārs had joined his standard, Malik Raknu-d-Din Ibrāhim seeing that he had not the power to resist him went to Multān to Arkali Khān, with certain chosen Amirs who remained faithful after the massacre (of Jalālu-d-Din), and the whole of the kingdom fell under the dominion of 'Alāu-d-Din.

¹ MS. (A) inserts و.

² MS. (A) reads فوست نداده هم در روز.

³ MS. (A) گرفته خود برس.

⁴ MS. (A) inserts و.

⁵ MS. (A) reads در عربا و منجنيق.

⁶ هر مس که بکیمیا رسد زر گردد. *Kimiyā*. Cf. Roebeck. *Proverbs*, 398.
All copper which is affected by Kimiyā becomes gold.

"The science (of Alchemy) has for its object the substance by which gold and silver is perfected by artificial means."

See Proleg : Ibn Khaldūn. (de Slane) III. 207. See also Skeat, s. v.

The kingdom is God's and greatness is His. The massacre of 181. Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn took place in the seventeenth of the month of Ramazān in the year 694 H. (A.D. 1294) and the duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verses.

Hast thou seen the acts of the tyrant heaven and its star,
Mention it not; what is the heaven, its revolution, or its
arched vault?

How is it that the revolving heaven has cast the sun of the
kingdom headlong into the dust,
Dust be on the head of his sun of glory.

Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn had a taste for poetry, and Amir Khusrū after the death of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, came into the service of the Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, and was honoured by being selected as an intimate companion, and was made Qur'ān-keeper to the Sultān, he was presented every year with the robes of honour which were reserved for the Amirs of the Sultān¹ and were tokens of special distinction and peculiar trust.

In this same category were Amir Ḥasan and Muid Jājarmī and Amir Arslān Kātibi and Sa'd-i-Manṭiqī and Bāqī-i-Khaṭīb and Qāzī Mughiṣ of Hānsī, who is one of the most learned men of the time of Jalālu-d-Dīn and wrote a *Ghazal* in nineteen metres² of which this is the opening :—

Two pearly ears, a stately form, two lovely cheeks, with
fresh youth dight,
Thy glory is the fairy's pride, a fairy thou, at glory's
height.

And the rest of the learned men used to keep the Sultān's assembly embellished and adorned with the jewels of poems, and delicate points of learning and philosophy, and the following few verses are the offspring of the Sultān's genius :—

¹ MS. (A) مساطني امری.

² بحرین نوزده غزل. It would appear from the statement that this *ghazal* or ode was made up of nineteen lines, each of which was in a different metre.

The first of the above lines is either *Mutaqārib* or *Ramal*. This is called *Zūbahrain* (of two metres) in prosody.

The second line is in *Ramal*.

182.

I do not wish those flowing locks of thine to be entangled
 I do not wish that rosy cheek of thine (with shame) to burn.
 I wish that thou one night unclothed may'st come to my
 embrace
 Yes, loud I cry with all my might, I would not have it
 hidden.

And at the time when he was besieging Gwāliār he built a pavilion and a lofty dome¹ and wrote this quatrain as an inscription for that building :—

Quatrain.

I whose foot spurns the head of heaven,
 How can a heap of stone and earth augment my dignity ?
 This broken stone I have thus arranged in order that
 Some broken heart may haply take comfort from it.

And Sa'd Mantiqi and the other poets he ordered to point out to him the defects and beauties of this composition. They all praised it exceedingly and said ! It has no fault, but he replied : You are afraid of hurting my feelings, I will point out its defect² in this quatrain :

It may be some chance traveller may pass by this spot
 Whose tattered garment is the satin mantle of the starless
 sky;³
 Perchance from the felicity of his auspicious footsteps
 One atom may fall to my lot: this will suffice me.

SULTĀN ‘ALĀU-D-DĪN KHALĪJI.

On the twenty-ninth⁴ of Zūl Hijjah in the year six hundred and ninety-five (695 H.) (A.D. 1295) raised the banner of the Sultanate

¹ MS. (A) بنا کرد و.

² MS. (A) omits عیب.

³ جرخ اطلس⁵. The highest of all the heavens so called (اطلس) because it has no stars. The literal meaning of اطلس is “worn out” “effaced.” Thus رجل اطلس الثوب means a man whose garments are worn out. It also by a secondary (post classical) meaning is used in the sense of “Satin.” Hence there is a double play on the word اطلس here, in its opposite senses.

⁴ MS. (A) reads دریست و نهم while our text has دریست و دوم.

of Dihli, with the consent of his brother Ilmās Beg, to whom he gave the title of Ulugh Khān¹ and to Sinjar, his wife's brother, who was the *Mir-i-Majlis* he gave the title of Alp Khān, while to Malik Nuşrat Jalisi he gave that of Nuşrat Khān, and to Malik Badru-d-Dīn that of Zafar Khān,² and alighted at the plain of Siri, where he pitched his camp, and giving public audience delighted the hearts of the Amirs and all classes of his subjects by his boundless munificence, then he had the Khugbah and the Sikka promulgated in his own name and conferred³ appointments and titles upon the Amirs, and distributing *jāgīrs* gave his mind first of all to his principal object which was to overthrow the two sons of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn who were in Multān.⁴

183.

Verse.

As long as the head of the heir to the throne is on his shoulders,
Disorder is the mantle of the body of the state.

In the Muḥarram 696 A. H. (he sent) Ulugh Khān and Alp Khān against Arkali Khān and Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn;⁵ both these

Mir Khusrū in the *Tūrīkh-i-‘A’ī*, states that ‘Alāu-d-Dīn left Kārpa Manikpur on the 19th of Rabi’ul Ākhir 695 H. and after taking great booty from Rām Deo, Rāl of Deogir, returned to Kārpa on the 28th Rajab. His accession to the throne took place on the 16th Ramazān 695 H., and he arrived at Dihli on the 22nd of Zilhijjah of the same year.

The text has possibly been corrected to agree with this author's date. Barnī does not give the day of the month: nor does Firishta. The latter tells us that on the death of Jalālu-d-Dīn, Malika-i-Jahān of her own accord set Qadr Khān the youngest son of Jalālu-d-Dīn on the throne, with the title of Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrahim, and finding he was too young, sent to Multān to summon the second son Arkali Khān, who refused to come hearing of ‘Alāu-d-Dīn's success with the army.

¹ MS. (A); the text reads الغ بيگ خان.

² Barnī says that the title of Zafar Khān was conferred on Malik Hizabru-d-Dīn, (Elliott III. 157).

³ The text omits مقرر before منصب supplied from MS. (A).

⁴ It appears both from Barnī and Firishta that the youngest son of the late Sultān was in Dihli and that Arkali Khān was in Multān. See note 4, last page, and Elliott III. 159.

⁵ Although the author has given no account of Qadr Khān's coronation he here gives him the title by which he was raised to the throne.

brothers were besieged¹ in the fortress of Multān. The inhabitants of the city and the Kotwāl asked for quarter, and made overtures for peace, and the two princes, by the intervention of Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishi *may God sanctify his resting place*,² came forth and had an interview with Ulugh Khān,³ who treated them with the utmost respect, sending a despatch announcing his victory to Dihli; and taking the family and tribe of Jalālu-d-Dīn he set out for Dihli. When they came near Bohar⁴ a place in the vicinity of Hānsī, Nuṣrat Khān arrived with an order, in obedience to which they put out the eyes of both the sons⁵ of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, of Alghū Khān the Mughul son-in-law to the Sultān, and of Malik Ahmad Chap,⁶ and handed over the Sultān's sons⁷ to the Kotwāl of Hānsī and martyred them together with two sons of Arkali Khān.⁸ They kept the Sultān's wives and the rest of his children imprisoned in Dihli, sending Ahmad Chap and Alghū the Mughul to the fortress of Gwāliār, and putting out the eyes of some others also, scattered them in all directions and punished them with tortures, and very many of the old families they utterly destroyed and the hidden meaning of Sidi Maula⁹ soon

¹ I read here مُحَصَّر though there is a question if we should not read متَحَصَّن. The text reads مُحَصَّر which is manifestly wrong: MS. (A) reads متَحَصَّن which is perhaps meant for MS. (B) which is of very little value as before pointed out reads مُحَصَّر.

² Barnī states that the sons of the Sultān sent Shaikhul-Islām, Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn to sue for safety from Ulugh Khān and received his assurances, (Elliott III. 161), MS. (A) omits العزیز. This Ruknu-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Sadru-d-Dīn 'Arif and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā (See Āmīr-i-Akkārī, Jurrett III. 365).

Firishta gives a full biography of Ruknu-d-Dīn, his father and grandfather q. v.

³ MS. (A) باب الغخان ملأقات نمودة.

⁴ MS. (A) بوهار.

⁵ MS. (A) هردو پسر.

⁶ Nāib Amīr-i-Hājīb (Barnī. Elliott III. 162). MS. (A) omits ب.

⁷ MS. (A) omits سلطان.

⁸ Barnī merely states that the princes were imprisoned, and that all the sons of Arkali Khān were slain.

⁹ MS. (A) omits صرمون.

became evident, and (vengeance for) his blood did not long sleep.¹ In a short time² it became the cause of the shedding of the blood of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn and his family, and of so many thousands of others among the people who had been murdered.

184.

The wealth of Qārūn which still sinks down to the bottom of the earth,
You may have read, that it was a source of envy to the poor.³

And in the year⁴ 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.), Nuṣrat Khān having been appointed to the office of Vazīr, used strenuous efforts to recover the money which Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn had lavished in the commencement of his reign in order to gain over the affections of the people, and demanding the repayment of very large sums deposited them in the treasury; and having summoned from Kāṛra ‘Alāu-l-Mulk the uncle of Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī, the author of the *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* (whom Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn had removed from the kotwālship of Dihlī and had sent as governor to Kāṛra, appointing Naṣrat Khān to the office of Kotwāl) he conferred upon him his old rank, Alp Khān being appointed to Multān. And in the year 698 A. H. (1298 A.D.) one Ṣalḍī⁵ a Mughul commander, crossing the Indus came towards Hindustān, and Ulugh Khān and Tughlaq Khān the governor of Depālpur (who is *Ghāzī-i-Mulk*), were appointed to put down that rising, and offered strong opposition to them⁶ on the confines of Jārin Manjhūr.⁷ The Mughul army was defeated, some of them were killed and others taken prisoners, and the army of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn returned victorious with many spoils. A second time

¹ MS. (A) بیرون تھیں۔

² MS. (A) مدت۔

³ See Qurān XXVIII. 76.

⁴ Omit سال MS. (A).

⁵ The text reads چتالدی Chataldī. MS. (A) reads Ṣalḍī, so also Barnī (Elliott III. 165) and Āin-i-Akbari (Jarrett) III. 347.

Firishta calls him Chaldī.

⁶ MS. (A) بایشان.

⁷ Both Barnī and Firishta say Sīwistān.

Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā,¹ came from Māwarān-n-nahr with a countless host to attempt the conquest of Hindustān, and penetrated² as far as Dihli, inflicting no injury on the districts through which he passed. In Dihli itself grain became very dear, and the citizens were in great straits,³ and Sultān 'Alāu-d-

185. Din placing Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān in command of the forces, sent them with a countless host to oppose the Mughul army, and a severe battle was fought on the frontiers of Gili.⁴ Zafar Khān was killed, and the Sultān had gained what he wanted in this.⁵ Qutluq Khwāja after his defeat made his way to Khurāsān where he died.

A third time Targhi Mughul who was one of the *margans*,⁶ that is to say accurate archers of that country, accompanied by 100,000 infantry and 20,000 valiant and renowned cavalry, seized the fort of the hills, and gaining possession of that country, penetrated as far as the township of Baran, where Malik Fakhru-d-Din Amir Dād the Governor was entrenched; Malik Tughlaq Ghāzi-i-Mulk was sent from the metropolis to put down that disturbance.⁷ Malik Fakhru-d-Din sallying from the fortress of Baran,⁸ joined with Malik Tughlaq, and they jointly made a night attack upon the Mughuls.⁹ The Mughul forces being routed, Targhi was taken prisoner and Malik Tughlaq brought him into the royal presence.

A fourth time, Muhammād Turtāq¹⁰ and 'Ali Beg Mughul, who were the sons of the royal house of Khurāsān, brought together

¹ MS. (A), so also Firishta.

² MS. (A) در آمد.

³ MS. (A) جا تنگ گشت.

⁴ Or Kili (Barnī).

⁵ Barnī explains this. He says " 'Alāu-d-Din returned from Kili, considering that he had won a great victory: the Mughuls had been put to flight and the brave and fearless Zafar Khān had been got rid of without disgrace."

⁶ مورگن. This word is given by M. Pavet de Courteille in the meanings of *fusilier*: *bon tireur*: *héros*. It is a Turki word.

⁷ The reading of MS. (A) is here followed: *viz.*

ملک تغلق فارزی ملک از درگاه بجهت دفع ان فتنه نامزد گشت.

MS. (A) از حصار برون برآمده.

⁸ باافق شیشخون بر سغل اوردند (A).

¹⁰ The reading of this name is a little uncertain. MS. (A) may be either ترناق or تریاق. Neither Barnī nor Firishta give any assistance: nor does

a very large army, which they divided into two, one bore down upon Nāgor,¹ while the other seized the fort of the Sirmūr hills and occupied the country as far as the river Biāh which they call Kāli Pāmī.² Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn appointed Mālik Mānik his slave (who is Kāfūr Nāib or Hazār Dīnārī³) with Mālik Tughlaq Governor of Depālpūr to proceed to Amroha; and while the Mughul army, having succeeded in capturing much spoil and many cattle, was marching to the banks of the river Rahab, Mālik Mānik came up in pursuit⁴ and a severe battle ensued. Both the Mughul princes evinced great bravery, but were ultimately taken prisoners, and were put to death, while the greater part of those accursed ones became food for the sword of vengeance, and the remnant of the sword fled paniestricken to their own country. The heads of these two princes were taken to Badāon and impaled upon the battlements of the fort. One of the learned poets of that time wrote the following quatrain which was afterwards inscribed upon the southern gateway of that city.

Quatrain.

Noble fortress! whose helper may the assistance of the Almighty ever be!
 May the victory and conquest of the Emperor ever be thy standard-bearer!
 The Malik of this age became thy builder, and built thee anew,
 May Targhi, like 'Alī Beg⁵ become thy captive.

And Mir Khusrū⁶ has written an account of the fight between Mālik Mānik (who had obtained the title of Mālik Nāib⁷) in

either word appear in the Turkī dictionary. The text reads تریاق Taryāq which seems rather an *ex necessitate* reading. The *Tārikh-i-'Alā'i* reads Turtāq. (Elliott III. 72.)

¹ MS. (A) ناگور برد.

² MS. (A) کانرا کالی پانی میکویند.

³ So called because he had been originally purchased for a thousand dīnārs.

⁴ MS. (A) از عقب رسیده.

⁵ MS. (A) علی بیگ.

⁶ MS. (A) omits عليه الرحمة.

⁷ Firishta states that this title was conferred upon Mālik Kāfūr (Hazār Dīnārī) on the occasion of his being placed in command of an army to proceed against Rām Deo, Rāja of Deoghar, a refractory tributary.

the *Tārikh-i-Khazāīnu-l-Futūh*¹ a marvel of literature, which mortal powers confess themselves impotent to approach or imitate, though to tell the truth all the writings of that king of poets, rightly named Khusrū, are of this excellence, and to praise and crown them is an impertinence and error for any other.

Whenever any thought shines forth from his mind
It is so subtle as to escape comprehension and defy imitation.

On the fifth occasion Iqbālmand and Kapak, Mughuls, brought together an army to take vengeance for Turtāq² and 'Ali Beg, and invaded the frontiers of Multān. The Sultān on this occasion also appointed Malik Nāib, and Malik Tughlaq. They proceeded by forced marches while the Mughals were falling back, and pursuing them gave battle. Kapak was taken prisoner, but was ransomed by the infidel Tatars, with the prisoners and abundant booty which had fallen into their hands.³ From that day the Mughuls lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of Hindustān, and the teeth of their ambition became blunted.

After these victories, the Sultān one night was holding a wine party quite at his ease with his companions, and was quaffing copious draughts of wine. The night, like the circulation of the

187. wine cup, had come near to an end; suddenly some of the assembled guests began to make signs to each other⁴ with hand, and eye, and brow that it was time to break up,⁵ the Sultān happened to perceive it, he was annoyed and cried out Mutiny! Mutiny! and on the instant gave orders for Bahā (who was one of his boon-companions and choice spirits) to be killed. The rest fled in confusion. On the following morning when he came to realise

¹ This work, known also as the *Tārikh-i-'Alā'i*, is a prose history of the first years of Sultan Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī from his accession in 695 H. to the close of 710 H. (Elliot III. 68-69.)

² MS. (A) omits **محمد** and gives the pointing of Turtāq as تُرْتَاق.

³ MS. (A) بود. This account differs somewhat from that given by Khusrū, who makes the invasion of Kapak separate from and precedent to that of Iqbāl Mudbir as he calls him.

⁴ MS. (A) يَكْدِيجُورَا.

⁵ MS. (A) وَنَظَرَ سُلْطَانٌ.

what had occurred, it was as clear as day to the Sultān¹ that his suspicion was groundless.

Wait, till the world removes the veil from the face of events,
And till that thou hast done this evening, tomorrow is
plain to thee.

Then he asked for Qāzī Bahā.² They replied, He was sent into eternity at that very moment.³ The Sultān was very repentant and ashamed at hearing this, and vowed never again to drink wine, and ordered it to be proclaimed that the use of wine should be absolutely abandoned throughout the kingdom. Cask upon cask of wine was poured out in the court till it became a flowing river. Everyone who was discovered intoxicated, was hauled off to prison, and punished by imprisonment⁴ and confiscation of property.

Piety and penitence became the order of the day, the taverns were in ruins,⁵ and the police officers had plenty of work, and there was no longer any need to purchase vinegar,⁶ while the wine bibbers were giving expression by their actions to these verses :

Now he sprinkles the flagon with salt, now he shatters the cup,⁷

How the policeman disturbs the peace of the tavern in which we sup.

¹ The text has a note here to the effect that a بـ should probably be inserted after سلطان but that it is not found in either of the two MSS. before the editor.

سلطان وا چون روز روشن شد که آن گمان غلط بود. MS. (A) has بـ, and reads

² The text here and in the former line reads بهار MS. (A) has بـ.

³ او خود همان زمان بهزار سالها پیوست.

⁴ تعزیر مالی و بندی میکردند.

⁵ خرابات خراب شد.

⁶ There is a play on words here in the original فـ.

⁷ Wine not being drunk all the grapejuice could be utilised for vinegar: There is a hint here that every one was discontented, had, as we say, sour looks which the Persians express by saying فلان کمن سوکه فروشی می کند. So and so sells vinegar. Qāni says to his mistress.

سرکه فروشی مکن لچمهه که در عشق
هیچم از بـ سرکه کم نگردد صفراء

⁷ MS. (A) omits بـ but the text is correct.

And in the year 697 H. (1297 A.D.) the Sultān becoming suspicious of the newly-converted Muslim Mughuls was contemplating 188. to murder and eradicate them, and they also for their part, goaded by the extortion of the revenue collectors and their extortionate demands for refunding money,¹ were plotting a rebellion whilst the Sultān should be hunting and hawking.² One of them who was opposed to this scheme made it known to the Sultān. Secret orders were written and despatched to the Governors of the country saying that on a certain day³ they should put to death all the new Muslim Mughuls with one consent wherever they found them.

Accordingly on the appointed date they despatched so many poor hapless Mughuls with the sword of injustice, and sent them on their travels to the kingdom of annihilation, that the mind cannot compute their number, and the name of Mughul no longer survived in Hindustān, although this custom of killing strangers has survived from that time.

And in the commencement of affairs, the fact of so many victories following one another in close succession led to extravagant ambitions in the mind of the Sultān; one of these was religious innovation, and moreover by the assistance of these four Ulugh Khān, Nusrat Khān, Zafar Khān and Alp Khān he was led to estimate himself as being superior to the Prophet *on whom be the peace and blessing of God*,⁴ and his companions *may God be gracious to them all*.⁵ The second was the conquest of the whole inhabited world like Sikandar; this led to his ordering his name to be inscribed on the currency and mentioned in the proclamation as *Sikandar-i-ṣāḥī*.⁶ When he sought the advice

¹ This was spoken of above. 'Alāu-d-Dīn's officers disapproved of the lavish way he had squandered his money in gifts in the early days of his accession to power.

² پوینیدن جانور MS. (A).

³ در قلئن ملا و MS. (A) omits

⁴ عليه الصلوة والسلام.

⁵ MS. (A) omits و.

⁶ Alexander the second. The accuracy of this statement is testified to by the existence of coins bearing this title. Gold coins weighing 166, 168·6 and 169·5 grs. are in existence bearing the legend

سکندر الثاني یمین ا خلافة ناصر امير المؤمنین. (See Thomas, p. 168.)
Sikandaru-gāni Yaminu-l-khilāfat Nāṣiru Amīru-l-māminin.

of 'Alāu-l-Mulk Kotwāl of Dihli he restrained the Sultān from pursuing both these claims and said, "No one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be aided¹ by God, and till he can perform miracles² This object cannot be acquired by the strength of dominion, and wealth, and majesty, and splendour, moreover such an attempt may be expected, nay is certain to result in violent disorders and tumults of all kinds, nothing will be gained while disgrace will follow the attempt: as for conquering realms, it is a worthy ambition, but needs the highest qualifications, as well as perfection of rule and a vazir like Aristotle, none of which are here existent.

If the Sultān clears Hindustān of infidels and frees the environs of Dihli from these contumacious russians, this will be in no way inferior to the world conquests of Sikandar."

The Sultān, after due meditation, was greatly pleased with these proofs deduced from reason and supported by precedent, and bestowed a robe of honour upon 'Alāu-l-Mulk and gave him large rewards, and abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions. The Amirs, who on account of the harshness of the Sultān, and the roughness of his temper, were unable to say anything of service, all sent presents of horses and valuables for 'Alāu-l-Mulk and were loud in praise of him.

189.

Verse.

In my opinion that one is thy well wisher,
Who says that will be a thorn in thy path.

In this year the Sultān proceeding to Deogir gained a fresh conquest³ and doubled his spoils :

That which he cut after that his sword cut double,
That which he defeated after that his mace defeated again
and again.

And in the year 698 H. (1298 A.D.) he appointed Ulugh Khān to the command of a powerful army, to proceed into the country of Gūjerāt against Rāi Karan who had thirty thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry, and thirty head of elephants. Ulugh

¹ MS. (A) نبایشد من الله عند.

² MS. (A) و نشوند صاد میزبان. The text reads و ده correctly.

³ MS. (A) نمود مجدد فتح.

Khān, after Rāī Karan was defeated, ravaged and laid waste Nahrwāla, and pursued him;¹ and Rāī Karan took refuge with Rai Rāmdeo² who was the ruler of Deogir, in the country of the Deccan. The family of Rāī Karan, with his treasury and elephants, and all his possessions, fell into the hands of the Muslim warrior.

Among the ladies of his harem was one Dewalrānī, of whom Khizr

190. Khān the son of Sultān Alāu-d-Dīn ultimately became enamoured. He related the account of his *amours* to Mir Khusrū for him to turn into verse, and the book of Khizr Khān and Dewalrānī, which is known as the *'Ashiqā*, is in his name. Ulugh Khān carried off an idol from Nahrwāla (in place of the idol of Somnāt which Sultān Maḥmūd had carried³ to Ghazni, and the Hindūs had made an object of their worship,) and took it to Dihli where he caused it to be trampled under foot by the populace; then he pursued Rāī Karan as far as Somnāt, and a second time laid waste the idol temple of Somnāt, and building a mosque there retraced his steps.

Nusrat Khān having proceeded to Kuhanbāyat,⁴ a well-known post, seized much spoil of valuable goods and rubies and other jewels from the traders;⁵ Kāfir Hazār Dīnārī whom the Sultān Alāu-d-Dīn had latterly taken into close favour, and made Nāibul-Mulk, was part of that booty.

When Ulugh Khān arrived on the frontiers of Alwar he occupied himself with verifying the amount of property and spoil which had fallen into the hands of his people during these several battles, and exacted the giving up of much of it with great severity. A certain party of Mughuls who accompanied him thought

١ MS. (A) نمود و (B) نمود اور.

٢ MS. (A) رامدیو براۓ پنلا.

٣ MS. (A) بود بود.

٤ MS. (A) کھنبايہ.

Cambay, in Gujerat. According to Hunter (Imp. Gaz., III. 272) "the name of Cambay or Khambhat is said to be derived from *Khambha* or *Stambhatirth*, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. During the 11th and 12th centuries, Cambay appears as one of the chief ports of the Anhelwāra (Nahrwāla) kingdom and at the conquest of that kingdom by the Musulmāns in 1297, it is said to have been one of the richest towns in India.

Tieffenthaler, Vol. I. p. 372. *Camhāt, grande ville et port de mer, que les Européens appellent Cambaye.* (pp. 380-381.)

٥ MS. (A) از تجارت.

this rather unfair, and consequently plotted a rebellion, but eventually were dispersed; some of them went off to Rāī Hamir Dev in Jhāin,¹ which is near Rantanbhor, and some went elsewhere.

Ulugh Khān proceeded by continuous marches to his master at Dihlī, and from this we gather that the massacre of the foreigners (above alluded to) took place after the arrival of Ulugh Khān from Gujrāt. Historians have paid little attention to the due order of events, but God knows the truth.

And in the year 699 H. (1299 A.D.) Ulugh Khān was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Rantanbhor and Jhāin, which is better known as Naushahr,² and Rāī Hamir Dev, the grandson of Rai Pithora,³ who had ten thousand cavalry, and countless infantry, and celebrated elephants, gave him battle but was defeated, and with great generalship withdrew the whole of his forces into the fortress of Rantanbhor.

Ulugh Khān having reported ⁴ the state of affairs to the Court, urged the Sultān to capture the fort; the Sultān collected his forces ⁵ and marched against Rantanbhor, and in a short time, by skilful effort, and aided by the energy of his Malikhs, completely subdued and took the fortress, and despatched Hamir Dev to hell. Great booty, and spoil, and treasures fell into his hands. Then he appointed ⁶ a Kotwāl to hold that fortress, and having bestowed the country of Jhāin upon Ulugh Khān, left to attack Chitor,⁷ and having conquered that place also within a few days,

191

¹ Tieffenthaler, I. p. 322, mentions a city called Tschān at a distance of five miles from the fortress of Rantanbhor. This would appear to be probably the place spoken of in the text.

See Elliot, III. 146 where Jhāin is said to be Ujjain, also p. 172, note 1, where this opinion is abandoned.

² Tieffenthaler does not mention this name.

³ MS. (A) reads Rāī Hamir Dev of Rantanbhor, omitting but Barnī calls Hamir Dev the *nabsa* of Rāī Pithorā, so that the reading of the text is adopted.

⁴ MS. (A) نموده مرض.

⁵ MS. (A) omits را.

⁶ MS. (A) نمود تعین.

⁷ Barnī says that after taking Rantanbhor and putting Hamir Dev to death the Sultān returned to Dihlī: so also Firīghta. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* III. 430.

and¹ having given it the name of Khizrābād, and having bestowed a red canopy upon Khizr Khān aforesaid, made Chitor over to him as governor. Among the events which happened in this expedition this was one, that Nuṣrat Khān had come from Kaffra² to Rantanbhor, to reinforce Ulugh Khān before the Sultān arrived there;³ and during the siege one day a stone struck him on the head, and he went without delay to the other world. One arm of the Sultān, that is to say Zafar Khān, had been broken in the fight with Qutluq Khwāja, and now the second arm was broken also.

When the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Malhab⁴ the Sultān one day was engaged in the hunting field;⁵ when night came on he remained in the plain, and at dawn of day he posted his troops all round, while he himself with a select following ascended an eminence and was watching the sport.⁶ In the meantime the brother's son of the Sultān, Akat Khān,⁷ together with a band of new-Muslim Mughuls who were engaged in per-

192. forming the duties of guards, attacked the Sultān relentlessly and smote him with arrows, seized him and wounded his arm. As it was the winter season, and the Sultān was wearing a cap⁸ stuffed with cotton his wounds were not fatal. Akat Khān wished to alight from his horse and strike off the Sultān's head from his body, but some of the attendants pretending to side with him and take his part, cried out, the Sultān is killed ! Akat Khān was satisfied at hearing this, and made off with all speed to the camp on horseback, and entering the royal hall of audience seated himself upon the throne, and drawing the canopy over his head, the Amīrs, in accordance with ancient custom, gave in their allegiance to him

¹ MS. (A) و.

² MS. (A) از کھڑہ.

³ MS. (A) omits بانچا.

⁴ The reading here is doubtful. The text has در نواحی قصبه پنهیت with an alternative reading سون پت in a footnote. MS. (A) reads در نواحی ملہب Firishta (Bo. Text p. 186) reads تلیب Taltib.

⁵ قمرغہ Qamurgha, lieu de chasse. (Pavet de Courteille). A Turkī word signifying hunting ground. Firishta loc. cit. also uses this word.

⁶ MS. (A) omits و.

⁷ Firishta also says Akat Khān.

⁸ MS. (A) reads کله پور پندہ.

as the rightful king,¹ and raised no overt objection. Akat Khān was so overwhelmed by his inordinate lust that on the instant he made an attempt upon the *haram*,² but Malik Dinar *Haramī* who was on guard at the entrance to the *haram* with his men armed and equipped, said, Till you shew me the head of the Sultān I will not permit you to set foot within this private chamber. Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, when he had somewhat regained consciousness³ after that perilous attack, bound up his wounds. He was convinced in his own mind that Akat Khān, in unison with the Amīrs who had revolted, had had the audacity to make this disgraceful attempt upon his life, for that were it not so, he was not the man to attempt it alone.

Accordingly his intention was to make his way to Jhāin (where Ulugh Khān was) with the fifty or sixty attendants who had remained with him, and see what course Ulugh Khān would recommend. One or two of his confidential retainers pointed out the unwisdom of this course and urged him to go at once to the royal pavilion and kingly court.

Before they arrived at the Court fifty horsemen joined them, and Akat Khān took the road to Afghānpūr, but a body of men who had been despatched in pursuit of him by forced marches made him prisoner,⁴ sent him into the Sultān's presence, and then utterly destroyed all his family and relations wherever they found them, among whom Qutluq Khān his brother also perished.⁵

193.

Verse.

One who injures the country is better beheaded
And at that same time 'Umar Khān and Mangū Khān the two

¹ The words تُورَة و تُوزَك *tora o tuzak* are Turkī words (P do C) تُورَة *tura* or signifies the royal family. It also means king : law : right, also a custom introduced by Chengiz Khān تُوزَك *tuzuk* means simply "right" or "authority," hence the words in the text would mean that they acknowledged him as rightful king with due formalities.

² MS. (A) omits خاص.

³ MS. (A) آمد.

⁴ او را دستگیر کرده.

⁵ The account given by Barnī of this occurrence is the same as the text (Elliot III. 171-173). Firishta also calls him Suleimān Shāh, Akat Khān, though Briggs in his translation calls him "The Prince Rooku Khān."

nephews of the Sultān, revolted in Badāon: certain of the Amīrs sent from the Court seized them and brought them to the Sultān,¹ by whose orders their eyes were put out.¹

If thou revoltest against thy benefactor
Even if thou art the sun, thou wilt fall headlong.

This further occurrence took place, namely, when the Sultān was engaged in besieging Rantabhor, a person named Hājī Maulā, one of the slaves of Maliku-l-Umara Kotwāl,² gathered together certain ruffians, displayed a counterfeit order in Dihli,³ entered the city by the Badāon gate, and sent for one Turmuṣī Kotwāl and in an instant cut his head off,⁴ closed the city gates, and sent a messenger to ‘Alāu-l-Mulk⁵ a friend of his, who was Kotwāl of the New Castle, saying “An order has come from the Sultān, come and read it” ‘Alāu-l-Mulk being fully alive to what was going on⁶ did not obey the summons, whereupon the rebel Hājī Maulā went to the Ruby Palace, and liberating all the prisoners, gave a horse and arms and a large bag (of gold) out of the treasury to each one, gathered together an immense following; then he seized by force Saiyyid Zāda-i-Alawi Shāh Nabsa,⁷ who on his mother's side was descended from Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Altamsh (Iyaltimish), summoning his chief men and nobles for the purpose, and seated him upon the throne at

194.

میل در چشم از ها کشیده شد.

¹ MS. (A) According to Barni “a maulā or slave of the late Kotwāl Amīru-l-Umara Fakhrū-d-Dīn.”

² Pretending to have received it from the Sultān (Barnī).

³ MS. (A) مرسی از تن جدا ساخت.

⁴ ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Ayāz (Barnī).

⁵ MS. (A) سرکار اگلا شہزادہ اجل.

⁶ Barnī's account is as follows: “There was an ‘Alawi (descendant of ‘Alī) in Dihli who was called the grandson of Shāh Najaf who by his mother's side was grandson of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn. The Maulā set off from the Red Palace with a party of horse, and went to the house of the poor ‘Alawi. They carried him off by force and seated him on the throne in the Red Palace. The principal men of the city were brought by force and made to kiss his hand.—(Elliot III. 176). The editor remarks that the passage in which he is called the grandson of Shāh Najaf is very doubtful.

Firishta writes. ‘Alawi whom they used to call Shāhanshāh who on his mother's side traced descent from Shamsu-d-Dīn Altamsh.

the entrance to the Red Palace, and compelled the chief men whether they would or no, to swear allegiance to him.

The Sultān, when he heard this tidings, did not publish it, nor did he betray any signs of emotion, until he had succeeded by superhuman effort in entirely¹ reducing the fortress. A week had hardly passed after this exploit of Hājī Maulā when Malik Hamidu-Din, who was Amir of Koh, with his sons who were renowned for their valour, and a body of the cavalry of Zafar Khān who had come from Amrohā to oppose the Mughuls,² engaged Hājī Maulā in fight, and having destroyed him, put to death the hapless Saiyyid Zāda also, and sent their heads to Rantanbhor. The Sultān nominated Ulugh Khān to proceed to Dihli to track out those who had taken part in that³ rebellion, and bring them to destruction. He also completely eradicated the family and relations of Maliku-l-Umarā on this suspicion that Hājī Maulā would not have embarked on this enterprise without their instigation.⁴

The Sultān after adding the fortress of Rantanbhor and its surrounding districts to the jāegir of Ulugh Khān returned (to Dihli). Ulugh Khān was taken ill that very day while on the road, and died,⁵ and Rantaubhor became for him like the Paradise of Shaddād.⁶

بعد تمام فوق الحمد و الغاية فتح قلعة دست داد و

¹ MS. (A) بجهت عرض مغلی.

² MS. (A) در آن فتنه.

³ The text reads شروع درین امر نموده باشد⁵ so also MS. (A), but we should, read نه نموده باشد as without this the sense is not very obvious.

Barnī states, "The sons and grandsons of the old kotwāl Maliku-l-Umāra had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to that family were put to death.

⁴ The Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī states, in opposition to our author, that Ulugh Khān did not die till four or five months later, when he had collected a large force for the purpose of attacking Tilang and Ma'bar. Firishta also states that Ulugh Khān died about six months later.

⁵ MS. (A) reads حکم بیشت شد پیدا کرد. See Qur'añ lxxxix. 5.

"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Ad? with Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in the land."

Moreover a band of robbers of Jālor, whose leader was Mir Muḥammad Shāh, were captured in Rantanbhor after the fort

Iram of the columns "This city is said to have been situated in Yemen, between Hazramaut and Ṣanā'a. It was founded by Shaddād ibn 'Ad, who was excessively strong and mighty, and when he heard of Paradise and of what God had prepared therein for his saints, 'palaces of gold and silver and abodes beneath which rivers flow, and upper chambers above which are other upper chambers, (Qur'ān xxxix. 21) he said to his mighty men 'Verily I will take to myself upon the earth a city like unto Paradise.' Then he appointed thereunto a hundred men of his servants and mighty men of valour, and under the hand of each of them a thousand helpers, and bade them search out and find an open space of the plain in the land of Yemen, and choose the best thereof in soil. Then he provided them with wealth, and designed for them the pattern of their work, and wrote to his three chief lords Ghānim-ibn-'Ulwān, Zāhhāk ibn 'Ulwān, and Walid ibnur Raiyyān, and charged them to write to their lords in the utmost parts of their cities that they should collect all that was in their land of gold and of silver, of pearls and of rubies, of musk and ambergris and saffron, and should send them unto him. Then he sent unto all the mines, and took out therefrom all the gold and the silver that was in them, and he sent his three agents to the divers into the oceans, and they brought out therefrom jewels, and gathered them together as it were mountains, and all of this was brought to Shaddād. Then they sent the miners to the mines of rubies and emeralds and all other jewels, and they brought out from thence immense riches. Then he ordered and the gold was beaten and fashioned into bricks, and he builded therewith that city, and he commanded the pearls and the rubies, the onyx and the emerald and the cornelian, and the walls of the city were set with them. And he made for it upper chambers, and above them other chambers supported on columns, and to all of them pillars of emerald and of onyx and of ruby. Then he caused to flow beneath the city a wide channel which he brought to the city from beneath the earth a space of forty leagues, like to a large canal. Then he ordered, and there were made to flow from that channel, rivulets in the streets, and highways and streets flowed with clear water. And he ordered banks to be made for that canal and for all the rivulets, and they were overlaid with red gold, and the pebbles thereof were made of all kinds of precious stones, red and yellow and green. And there were planted on either bank of the stream and of the rivulets trees of gold bearing fruit, and the fruits of them were of those rubies and precious gems. And the length of the city was made twelve *farsakhs* and the breadth thereof like unto the length. And the walls of the city were high and lofty, and there were builded therein three hundred thousand palaces set with all kinds of jewels within and without. And he built for himself in the midst of the city on the bank of the canal a palace lofty and high, towering over all those palaces *

* * * * * * * * and there passed
in the building of it five hundred years.

was taken. When the Sultān asked Muḥammad Shāh (who had been wounded) 'If I should spare your life and have you cured, and you should thus escape this deadly danger, how would you treat me in future?' he replied, 'If I should get well and should have an opportunity, I would kill you and raise the son of Hamīr Dev to the throne.' The Sultān wondered, and was amazed at this audacity, and enquired of his most shrewd and astute Amīrs the reason why the people had so turned against him, and why these continual riots and seditions were so constantly occurring, and further sought to know how to set about remedying these evils. They shewed him several paths of conduct which would end naturally in four things. *Firstly*, that the king should in his own person be aware of the enterprises both good and bad which are going on in his kingdom. *Secondly*, that he should put an end to wine bibbing, which is the source of so much evil. *Thirdly*, abandonment by the maliks of their gadding about to each others' houses and holding deliberative meetings.¹ *Fourthly*, to demand back the money which he had lavished, from all classes, whether soldiery or populace, because it is the fountain head of all riot and sedition, especially upstarts and *nouveaux riches*,² and in a short time these regulations would by their inherent good, be acceptable to the Rāīs, and pass from potentiality to actuality just as has already been related in a former place.

The Sultān did away with wine drinking, and brought the other

Then Almighty God wished to send a warning to him and to his host, calling him to repentance, and he chose to himself Hūd ibn Khālid who came and called upon Shaddād to believe and confess the power and unity of God, but he persisted in his idolatry and disobedience. Then Hūd warned him of punishment to come and of the fall of his kingdom, but he would not be moved from his evil ways."

At last he was informed that the city was finished and he set out to go to it with three hundred thousand, leaving all his kingdom to his son Murṣad who had it is said believed in the words of Hūd. When Shaddād arrived with one day's journey of Iram a voice came from heaven, and he and all who were with him fell dead, not one remained, and all who were in the city died, the workmen and artificers, the agents and warriors, not a soul remained alive. And the city sank into the earth."

Mu'jamu-l-Buldān. Yāqūt Vol. I.

¹ MS. (A) reads مهتم. in place of ياهتم.

² The Persian phrase is سفله نوکیسہای. *Naukisahā-i-sifla.*

regulations also into force, and also published several new rules of his own, which have never been heard of either before or after his time, whether they were in accordance with religious law or not ; one of these rules was that regulating the price of grain, and cloth, and horses, and all necessaries essential to the comfort of the soldiery and populace, and the bestowal of rewards and alms upon all classes of the people, the detail of which is told at some length in the history of Ziā-i-Barni.¹ Those laws were the most extraordinary of all : this cheapness of provisions was one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the people, and formed a stout wall of defence against the irruption of the Mughuls. And inasmuch as in mentioning some of these events and occurrences in the original work,² the chronological sequence has not been preserved, and they have been only incidentally mentioned as occasion arose, for this reason they have also been recounted here in the same manner.

196. In the year 700 H. he ordered 'Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multāni to proceed to Mālwa with a large army [and Kōkā the Rānī who had forty thousand cavalry and 100,000 infantry, not being able to stand against him fled].³ 'Ainu-l-Mulk ravaged and pillaged that country and returned victorious with countless spoils.⁴ The Khusrū of poets has described this in the 'Ashīqā, in these words :

He gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk a signal with his brow
 To turn his face towards the kingdom of Mālwa ;
 From the clear-sightedness which 'Ainu-l-Mulk possessed,
 That which he ordered was brought into sight.
 He marched with an army drawn up in array,
 And placed round them sentinels like the eyelashes.⁵

And in the year already mentioned the Sultān set out for Sorath⁶ on a hunting expedition, and despatched to hell Satal

¹ The *Tūrikh-i-Firoz Shāhī*. Elliot and Dowson, III. pp. 192 et seqq.

² MS. (A) در اصل کتاب.

³ The words in brackets are not found in MS. (A).

⁴ Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 704 H. and calls Koka the Rājā of Malwa. The text and MS. (B) reads رانی Rānī.

⁵ There is a series of play upon the words عین 'ain and دید dida both of which mean "eye" which is quite lost in translation.

⁶ MS. (A) reads سوانہ Sawāna. The text has سوراہ Sorath. *Ain-i-Akkari* II. (J.) 243, 358. Bayley, *Hist. of Gujurāt* p. 2.

Dev a rebel who had taken refuge in that fortress with a huge army, the Sultān's army having before been unable to reduce it, but it now fell into their hands. And in the year 701 H. (1301 A.D.) the fort of Jālor was reduced by Kamālu-d-Din Kark and he sent Kanhar Dev, a headstrong rebel to the lowest abyss of hell.

And in the year 702 H. (1302 A.D.) he sent Malik Kāfür Nāib¹ with a large army and complete equipment towards Tilang and Marhaṭ² and an immense quantity of treasure with elephants and horses, jewels and cloths, fell as spoil into the hands of the troops.

And in the year 709 (1309 A.D.)³ Malik Nāib Kāfür went a second time to Arankal⁴ and having taken much treasure and several fine elephants and seven thousand horses as a present from Rāī Nadar Dev the Governor of Araukal made him a regular tributary. And in the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the country 197. of Ma'bār⁵ as far as Dhor⁶ Samundar came into the possession of the Muslims.

And in the year 711 H. (1311 A.D.) Malik Nāib brought to court and presented his spoils consisting of three hundred and twelve elephants, and twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other

¹ MS. (A) reverses the order of this name. The text has نائب کافر.

² Telengānā or Telingānā, the ancient name of one of the principal kingdoms of S. India. See *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (J.) 237; also Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* I. art Andhra; also Cunningham *Anc. Geog. of India* p. 519, 527.

³ There is a great gap here in the history partly due to the confusion of dates, and absence of chronological sequence mentioned by the author. Barnī gives no assistance and Firishta very little.

⁴ Warangal was the ancient capital of Telengānā (Tieff. III. 5) See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* XIII. 521. Regarding Marhat or Maharashtra see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* IX. 166; also Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Preliminary Observations; also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India* p. 553.

Arangal or Warangal. Barnī gives Laddar Dev as the name of the Rāī of Arangal. Elliott III. 201. So also Firishta. See text I. p. 207.

⁵ Ma'bār. Coromandel. See Ibn Baṭūṭah (Paris Edn.) III. 328. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) III. 51, 60. Abu-l-Feda (Reinaud) I. cdxviii.

Ma'bār extends from Kūlām (Cavalam) to Nilāwar (Nellore). Wassēf (E and D III. 32).

⁶ Firishta says Khwāja Hājī and Malik Nāib were sent to conquer Ma'bār and Dhor Samund where there were idol temples full of gold, and jewels. I cannot identify Dhor Samund.

booty beyond the limits of computation; Amir Khusrū who was with that army has given full particulars in the Khazāīnū-l-Futūḥ: some attributed these victories to respite before punishment, and some to the miraculous powers of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, while others held that the peace and security of that reign were due to the unbounded blessings of the Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-l-Auliyā¹ may God² sanctify his resting-place.

At length when the Sultān's mind was satisfied, and he gained some leisure from the administration of the State, he set himself to provide for the future of his two sons, allotting to each one a province in the neighbourhood, and setting apart districts for them. Among other events was the marriage of Khizr Khān to Dewal Rānī, and Girāi's account is of a nature to last to all eternity, and those who have the taste may read the account of that in the 'Ashīqa;³ then having bestowed upon Khizr Khān the canopy and staff of office, and having made him his heir the Sultān sent him away to Hatnāpūr⁴ and the foot of the hills. When affairs were settled,⁵ and the heavens began to act with their ingrained natural deceit, and commenced displaying those evil traits, and old age overcame the Sultān's health, his followers deserted him;

Verse.

In the world, when a king becomes advanced in years
 His worshippers grow weary of him ;
 His head, which is worthy of a crown,
 He must recline on musk not on ivory.⁶

198. Various disorders affected him,⁷ and hectic fever which leads⁸ to

¹ Nizāmud-dīn Auliyā was the son of Ahmad Dānyāl. He was born at Badōn. He died A.H. 725 and is buried at Dihlī.

See *Ain-i-Akbarī* III. 365. *Firishta* gives a long biography of him.

² MS. (A) omits اللہ.

³ See E and D III 552, 553.

⁴ Text reads هننا پور. MS. (A) reads حستانوار Hastināwar (? Hatnāwar). See *Ain-i-Akbarī* (J) II. 104 and III. 70. also Hunter *Gaz. Ind.* v. 352.

⁵ MS. (A) قرار یافت.

⁶ It was the custom to bury kings with musk, camphor and other odorous substances. The throne was of ivory.

⁷ MS. (A) مارض شد و.

⁸ MS. (A) reads مستوجب موجب for وجہ.

ill-temper, and suspiciousness, and causes the health to become deranged, gained the mastery over him, and when only such a small amount of health remained that it was like a single lamp to light the whole house, Khizr Khān in fulfilment of a vow he had made, in singleness of heart and sincerity of spirit set out from Hatnāpur¹ barefooted upon a pilgrimage to the holy men of Dihlī, and performed his thanksgiving for the restoration of his father's health, but it is a very strange fact that he never once went to visit the Sultānu-l-Mashāikh wal Auliyā,

“Shaikh of the sects, Pillar of the faith, Nizāmu-d-Dīn
Like Khizr and Masiḥ, with a breath brings bones to life.”

with whom he was connected by bonds of affection and sanctity.

And Malik Nāib informed the Sultān of the coming of Khizr Khān with considerable embellishment, saying that Alp Khān, the maternal uncle of Khizr Khān, who had arrived from Gujāt, out of policy and prudence, having regard to the affairs of the State and in his desire to become Nāib and Vakil, had himself summoned his sister's son, and further remarked that if this crude idea and immature desire had not fixed itself in the mind of Khizr Khān, why had he come unbidden to the Court?

The Sultān whose health was upset, and his brain disordered and disposed to entertain absurd prejudices, in according with the saying,² “When a man's health is disordered his fancies are disordered,” from his great lack of discrimination taking this suggestion as the actual fact, and regarding this assertion³ as the truth, instantly gave orders for the execution of Alp Khān.

Malik Nāib and Malik Kamālu-d-Dīn Kark seizing that unhappy wretch like a meek lamb, cut him to pieces inside the Royal palace. After that Malik Nāib induced the Sultān (on the ground that Khizr Khān had taken alarm at the murder of his uncle and that it was not expedient for him to return to his own place in the court), to issue instructions that, to allow of the restoration⁴ of order in the State, he should go for some 199.

¹ MS. (A) reads *Hatnāwar*. Khusrū in the ‘Ashīqa states “When the Sultān recovered in some degree, Khizr Khān set out on his expedition to Hatnāpur.” (E and D III, 554).

² MS. (A) ۲.

³ MS. (A) reads سخن.

⁴ MS. (A) omits ﷺ text line 1 and بِهِ text line 2.

time to Amroha till a command should issue summoning him to the presence. In the meantime he might engage in hunting, and he was to return to the Court his canopy and staff of office, and all the other insignia of royalty. Khizr Khân having obeyed this order with a sad and distracted heart, after a little while relying upon the sincerity of affection he entertained for his father and the confidence between them, wrote to him to this effect,¹ that he had never committed any breach of trust which could cause the Sultān to be so wroth with him; then overcome by sorrow he determined to leave Amroha for Dihli. When he arrived to do obeisance to his father, the chord of fatherly affection was stirred in the heart of the Sultān, he clasped his son to his breast, and kissed him several times on the forehead, and motioned to him to go and see his mother. Khizr Khân went thither, and Malik Nāib out of villainy,² on the instant went back to the Sultān and filled his ears with lies, saying,³ ‘Khizr Khân has now come for the second time to the palace with evil intentions without orders, and the Sultān takes no notice of the matter.’ The Sultān upon this occasion gave orders to send both brothers, Khizr Khân and Shâdi Khân, to the fortress of Gwâliâr.⁴ Malik Nāib, after these two heirs had been deported, and the way was clear for Malik Shihâbu-d-Din, the son of the Sultān by another mother, who was yet a lad of tender years, made him heir-apparent and exacted from him an agreement.

After two or three days the Sultān’s life became intolerable through his affliction, and he would willingly have purchased a breath at the price of a world, but it was not to be had.

Verse.

Sikandar, who held sway over a world,
At the time when he was departing, and was quitting the world,

200. It could not be as he wished, though he would have given a world could they have given him in return the brief respite of a moment.

¹ I follow the text here. MS. (A) omits بعرض.

² MS. (A) reads از روی حرامخوارگی.

³ MS. (A) omits و گفت and inserts اس.

⁴ MS. (A) کالبیور. Kâlewâr.

The mint of Existence was emptied of the coin of life.

This event took place in the year 715 H. (1316 A.D.).¹ The duration of the reign of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn was twenty-one years.

‘Alāu-d-Dīn who struck his stamp upon the golden coin
Subdued a world beneath the palm of his gold-scattering hand.²

By the revolution of the sky, that stamp became changed,
but that gold
Remained the same in appearance, and you may see it now
passing from hand to hand.

[Account of Amir Khusrū and Mir Hasan may God have mercy on them].³

And among the poets⁴ by whose existence the reign of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn was adorned and honoured, one was the Khusrū-i-Shā’irān (Prince of Poets), may God shew him mercy and acceptance, whose writings, whether prose or poetry, have completely filled the world from one remotest end to the other.

He completed his five works, collectively called Khamṣa,⁵ in the year 698 H. (1298 A. D.), in honour of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn,

¹ MS. (A) reads خمس Khams in place of تِسْت sit and this is correct as ‘Alāu-d-Dīn died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 H. see E and D III. 555, but see also p. 208. “On the sixth Shawwāl towards morning, the corpse of ‘Alāu-d-Dīn was brought out of the Red Palace of Sirī, and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jāmi’ Masjid” (*Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*). See also Thomas Pathān *Kings of Dihlī* p. 158 n. 1.

² MS. (A) reads زیر از کف دست. See Thomas Pathān *Kings* pp. 158 et seqq.

³ These words are not found in MS. (A).

⁴ MS. (A) reads واز جمله شعراًی که زمان.

⁵ These were the following:—

سكندر نامہ Sikandar nāma.

شیرین و خسرو Lailī wa Majnūn. Shīrīn wa Khusrū.

پنگانج Panj ganj.

Khusrū was of Turkī origin, his father Amīr Maḥmūd came to Dihlī during the invasion of Changiz Khān into the service of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh by whom he was advanced to high office, but was eventually murdered. Mir Khusrū succeeded his father, but gave up office and became the devoted disciple of Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliyyā. His Klamsa was written in imitation of the Khamsa of Shaikh Nizāmī.

He is said to have written 400,000 couplets. Neither Khamsa is now extant.

within the space of two years. Among these works is the *Maṭla' u-l-Anwār*¹ which he composed in two weeks as he himself says (in these verses) :

The year of this ancient heaven which had passed away
Was after six hundred and ninety eight.
Following on the steps of the sky traversing star²
In two weeks did the full moon³ arrive at completion.

In the *Nafahāt*⁴ it is stated upon the authority of Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l-Auliyā, *may God sanctify his sacred resting-place*, that on the day of judgment each individual will boast of some one thing, and my boast (said he) will be of the heart-burnings of this Turk Allāh⁵ (God's champion); Mir Khusrū probably alludes to this when he says :—

Khusrū my friend, strive in the right way

201. That you may be called Turk-i-Khudā (God's champion).

Another poet was Mir Hasan Dihlavi,⁶ whose anthology also has enslaved the east and west of the world. Although in that reign there were other poets who composed anthologies, still by reason of these two eminent poets the mention of the others sinks into insignificance.

“When the sun comes out the stars disappear.”

The death of Mir Khusrū took place in the year 725 H. (1325 A.D.). He is buried in Dihli at the foot of the sacred tomb of his

¹ The مطلع الانوار *Maṭla'u-l-Anwār*. “Ortus luminum. Poema persicum, quod ad Pentada Khosrewi Dehlewi, anno 725 (inc 18 Dec. 1324) mortui, pertinet. Viginti libri qui singuli historiam unam continent.” H.K. 12256.

² اختر گردون خرام. *Akhtar-i-gardān Khirām*. ³ ماه کامیل. *Mah-i-Kāmil*.

⁴ نفحات. *Nafahāt*. The *Nafahātu-l-Uns* see Hāji Khalīfah.

Nafahātu-l-Uns “halitus familiaritatis e viris sanctitate eminentibus prodeunte, auctore Molla nostro Nūr-ed-dīn Abd-el-rahmān Ben Alīmad Jāmī anno 898 (inc. 23 Oct. 1492) mortuo.” H. K. 13922.

⁵ ترك الله. *Turk Allāh*.

⁶ میر حسن دھلوی. Mir Hasan Dihlavi, whose name was Shaikh Najmu-d-Din Hasan, was one of the most accomplished poets of his time. He, like Mir Khusrū, was a disciple of Niẓāmu-d-Din Auliyā. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā* I. 196. He died as our author tells us (in 739 A.H.) at Daulatābād in the Deccan, where he was buried. So also *Ātash Kada* p. 351.

own spiritual instructor¹ may God shew mercy to them. Maulānā Shihāb² wrote an enigmatical chronogram upon that, and having had it engraved upon a tablet of stone had it fixed above the shrine³ of Mir Khusrū. It is as follows:—

Mir Khusrū, the Khusrū of the kingdom of eloquence,
 That ocean of excellence, and sea of perfection ;
 His prose is more attractive than flowing water,
 His poetry purer than the most limpid streams ;
 A sweet-singing nightingale without a rival,
 Honey-tongued parrot without an equal :
 In tracing the date of the year of his death,
 When I placed my head upon the knee of thought,
 One phrase ‘Adīmu-l-Misl⁴ came as the date,
 Another was Tūqī-i-Shakkar Maqāl.⁵

Mir Ḥasan, in the year in which Sultān Muḥammad having laid waste Dihli built Daulatābād⁶ in the Deccan, died in that

¹ Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya.

² See p. 99 note 2 of this work.

³ There is no English equivalent that I am aware of for the word مزار which means “a place of pilgrimage.” The word “shrine” conveys this idea better than most others.

⁴ The letters of عَدِيم الْمُنْتَلِ give the date 725. Thus $70 + 4 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 500 + 30$. So also do those of طَوْطِي شَكَرْ مَقَال. Thus $9 + 6 + 9 + 10 + 300 + 20 + 200 + 40 + 100 + 1 + 30 = 725$. Not counting the hamza.

Mir Khusrū died in the month of Ramazān 725 A. H. (1325 A.D.) and is said in the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣūl* to have been buried in the burial place of Shaikh Shakkar Ganj; as above stated in the text he was buried close to the grave of his spiritual guide Nizāmū-d-Dīn Auliya.

⁵ ‘Adīmu-l-Misl means “peerless.” Tūqī-i-Shakkar Maqāl, “Parrot of honied speech.”

⁶ MS. (A) omits اباد ساخت ending فرمود.

Daulatābād. Lat $19^{\circ} 57' N.$ and long. $75^{\circ} 18' E.$ 28 miles N.-W. of Hyderābād.

It was originally called Deogiri or Deogarh, and was the capital of the Yadava kingdom. After being taken by ‘Alān-d-Dīn, which event is noteworthy as being the first appearance of the Muhammadians in the Deccan, it was given back to its Rājā Ramchandra who rebelled, was subdued by Nāib Malik Kāfir, taken prisoner and sent to Dihli whence he was restored to his kingdom. Finally in 1338 (739 A.H.) Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh

country, and was buried in the city of Daulatābād where his tomb is well known, and is visited as a shrine of sanctity.

‘Ārif Jāmī,¹ may his resting-place be sanctified, says—

Those two parrots from whose birth
Hindustān was filled with sugar,
Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky
And were silenced and prisoned in the cage of earth.

SULTĀN SHIHĀBU-D-DĪN IBN ‘ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ

202. Who was a child, ascended the throne as a puppet in the month of Shawwāl, 715 A.H. (1316 A.D.) by the exertions, and with the consent of Malik Nāib, and was styled by the above title. He sent Malik Jkhtiyāru-d-Din Sanbal to the fortress of Gwāliār to put out the eyes of Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān. He also caused the mother of Khizr Khān, Malika-i-Jahān, to be imprisoned, and confiscated all her property, and having thrown the Shāhzāda, whose name was Mubārak Khān, into prison, intended to put out his eyes, but fate did not second his efforts.

deserted Dihlī for Deogiri which he renamed Daulatābād and issued stringent orders to all the inhabitants of Dihlī to remove to the new capital.

Ibn Batūta (Paris Edn. IV. 46) who visited at this time, compares it to the former capital, and say that the citadel was named دریقیر. This was evidently the old name of the city, Deogir as we should probably read دیو قیر.

1 Nūru-d-Dīn ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān was born in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) at Jām Khurāsān, whence he took the name of Jāmī.

His father's name was Nizāmu-d-Dīn Alīmad. He was from his earliest years distinguished for his mental powers, and at the early age of five received the name of Nūru-d-Dīn (Light of the Faith) and later he was known as Maulānā. He became very famous and attained to the highest dignity attainable by a mystic, that of ‘Ārif. He wrote many works in poetry, grammar and theology, among others the *Haft Aurang*, a series of seven poems, viz., *Silsilatu-l-Zahab*, The golden chain ; *Qissā-i-Salāmān wa Absāl*, Story of Salāmān and Absāl ; *Tuhfatu-l-Ahrar* ; The Offering to the Wise; *Subḥatu-l-Abrār*, Rosary of the Pious ; *Yūsuf wa Zuleikha*, Yusuf and Zuleikha ; *Laili wa Majnūn*, Laili and Majnūn : *Khirad Nāma*, Book of Wisdom.

He died in the year 898 H. (1492 A.D.)

See: Hājī Khalīfah 14412. *Yusuf and Zuleikha* (Griffith's Preface.) Beale (Dict. of Or. Biog.). p. 132.

When his attempts to uproot the family of 'Alāu-d-Din became known, two sirdars named Mubashshir and Bashir in concert with a body of *pāiks* of the garrison of the Hazār Sutūn palace, one night murdered Malik Nāib.¹

Verse.

If thou doest evil, hope not for good,
For never wilt thou gather grapes from thorns ;
I do not imagine that thou who hast sown barley in autumn
When harvest comes wilt gather in wheat.

Then, having released Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān from prison, they appointed² him to be Nāib to Sultān Shihābu-d-Din in place of Malik Nāib : Mubārak Khān carried on the affairs of the state for one or two months after that, and succeeded in conciliating the Amīrs and Maliks. Then he sent Sultān Shihābu-d-Din to the fortress of Gwāliār where he finally died in the year 716 H.³

Verse.

No one has ever seen a trace of fidelity in Time,
Everyone who seeks fidelity from Time is in error.

The Sirdārs having put some of these *pāiks* to death,⁴ scattered 203. the rest of them in all directions.

Verse.

Good requites good, and evil meets with evil,
This is the way of the world : requital of actions.

And the period of the reign of Shihābu-d-Din was three months and a few days.

SULTĀN QUTŪB D-DĪN MUBĀRAK SHĀH IBN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ.

Ascended the throne of Dihli with the consent of the Amīrs

¹ Thirty-five days after the death of 'Alāu-d-Din (Barnī) i.e., 715 H. (1316 A.D.)

² MS. (A) منصوب گردانیدند.

³ There is a difference here of great importance between the printed text and the MS. The former has 710 H. while MS. (A) reads 716 H. which is correct, as is seen from the *Nuh Sipihr* of Mir Khusrū.

⁴ MS. (A) يقتل سانحة.

With regard to the succession of Shihābu-d-Din, see Firishta, who describes him by the name of 'Umar Khān (Brigg's Firishta I. 383). His full name was Shihābu-d-Din 'Umar according to Mir Khusrū.

and Vazirs in the early part of the year 717, H.¹ and apportioning appointments and suitable *jāegīrs* among his most trusted Amirs, specially distinguished by promoting to high office one Ḥasan, Barāwar bacha,² who was very handsome, and had been brought as a captive from Mālwa. He had been the *protégé* of Malik Shādi Nāib-i-Khāss, the *Hājib* of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn.³

He gave him the title of *Khusrū Khān*. The tribe of Barāwar⁴ are a family of servile position in Gujrāt; but now in the kingdom of Dihli, the Sultān, to such an extent was he infatuated by his beautiful face, raised him, in spite of his unsuitness for the office, to the trusted post of Vazir.

Verse.

If thou desirest thy kingdom to be glorious
Give not high office to an upstart;
Unless thou wishest that thy state should be ruined
Entrust not thy affairs to the inexperienced.

And Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn, inasmuch as he had undergone the affliction of imprisonment, on the very first day of his reign had all the prisoners liberated, and appointed Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn Jūnā the Son of Ghāzi Malik, who eventually was entitled Muhammad ‘Ādil, to be *Mir Ākhor*.⁵

In the first year of his reign he contemplated the conquest of Deogir otherwise called Daulatābād,⁶ but his Amirs opposed and dissuaded him.

¹ So also the *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi* of Barnī, but *Khusrū* in both the *‘Ashīqa* and *Nuh Sipihr*, says the beginning of 716 H. In the latter poem the date is specifically stated to have been the 24th of Muḥarram, 716 H. But *Firishta* says the 7th of Muḥarram, and the editor states in a footnote to the translation of the *Nuh Sipihr*, that in some loose extracts the date is 717 H.

‘Alāu-d-Dīn having died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 and *Shihābu-d-Dīn* having reigned three months and a few days, would bring the accession of Qutbu-d-Dīn to about the middle or end of Muḥarram 716, so that we may consider this as the correct date unless there was an interregnum of a whole year, of which there is no evidence.

² MS. (A).

³ MS. (A) omits , after خاص.

⁴ MS. (A).

⁵ Master of the Horse. *Akhor* is a Turkish word signifying stable. Cf. *Akhtā*, a Turkī word signifying, a gelding.

⁶ See p. 271 note 6.

Verse.

It was not deemed expedient, from motives of wisdom,
That the world's king should move from his place;
Who knows, what are the hidden designs of evil wishers,
Or who, in all sincerity, is well disposed to the king ?

204.

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn sent Sar Salāḥī *Kotwāl*,¹ with orders to proceed to Gwāliār and put to death Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān. Having done this he summoned Dewal Rānī and included her in his *haram*. With reference to this Mir Khusrū writes :

Verses.

In short one who is acquainted with the secret of this mystery
In this way opened the door of this treasury of secrets,
That when the Sultān Mubārak Shāh in cruelty
Turned against his own kith and kin with anger and frown-
ing,
He considered that the interests of the country demanded
their murder,
And thought that they deserved the sharp sword.
His object was to empty the country of noble men by mali-
cious enterprise.
Secretly he sent a messenger to Khizr Khān
Making treacherous protestations of hearty good will
Saying, Oh thou shining light who remainest far from the
assembly,
Thy body ill at ease and thy countenance without light;
Thou knowest that this is none of my doing,
The oppressed remains while the oppressor disappears.
If thou art imprisoned, by the Lord of the world
When the time comes he himself will loosen these bonds.
In this matter haste and anxiety are not fitting,
An elephant extricates itself from the mire by patient en-
deavour.
Now, we too are engaged in plumbing this matter
So that by clever contrivance we may free you from that
captivity.

¹ "A ruffian named Shādi" (*Mir Khusrū* E and D III. 555.)

If thou art fitted to become a king
 We will make thee ruler over a wide kingdom.
 But the affection for some one which springs in thy heart
 Is not fitted for the loftiness of thy ambition.
 Dewal Rāni who is but a handmaiden to thee,
 For whom even were the moon needed as handmaid this were
 an easy matter,
 I have heard that she is so dear to thee
 That thy cypress-like form stoops to kiss her feet.
 This is not fitting that from shortsightedness
 The king should be enslaved by a slave.
 The gourd is in any case of no account in the garden
 That it should attempt to raise its head in emulation of the
Chinār.

205.

A straw which places its foot upon the face of the stream
 Is carried hither and thither by the wind and buffeted by the
 floods.¹
 [My heart's desire makes this request, that thou should'st give
 up that mistress of thine.]
 Since she went from here, send her back hither again
 Send her to take her place at the foot of my throne.
 When the infatuation of thy mind is somewhat less
 We will send her back to thee to be thy handmaid.
 When the messenger went and took back the message
Khiżr Khān's heart no longer enjoyed any rest.
 First he wept tears of blood which flooded his eyes and lips,
 Then he sent back an answer mingled with blood
 Saying, since the Shāh has attained his ambition in becoming
 a sovereign,
 He must leave Dewal Rāni to me.
 If however you desire to deprive me of this wealth
 You desire to see me despoiled of wealth and light.
 Since this heart's delight holds her head as high as mine
 Cut off my head, afterwards thou wilt know.
 When the messenger, from that grief-stricken soul

¹ Here follows in the text the following verse given above in brackets.

تمنای دل ما میکند خواست که زان زانو نشین برباید خاست

With a footnote saying that this verse is in the 'Ashīqa but in none of the three MSS. It is also not in MS. (A.)

Bore those fiery sighs to the palace of the king,
The Emperor waxed wrath from head to foot
From his heart he smiled, as lightning smiles in the cloud,
The flame of the fire of ¹ enmity shot forth,
He who sought a pretext, was provided with a new one.²
In anger he sent for Sar Salāḥī (the Kotwāl)
Saying you must travel this day before nightfall a hundred
krohs;
Go to Gwāliār at this moment without delay,
And with the sword cut off the heads of the lions of the
country,
That I may be safe from the nobles of the country;
Because this disturbance, small as it is, risks the existence of
the country.

At his order the tyrant set out,
The pigeon was tied ³ by the foot and the hawk hungry.
In that day and night he travelled several leagues
He arrived and again imprisoned him intending (to kill him).⁴
He made known the orders he had received from the throne,
The garrison of the fort set about carrying out this severe
measure;
The ruthless soldiery entered shamelessly ⁵ into that pure 206.
place of chastity,
The veiled ladies ⁶ were thrown into consternation and screamed
so that the roof and doors shook with their cries.
In that palace every arrow-like beam ⁷ became curved like a
bow,
The day of resurrection became a guest in that Paradise ;
From the corners of the rooms in great consternation
The male lions leapt forth in wrath,

¹ MS. (A) reads کین ڙد زبانه شعله.

² MS. (A) reads بهای جوی را باید بهانه.

³ MS. (A) reads بند. The text has a misprint هند.

⁴ The text is wrong here. MS. (A) reads correctly.

رسید و بند گرد از نوباهنگ.

⁵ MS. (A) reads بئه بئي آئي.

⁶ MS. (A) reads برو پوشیده گان.

⁷ MS. (A) reads نیر. ⁶ MS. (A) has here the two meanings of *arrow*, and *ruster* or *beam*.

The arms had lost their strength, and the bodies their power,
Force was dead, and wit had sunk to sleep.¹

Shādi Khān Wālā waxed wrath, and sought aid from the protection of God most High,

Nimbly he leapt upon the Kotwāl and fough with him for a long time, threw him to the ground and sought for a sword wherewith to slay him.

Inasmuch as he had lost his sword of victory

What did that unattainable strength avail him ?

Allies ran up to help him from right and left

They fell one after the other and that fallen one rose up.

Each fierce (lion) was attacked by ten dogs,²

See how the dogs vent their wrath upon the lions,

Hey for the meanness of the cowardly sky

That permits dogs to hunt lions !

When they had forcibly bound those two prosperous chieftains,

The time bound the hands of fortune and prosperity.

Those wondrous men fell into disgrace,

Blood-recking swords appeared on every side

When the murderous clashing of daggers was heard,

The blood-thirsty murderer appeared from the door,

Hard as a rock,³ source of grief, though his name was Shādi (Joy)

As repulsive as the document of a dowry, and the grief arising from debt.

Artful enough to depose Dajjāl⁴ from his place,

١ توان مرده خرد درخواب رفتہ MS. (A).

٢ بھریک شرزا دھگان سک بیماویخت MS. (A).

٣ جمادی MS. (A).

٤ دجال Al-Masiha-l-Kاذاب Ad-Dajjāl called also المسیح الکاذب Kazzāb.

The false Christ or Antichrist who is to appear as one of the signs preceding the resurrection. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. So called according to some because he will cover the earth with his adherents like as the tar covers the body of the mangy camel, the word دجال *dajjāl* in Arabic having the primary meaning of smearing with tar.

According to others he is so called because of his lying (secondary meaning of دجال) in arrogating to himself godship; or again from دجل *dajjala* in the twofold signification of "covering" (truth with falsehood) or "gilding," see Lane s. v.

Hideous enough to make Satan forgetful of his own ugliness;
 On each side of his face was gathered a dark cloud,¹
 From every hair sprang a sword.²

Fierce wrath as cutting as the executioner's sword,
 A glance as piercing as the chisel of Farhād;³
 His lips wreathed in an angry smile,
 Through wrath seizing his lips between his teeth
 His one desire and wish was revenge and punishment,
 From head to foot a statue of hatred and scorn;

207.

According to the *Mishkāt*, Dajjāl will be the second of the ten signs or tokens which are to precede the resurrection. After three of these signs have occurred, namely, the rising of the sun in the west, the coming of Dajjāl, and the appearance of the beast which is to emerge from the mountain of Safah, repentance will no longer avail anything.

The coming of Dajjāl is to be a time of calamity such as has never before been known. He is of low stature though bulky, with splay feet, blind, with the flesh even on one side of his face without the mark of an eye. His right eye is blind, like the seed of a grape, and the word *kufr*, Infidelity, is written between his eyes, he is to appear from the middle of a road between Syria and Irāq and will mislead on the right hand and on the left. The repetition of the Chapter of the Cave (*Qur'ān XVIII*) will be a means of repelling his wickedness. He will not be able to enter either Mecca or Medinah. His stay upon earth is to last forty days, one day equal to a year, and another day equal to a month, another day like a week and rest of the days like ordinary days. Dajjāl will it is said bestow great abundance upon those who believe in him, but sorely afflict those who reject him. He is to perform miracles such as killing a youth by severing him in two with a sword and restoring him to life. Then Jesus will descend from heaven and will destroy Dajjāl at the entrance to a village called *Lud* in Palestine. The Jews of Isfahān will follow Dajjāl before whose coming there will be three years during the first of which the sky will withhold one-third of its rain and the earth one-third of her productions, during the second the sky will withhold two-thirds and the earth two-thirds, during the third neither sky nor earth will yield rain nor produce, and every animal in the earth will die. He will then come forth upon a white ass, the space between the ears of which is seventy feet.

1 His whiskers.

2 MS. (A) بَرْ وَسَدَه. The text reads بَرْ وَسَدَه.

3 *Farhād*. See Beale *Dict. Of Biog.* p. 87. for the story of Farhād who in order to gain the lovely *Shirīn*, with whom he was madly in love, attempted to cut through a mountain; he was on the point of completing his labour when false intelligence was sent to him by the husband of *Shirīn* that she was dead, whereupon he cast himself headlong and was dashed in pieces.

When he gave the signal and brandished his sword on all sides¹
Not one leapt like lightning from that mass of clouds.

May God have mercy !

How could anyone draw the sword of revenge upon that
crowd of moonlike faces.

Whose heart would not be torn with distracting grief
In pity for so many young and beautiful men ?

Oh Lord ! may the breast of heaven be rent a hundredfold
To think that it has brought so many noble ones to the dust.

How can you look for pity for the blood he sheds, in the heart
of the butcher ?

Whose one desire is to see his knife stained with blood.

When the bloody butcher binds roses upon his head,

Why should he withhold his knife from the rose-like body ?

Since no one of them desired that the sword should succeed
in shedding their blood,²

There leapt from their midst like a whirlwind

A man of low origin, a Hindū by birth

Dusky of hue, like to Ahriman,³

Nay ! a thousand Ahrimans would stand aghast at his face ;

Grief-increasing like the pleasure of those in distress,

Wrong in judgment like the intellect of young people ;

Unlucky to look upon as a young owl,

Like a morning in Dai⁴ at Ghaznī cold and inhospitable ;

Like the night of sorrow his forehead full of gloom,

Like the nature of a wicked man, accursed.

A lip like the sole of a ploughman's foot,

A check like the mouth of a man with paralysis ;

That hideous one had a mouth like a helmet,

His smile like the yawning of a burst shoe ;

Long whiskers twisted over his ears

¹ MS. (A) تیغ چون راند و هرسو کرد اشارت.

² MS. A را خون تیغ.

³ Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, is said in their traditions to have been born out of the thought of the Almighty and of his pride in the world, while the first man (whom they call Gayōmarth) was born from the sweat of the brow of the Almighty wiped off in bewilderment at the sight of Ahrimān. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 107.

⁴ The tenth month of the Persian year. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 52. It answers to our month of December.

His whiskers taking the place of the ring in the slave's ear;
 Lightly he leapt out from the line of warriors,
 [You would think that a wave of blood would burst from him, 208.
 His skirt tucked up in his wrathful haste, his sleeves drawn
 back for bloodshed.]¹

He demanded a well-tempered sword from his officer,²
 Drew it, and tightened up the skirt of his tunic;
 [The head of that cypress-like noble fell from his shoulders
 He who was renowned for his youth and beauty]³
 Martyrdom was evident⁴ in Khizr in that palace;
 Just as the tree praises God when its branches put forth leaves
 The heaven kept lamenting over his punishment;
 The angels continually assisted him in his martyrdom,
 Rizwan threw open the gates of Paradise,
 All the Huriis began to sing his praises.
 From that martyr's shout of triumph which came forth from
 the Shah,
 The sun and moon joined in the martyr's song.
 When the dagger was raised aloft and the Shah's face was
 seen amid its clustering locks,
 Lamentation arose in that assembly like⁵ the roll of thunder;
 The sun made his body a shield to protect him,
 But Fate turned it on one side from before him.
 When the sword of Fate severs the cord of Hope,
 Neither sun nor moon can become a shield for thee;
 With one blow which that ruthless one struck
 He made the Shah's head a guest in his bosom.
 To wash away the blood, the revolving water-wheel of the sky
 Required that the spring of the sun should yield all its blood;
 But, since there was no longer a breath of life in his body,
 Of what avail was it to wash the blood from the surface of it.
 Dewal Rani, who was a woman of dignity and beauty,
 Was the lifespring of Khizr Khan's existence.

¹ A footnote to the text states that these lines are not in either MS. MS.
 (A) contains them.

² فرماینده.

³ These lines are not in the text. MS. (A) reads

بُو آمد گردن سر و گرا می * که از سر سبزی خود بود نامی

* شهادت خامست.

⁴ MS. (A)

⁵ MS. (A)

Since the Khizr of the sky had lain in ambush to slay him
 That very well of life¹ of his became the sword of enmity.
 When we look in this crystal globe carefully
 Many life giving springs are also fatal to their Khizr.
 The soul of the lover was poured out with his life blood,
 But still was hovering round about the beloved one.
 A rose from which thou hast tasted a pearl of dew,
 Thou wilt shed thy blood² for it a hundred times.
 Instead of rose water they drew his heart's blood from that
 rose,
 See how they (mercilessly) robbed him of his blood !

And when the foundation stone of this edifice of his destruction
 of the family of 'Alāu-d-Din was laid, the question was asked of
 a devotee, why this should be ? His reply was because 'Alāu-d-Din
 had cast a firebrand into the family³ of the uncle of his bene-
 factor, and as a consequence similar treatment had been meted out
 to his own family.

Verse.

209. In this full voiced, re-echoing dome (the world)
 Whatever speech you utter that same will you hear.

At all events, after the usurpation by Sultān Qutbū-d-Din, all
 the rules and regulations made by 'Alāu-d-Din, each of which
 embodied some wise purpose or far-seeing design, were thrown
 into confusion, and dissoluteness and wickedness, contumacy and
 rebellion sprang anew to life during the reign of Sultān Qutbū-d-
 Din, who threw open the doors of license and gratification of
 desires to the people ; and when Malik Kamālu-d-Din Garg, after
 that Alf Khān had been summoned to the presence and had been
 executed, proceeded to Gujrāt where he attained martyrdom,
 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multāni was nominated by the Court,⁴ and having
 quelled the disturbance there regained possession⁵ of Nahrawāla
 and all the country of Gujrāt, Sultān Qutbū-d-Din married the

دھول رانی ۱.

خون خود.

² MS. (A) reads خاندان instead of خان و مان and خانه instead of خانیان.

نامزد شد.

در ضبط آورده و

daughter of Malik Dīnār, and having given¹ him the title of Zafar Khān sent him to Gujrāt. He performed² the important duties of that province better and more satisfactorily than 'Ainu-l-Mulk.

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn marched for Deogir with a larger army, and the Rāis of that country were not able to stand against him.

He flayed³ Harpāl Deo who had rebelled during the time which followed the death of Rām Deo.⁴ The country of the Marhattas also fell into the hands of Qutbū-d-Dīn who, having given Khusrū Khān the canopy and staff of office ordered him to proceed to Ma'bar, and having left Yakkhī in Deogir as Nāib, returned to Dihli. Near Budra-i-Sakūn⁵ Malik Asadu-d-Dīn ibn Yaghraš Khān who was called Malik Khamūš, and who was the uncle's son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, was smitten with the ambition of chieftainship;⁶ and plotted a rebellion against the Sultān, who however was warned⁷ of this design by one of his loyal adherents, and gave orders for the immediate execution of Malik Asadu-d-Dīn. He also sent orders that twenty of the relations of Yaghraš Khān who were aware of this conspiracy⁸ some of whom were children, should be executed, and when he reached Jhāin he sent Shādi Kath⁹ his chief captain to Gwaliār to bring the family and relations of the murdered Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān with the remainder of the haram of 'Alāu-d-Dīn to Dihli, after having

¹ MS. (A) inserts و اورا.

² MS. A. بور کرد. The textual reading is preferable.

³ The Sultān ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogir.

⁴ MS. (A) omits دی.

⁵ Called Ghāt-i-Sakūn by Barnī.

⁶ MS. (A) reads سری.

⁷ MS. (A) خبردار گردانید.

⁸ There is a direct opposition here between the printed text and the MS. The latter MS. (A) writes کہ از این واقعہ خبر داشتند, and this is adopted as it seems more reasonable than that entirely innocent persons should have been put to death, though the statement that some were children is in keeping with the reading of the text. This latter is moreover supported by the statement of Barnī. "They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but were all seized and slaughtered like sheep."

⁹ MS. (A) reads شادی کنے Shādi Kath, and this is the name given also in Barnī's history. Neither the text nor the alternative reading given in its footnote is correct.

killed Sultān Shihābu-d-Din, which he carried out. Sultān Qutbū-d-Din was led by the fact that Khizr Khān had been a disciple of the Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, to regard that holy Shaikh with suspicion and distrust, and in opposition to the wishes of the holy Shaikh, sent for Shaikh Ruknū-d-Dīn from Multān, and honoured Shaikhzada-i-Jām, who was one of the opponents of Shaikh (Nizāmu-d-Dīn) with special distinction.

Verse.

When God¹ desires to openly disgrace any man
 He leads him to abuse those of holy and pure nature;
 And if God desires to hide the sins of any man
 He leads him to talk little about the sins of other sinners.

His habits also underwent great change, and his heart emboldened him to walk in the valley of bloodshed as his father had done, so that rivers of blood began to flow, and he put to death without any cause Zafar Khān Wali of Gujerāt.

In the mean while Yaklakhī had prepared a rebellion in Deogir, and had arranged to assume the insignia of royalty. At last when Khusrū Khān reached Deogir, the men of the army who had been sent to Deogir seized Yaklakhī and made him over to Khusrū Khān, who sent him bound to Dihli where he was executed. The Sultān² also put to death Malik^{*} Shāhīn who was known by the title of Wafa Malik, without any reason save the representations of some intriguers.

211. In these days the Sultān used generally to array himself in women's garments, and adorning himself like them with gold and jewels, used to give public audience. Moreover he openly indulged in drinking and other forms of vice, inter marem feminamque discrimen nullomodo facere solebat.

Verse.

Statura cuiusvis ut littera *Alif* erecta, idem quod litteræ
Dāl et *Nūn* incurvescebat, adeo *Alif* in rimam omnium
 inserebat.

¹ MS. (A) omits the word *وَلِي* in error.

² MS. (A) omits the word *وَلِي* but it appears to be required.

He used to command buffoons and jesters to insult with jest and witticisms his most trusted and eminent Amirs, as for instance 'Ainul Mulk Multānī and Qarābeg, who held fourteen appointments, and summoning them for that purpose to the roof of the Hāzār Sutūn palace, they used to perform low buffooneries, et nūdefacti, gestu turpi et obseceno, in vestes nobilium honoratorum mingeabant. Thus he prepared everything that was necessary for the downfall of the kingdom.

Verse.

There was the rose, the leaf adorned it too.

And the kingdom seemed to say :—

Oh ! King what can come to pass from wine bibbers
What too can come to pass from unrestrained lust
The king maddened by lust, the empire ruined, the enemy
before and behind.

It is only too plain in such a case, what must come to pass. And after the murder of Zafar Khān, he raised Husāmu-d-Dīn who was half-brother¹ to Khusrū Khān to succeed to the position 212. enjoyed by Zafar Khān and nominated him to proceed to Gujrāt. Husāmu-d-Dīn collected together the Barāwar² crew from all parts of that country, and nursed a scheme of rebellion in his brain. The Amirs of Zafar Khān's party³ however seized him and sent him to Dihli. The Sultān led by the feelings he entertained towards Khusrū Khān took no steps to punish him, but had him set at liberty on the instant and gave him extraordinary privileges. Then he appointed Malik Wahidu-d-Dīn⁴ Quraishi, to Gujrāt in place of Husāmu-d-Dīn. He it was who was the

¹ Barnī calls him براذر مادر which the translator renders maternal uncle. But if our text is correct it would appear that he was not براذر مادر but براذر مادری that is to say half-brother by the same mother, but by a different father. This is the meaning of the word براذر اخیانی here used, and would further account for Barnī later on calling him baseborn.

² MS. (A) براو.

³ MS. (A) اصرای ظفر خان.

⁴ Thus the printed text. Barnī also calls him Wahidu-d-Dīn so I have adopted this reading. MS. (A) reads وجیہ الدین Wahibu-d-Dīn.

cause of the arrest of Yaklakhī.¹ Khusrū Khān having arrived on the frontier of Telinga, and having blockaded the Rāī of that country in one of his fortresses, accepted several head of elephants² with treasure and valuables beyond all power of computation as a present from him, and moved his camp towards the Maithili country,³ and having gained possession of nine hundred and twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirams, came into the country of Ma'bar, and relying on that⁴ wealth entertained the idea of disobedience and rebellion, and obtaining permission to remain there, put to death several Amīrs whom he had with him. Malik Talbigha Yaghda⁵ and Malik Talbigha Nāgori and Malik Hājī Nāib, with certain other Amīrs of the Sultān's party, becoming aware of his secret intentions threw him by force into a litter, and, marching with all haste by forced marches, conveyed him from Deogir to Dihli in seven days and acquainted the Sultān with his nefarious designs. Khusrū Khān however in the private apartment of the palace where he enjoyed the special companionship of the Sultān, gained him over by artful and specious representations, and fully persuaded the Sultān of the villainy of the Amīrs.⁶ The Sultān took his words as Gospel, so greatly was he influenced and controlled by him, and was incensed against the Amīrs, censured them⁷ severely and subjected them to many indignities, and although they brought forward many veracious witnesses in support of their allegations it was all of no use, and the wretched witnesses were severely punished.

13. The story of Farazdaq the poet fits in with this, namely when he accompanied by his wife, appealed to the Khalifah of Baghdād, he got Ja'far the Barmecide, to plead for him, and used his wife Zubeida Khātūn as an intermediary. Hārūn the Khalifah was

¹ The printed text has simply لکھی but MS. (A) reads يكلاهي Yaklakhī. Yakalakhī it will be remembered, had been appointed Governor of Deogir after Harpāl Deo had been taken and put to death. According to Barnī, Yaklakhī was "an old servant of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, who for many years was *nāib* of the *barids*" (couriers). Yaklakhī now revolted and was arrested by Waṣidu-d-Dīn.

² MS. (A) omits.

³ جرکت نہود و (A) جرکت نہود.

⁴ بفروت آن اموں.

⁵ MS. (A) reads thns. Barnī calls him Malik Talbagha Yaghda.

⁶ MS. (A) omits سلطان after خاطرنشان.

⁷ MS. (A) omits با ایشان.

favourably disposed towards Zubeida, and passed orders in accordance with the petition of the wife of Farazdaq.¹ He accordingly wrote these lines :—

An advocate who appears before thee clothed
Is not like one who comes before thee naked.²

That is to say an intercessor who comes near thee wearing drawers will not be so influential as she who comes naked. From that day this became a proverbial saying among the Arabs.

As soon as Khusrū Khān became quite assured in all ways of his predominant influence over the Sultān, he gave orders for the assembly of all his tribe from Gujrāt and began to introduce them into the service of the Sultān. The Sultān reposed entire confidence both in him³ and in his family, and gave up the reins of Government absolutely into his hands,⁴ abandoning himself to rioting and debauchery.⁵

¹ Abū Firās Hammām or Humaim the son of Ghālib surnamed Abūl Akhtal was a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamīm. He was commonly known as Al Farazdaq because of his stern and forbidding countenance. The meaning of Farazdaq is said to be a lump of dough which has been kneaded. (Freytag *Hamasah* II. 585). It was a nick-name given him according to Ibn Kutaiba on account of his ugly face. He further states however that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature which made him be compared to the crust (farazdaq) with which women polish their teeth. But the first explanation is best, because the poet caught the small-pox and when he recovered his face remained deformed and wrinkled (Ibn Khall : de Slane III. 623).

² Read مُسْتَرًا for مُنْوِرًا which appears to be intended for مُتَازِّرًا. The occasion on which these lines were spoken was, according to Ibn Khalliqān, when Nawār the granddaughter of Dubāi, wished to marry one of the Quraish tribe, and asked Al-Farazdaq to act as her legal guardian because he was the son of her uncle. He however availed himself of a formal promise given by her to abide by his decision as to her affairs, to say he would marry her himself. Nawār was very angry at this and went to 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubair, sovereign of Hijāz and 'Irāq, to obtain redress. Al-Farazdaq set out also. They stopped at different houses. Al-Nawār stayed with al-Khaulā wife of Abdullāh ibn az-Zubair, and Al-Farazdaq with Hamza their son. Al-Khaulā interceded for al-Nawār, and her intercession prevailed over that of Hamza whereupon Farazdaq spoke as above. (Ibn Khall : (de Slane), III. 624).

اعتمان قهان برا و قبیله او نمود و

⁴ MS. (A) omits باز.

⁵ MS. (A) مشغول شد.

Verse.

214. Casting aside the Qur'ān and the sword
Taking instead to the cup and flagon.

The attendants who were loyal to the state were struck dumb
and were compelled by the necessity for time-serving to throw
themselves upon the protection of Khusrū Khān,

Verse.

If the times give the reins of authority to a wolf,
You must save yourself by saying, God save you Sir !

And the family of Barāwar¹ gained entire control of the Court
of the Sultān, and used to assemble by day and by night at the
house of Khusrū Khān to plot sedition and rebellion against the
Sultān, and when Qāzī Ziāu-d-Dīn, who was known as Qāzī Khān,
made these facts known, the Sultān who was the slave of his lust
immediately summoned Khusrū Khān in private,² and informed
him of what had been said, whereupon Khusrū Khān said, the
people see the great kindness which the Sultān shews me and
regard it as excessive, and from motives of jealousy falsely
accuse me. The Sultān believed him and³ made over to him
the keys of the royal treasury and of all the other store-houses
as well : Khusrū Khān⁴ regarded this as a proof of his complete
ascendency deduced from it a favourable omen for his future :—

Verse.

When he saw his affairs so prosperous
He considered that omen as a proof of victory ;
From that favourable omen the heart of Khusrū Khān,
Like a strong mountain, became firmly established.

Eventually, one night the Sultān was holding a drinking
party in the company of Khusrū Khān, and the Amīrs of
the guards withdrew from their posts. Qāzī Khān came
down from the roof of the Hazār Sutūn palace and was engaged
in examining if the doors were safe, and the guards posted.

الویں براو (A).

² MS. (A) adds تصدیق او کرد و مپورد.

³ MS. (A).

در خلوت.

In the meantime one Randhol¹ the uncle of Khusrū Khān 215. with a body of the Barāwas, having daggers concealed under their arms came upon Qāzī Khān, and kept him engaged in talk on one way and another, till, taking him off his guard, they stabbed him and despatched him as a martyr to his abode in Paradise. There was a great uproar,² and the Sultān, who at that moment had no other companion than Khusrū Khān, enquired what was the tumult. Khusrū Khān rose from beside him and went out to instigate his followers to murder the Sultān, then returned and said that some of the horses of the stud had broken loose, and were fighting among themselves. At this moment Jāhiriyā the uncle of Khusrū Khān approached the Hazār Sutān with a party of his men, and having assassinated Ibrāhim and Ishāq who were on guard at the palace, made for the Sultān. The Sultān rising,³ half intoxicated as he was, ran towards the *haram*, Khusrū Khān caught him from behind by the hair of his head, and as the Sultān was begging him to aid his escape Jāhiriyā arrived, aimed a blow at the Sultān wounding him in the side, then with his sword cutting off the Sultān's head⁴ threw it down below from the roof of the palace.

Verse.

The bed of that dear one was one of thorns
For his brocaded bed led to his ruin.

When the populace saw what had occurred, every one of them went into hiding and there was dismay in all quarters. Putting to death some of the Amirs at the door of the palace, the Barāwas entered the Sultān's *haram* and tore Farid Khān and Mangū Khān, the two infant sons of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, from their mother's arms and cut off their heads, and committed every kind of violence they wished, and in one moment scattered to the four winds all the honour and glory of 'Alāu-d-Din and Quṭbu-d-Din.

Verse.

In one hour, in one moment, in one instant⁵
The whole course of the world becomes changed.

216.

¹ MS. (A). زنگول.² MS. (A) omits بلند.³ MS. (A). بوجاسته.⁴ MS. (A) موسلطان را.⁵ MS. (A) has بیک! حظہ بیک! ساعت بیک دم.

And when they had glutted themselves with murder and rapine, they sent for certain of the Amirs namely 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Fakhru-d-Din Jūnā, by whom is meant Sultān Muhammād ibn Tughlaq Shāh, and Malik Wahidu-d-Din Quraishi with the two sons of Qarābeg and other notable Amirs, and kept them all that night till morning upon the roof of the Hazār Sutān; and when it was day they made all the 'Ulamā and chief men of the city swear allegiance to Khusrū Khān, and read the *Khuṭbah* in his name. By craft they got the upper hand of a certain party whom they suspected of being opposed to them, and sent them to the world of non-existence, and made over the family of Qāzi Ziāu-d-Din Qāzi Khān,¹ all except his wife who fled,² to the aforesaid Randhol.³

Husāmu-d-Din, the brother by the mother's side of Khusrū Khān, was given the title of Khān-i-Khānān and Randhol⁴ became Rāi-i-Rāiyan, and the *ḥarams* of Sultān Qutbu-d-Din and the other princes and relatives they divided among themselves. Khusrū Khān took to himself⁵ in marriage the chief wife of the Sultān. These events happened in the year 720, H. (1320 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sultān Qutbu-d-Din was four⁶ years and some months.

Verse.

Since the world began so it has been, and so will always be,
To everyone the end of all things will be as this.

NĀSHIRU-D-DIN KHUSRŪ KHĀN

Whose name at the first was Hasan Barwabacha, in the aforesaid year sat upon the throne of 'Alāu-d-Din and Qutbu-d-Din, by the co-operation of his own tribe; and the Amirs who have already been mentioned, whether they would or no, were constrained to give in their allegiance to him, and addressed him by this title. The rites and ceremonies of Islām tended towards neglect while Hindu customs and heathen observances obtained currency.⁷ Idolatry and devastation of mosques became wide-

217.

¹ MS. (A) omits و.

² مس. (A) كربلا.

³ MS. (A) رندھول.

⁴ MS. (A) رندھول.

⁵ MS. (A) omits در.

⁶ MS. (A) reads رہج.

⁷ MS. (A) دراج گرفت.

spread, and although Khusrū Khān, to conciliate the people scattered gold and lavished presents on all sides so that in a short time he squandered the greater part of the treasure of Alāu-d-Din and the wealth which Quṭbu-d-Diu had amassed,

Verse.

Who was it had acquired the wealth,
Who was it squandered it ?

still the hearts of great and small were not so attuned to this disloyalty and irreligion of his that he could bring them into harmony with his own.

And in the year 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.) Khusrū Khān put out the eyes of certain of the offspring of 'Alāu-d-Din, for instance Abūbakr Khān, and 'Ali Khān, and Bahādur Khān,¹ and gained over² certain of the Amīrs, such as 'Ainul Mulk and some others.

The Hindūs gained ground and increased their influence in most of the provinces, and a torrent of destruction swept suddenly upon the followers of Islām and destroyed their wealth and property, giving their families to the wind of extinction.

The affair of the Ghuzz which had happened in the time of Sultān Sinjar³ was forgotten, and the state of mankind was expressed by this verse—

Verse.

You will never see your fellowmen happy save at the door
of death,

You will never find a virgin save in the womb of earth.

Khusrū Khān⁴ issued *firmāns* to all the outlying districts and invited the people to side with him, he also bestowed upon Yūsuf 218. Šūfi Azlbacha⁵ the title of Šūfi Khān while Ikhtiyāru-d-Din Sanbal was styled Hātim Khān. He also made Kamālu-d-Din Šūfi Wakildar, and the son of Qurra Qumār 'Arizu-l-Mulk; Malik Fakhru-d-Din Jūnā the son of Ghāzi Malik he appointed Akhur Beg, and was especially desirous of gaining his good will, with the object of using his influence to induce Ghāzi Malik also, who

¹ MS. (A).

منطق ساخت.

² MS. (A). منبور.

⁴ MS. (A) omits ^و.

⁶ MS. (A). The text reads بورا ایڈ.

was one of the notable Amirs of 'Alāu-d-Din and was posted to oppose the Mughuls, to leave the frontiers of Dipālpur and fall into his trap. At that time he put into effect every means he could devise and gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multāni for a time the title of 'Ālam Khān. At last having gained over Ghāzi Malik, he wrote a letter¹ expressing his sincerity of purpose, and desiring him when the day of battle should arrive to flee from Dihli to his own country, that is Mālwa, and return when the danger had passed.²

And of the Amirs, some sided with Khusrū Khān out of lust for place and property, but some others were rebellious. When Ghāzi Malik heard this startling news his zeal for Islām and for the preservation of the honour of his benefactor was stirred, so that he girded up his loins for vengeance, and sending despatches to the Maliks of the various districts sought their aid in extirpating that ungrateful wretch. Malik Fakhru-d-Din sent secretly a letter to his father conveying his intention to fly from Dihli and asking for post horses,³ which in the Hindi tongue are called *dāk chauki*, and for the posting of cavalry escorts at several places along the route.

219. At last one night by the assistance of the Son of Bahrām Iba⁴ the governor of Multān and Uchh⁵ he fled from Dihli with a party of horsemen and made his way by forced marches towards Dipālpur.

Verse.

Seated upon that fleet Burāq⁶
He hastened steadfastly with unity of purpose.

¹ MS. نوشت مشتمل بر (A).

² I read here بعد از قرار گرفتن مراهق مذهب although MS. (A) is the same as the text مذهب.

³ اولاق *Ulāq* or اولاق *Ulāqī* travail sans salaire—cheval—courrier—petit bateau. (Pavet de Courteille).

⁴ MS. (A) and text footnote.

⁵ The text has a misprint *میکات* here.

⁶ The animal upon which Muhammed was mounted during his ascent to heaven known as the معراج (*mi'rāj*) Qur'ān XVII. i.

In the *Mishkātu-l-Masābih* it is thus described, "After this a white animal was brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of a

And Ghāzi Malik himself previously to this had sent two hundred cavalry into the fort of Sarsuti. When Khusrū Khān awoke from his slumber of neglect he recognized that the departure of Malik Fakhru-d-Din Jūnā was a strong proof of the decline of his own power:¹ accordingly he despatched the son of Qurra Qumār, whom he had appointed ‘Āriż-i-Mamālik,² in pursuit of him. He proceeded as far as the town of Sarsuti, but on his arrival there was obliged to retrace his steps without finding an opportunity of accomplishing his object, and conveyed to Khusrū Khān tidings regarding the real state of affairs.

Ghāzi Malik, after the arrival of his son, was demonstrative³ in his expressions of satisfaction, and gave effect to the aspirations of the Maliks; further by issuing orders for the commencement of the *jihād*⁴ he made amends for the previous delay, and gave full satisfaction to the demands of bravery by marching in the direction of Dihlī.

Khusrū Khān having bestowed upon his brother Khān-i-Khānān the canopy and staff of office, despatched Sūfi Khān with the other Amirs of this *canaille* against Ghāzi Malik who for many years had done yeoman's service in the various wars with the Mughuls, and had everywhere returned victorious and triumphant. But on the other hand Malik Bahrām Iba, the Governor of Multān and Uchh, arrived to reinforce Ghāzi Malik. The two armies selected as their field of battle a spot near the reservoir of Thānesar.⁵ At the first onset the breeze of victory blew favourably for the armies of Islām, the standards of the infidels

mule and an ass and it stretched as far as the eye could see. The name of the animal was Burāq" (*Mīghkātū-l-Muṣābiḥ*, Matthews, II. 651). The word Burāq signifies brilliant like lightning, or swift as lightning.

¹ MS. (A) reads بِرْزَوَالْ دَرْكَتْ خُودٌ. ² Mastermaster General. See p. 291.

³ MS. (A) نَمُودَةٌ وَ

⁴ Holy war undertaken in defence of the religion of Islām.

⁵ حَرْفَنْ تَهَا نَيْسَرٌ. This is the lake with which one of the alleged derivations of the name *Sthāneswara* is connected viz., *Sthānu* (a name of Mahādeo) and *Sar* a lake. See Hunter: *Imp. Gaz.*, XIII. 260.

This holy lake is situated (says Cunningham) to the South of the town, it is called by various names. It is the centre of attraction for most pilgrims. It was in full repute in A.D. 500, but in the Pauranic legends is given an antiquity long anterior even to the Pandūs themselves, the sacred pool is at least as old as the Rig Veda itself (Cunningham, A.G. India, pp. 335-336.)

were overthrown, and the adherents of Khusrū Khān abandoning their elephants and horses, and ammunition and standards fled precipitately to Dihli. Ghāzi Malik with all speed pursued and scattered these ungrateful wretches¹ and reached Dihli in one long march.² Khusrū Khān having rallied his scattered and panic stricken forces, opened the doors of the treasury and gave his army three and four years' pay together with large rewards and promises of appointments and governorships; and things being as they were, he brought out from confinement in the *haram* the remainder of the princes of the family of 'Alāu-d-Din whom he had blinded, and put them to death; then, led by hostile Fate, he marched on from the city in great force and proceeded to the Hauz-i-Khāss³ where he encamped, his camp extending in one line of tents from the Hauz-i-Khāss to Indrapath,⁴ while Ghāzi Malik encamped in the vicinity of the tomb⁵ of Sultān Razīya. In the meanwhile 'Ainu-l-Mulk, in accordance with agreement, having deserted the unsuccessful army of Khusrū Khān fled with haste towards Dhār and Ujjain;⁶ his defection was a cause of great despondency to the followers of Khusrū Khān. On the following day the array of battle was drawn up and the followers of the truth engaged in close conflict with the partisans of infidelity, and utterly vanquished the impious horde.

At the outset the army of Khusrū Khān obtained the mastery, and the army of Ghāzi Malik suffered a repulse, but Ghāzi Malik planting firmly the foot of resolution like another Rustum came to the rescue, and with three hundred cavalry, men of tried

کافر نعمتہای

¹ MS. (A) حظیرہ کافر نعمتہای
The distance traversed in this march was about 90 miles as the crow flies, a long march but perfectly feasible for cavalry.

² Barni says the Hauz-i-'Alāi. The royal lake constructed by 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

³ Indrapath. MS. (A) اندرا پتھ. Barni tells us that Ghāzi Malik's force lay encamped at Indrapath so that the two camps were face to face. It lies just outside Dihli. Its etymology, Indraprastha, points it out as the probable place where Indra slew the Vritras with his thunderbolt formed of the head of the horse-headed Dadhyanch (see also Cunningham 335).

⁴ I read here حظیرہ not حظیرہ as in the text and MS. The burial place of Sultān Razīya is not apparently mentioned in any of the histories, but as she was taken prisoner at Kaithal and put to death there (638 H.) it is not unlikely that she was buried near Indrapath.

⁵ MS. (A) شناخت.

valour, whom he had kept in concealment in an ambush, utterly discomfited the infidel horde¹ and Malik Talbagha² Nāgor, and the son of Qurra Qumār³ with the other nobles of that ignoble kingdom, in that battle became food for the sword,⁴ as such hypocritical knaves should. Khusrū Khān brought to bear all temerity and manliness in spite of his unmanly character, and fought bravely till the close of the day, but⁵ at last finding he was unable to withstand these lionhearted warriors, he turned his back in flight, and made for Talpath; his canopy and standards and borrowed⁶ retinue fell into the hands of Ghāzi Malik.

221.

Khusrū Khān returning from Talpath came to the tomb of Malik Shādi⁷ who was an old patron of his, alone and distraught, and hid himself there in despair, but the following day they laid hands upon him, treating him with all possible indignity, and brought him to Ghāzi Malik,⁸ so that he reaped the reward of his infamous and abominable deeds.

Verses.

The tree thou didst nurture has borne its fruit,
 Dost thou not see even now its fruit in its bosom,
 If it has borne thorns it is thou who didst plant them,
 If it has brought thee silk attire it is of thy own spinning.

And the following day Ghāzi Malik left Indrapath⁹ and alighted at Kūshk Sabzī.¹⁰ Great and small came out to welcome his coming, and gave vent to expressions of congratulation. The day following he went on to the city of Dihli, where tidings was

¹ MS. (A) جمعیت کافوانزا.

² Text تلیفہ. MS. (A) قلبغہ.

³ Shāyista Khān.

⁴ MS. (A) omits بی دریغ.

⁵ MS. (A) inserts و.

⁶ ماربٹی.

⁷ MS. (A) مہم.

⁸ MS. (A) omits ملک.

⁹ MS. A اند پنہ. The text reads تلیفہ. But the real reading should be اندر پنہ, Indrapath, as is shewn by what has gone before, and also by Barnī.

¹⁰ کوشک سبزی "the Green palace" but although this is the reading of the text and both MSS., I think we should read for کوشک سبزی undoubtedly kūshk-i-Siri, the palace of Siri. This is the reading of the Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi.

brought to him that the rascal Khān-i-Khānān had crept into the corner of a garden,¹ where he was lying concealed.

Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn proceeded by order of Ghāzī Malik, and having mutilated and disgraced him² paraded him about the city where he met with condign punishment. This event took place in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.). The duration of Khusrū Khān's rule was four months and a few days.

Verse.

That which thou doest they will shew thee again,
That which thou givest, they will return thee the like.

SULTĀN³ GHĀZI-SU-D-DIN TUGHLAQ SHĀH⁴

Who is the same as Ghāzī Malik, ascended the throne in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.) by the consent of the Amirs and nobles and was styled by this title. In the space of one week 222. he ordered and regulated the important affairs of the state with a perfection unattainable to others in the course of years.⁴

He appointed his own relations to various posts and showing many favours to the Amirs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and to some of the Maliks of Qutbū-d-Dīn gave them districts. Then he directed his ambition to the rebuilding of the fortress of Tughlaqābād and all the lofty edifices, and set about it (without delay)⁵ and Badr Shā'ir Shāshī⁶ invented as a chronogram for the date of building

¹ MS. (A) omits و.

² مغلظة Mugla Sākhtan is the term applied to a form of punishment which consisted of cutting off the nose, ears and lips. The literal meaning is "making a public example."

³ MS. (A). The text omits the prefix سلطان —

Barni gives an account of the mode in which Ghāzī Malik succeeded to the throne, not as an usurper but as the rightful successor in the absence of any scion of the house of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Qutbū-d-Dīn. (See Elliott, III. 228-229).

⁴ MS. (A) omits the words توانند داد and the words are so foreign to the style of the author that they must be regarded as an interpolation. The Editor of the text supplies them from one copy. See footnote to Text.

⁵ There is a difference here. The printed text reads مسرتها دران نمود Shewed great alacrity therein, but MS. (A) reads simply شروع دران نمود set about it. This seems the preferable reading.

⁶ Badru-d-Dīn Chāchī, "was a native of Chāch in Turkestān. He was a man of great repute as a scholar who passed a large portion of his life in

the fort (of Tughlaqābād)¹ the following : " Enter then her gates."² He brought to punishment also a body of men³ who during the glorious reign of Sultan Qutbu-d-Din had joined hands with Khusrū Khān and had aided and abetted the band of ruffians and scoundrels. He also gave the title of Ulugh Khān to Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā⁴ who shewed marked signs of discretion and kingly dignity,⁵ and conferred on him a canopy and the other insignia of royalty, making him his heir-apparent; he also raised Bahrām Iba,⁶ who was the adopted brother of the Sultan,⁷ to the dignity of the title of Kishlū Khān, and entrusted to him the district of Multān and the whole of Sind. To his other four sons he gave the titles of Bahrām Khān, Zafar Khān, Mahmūd Khān and Nuṣrat Khan.⁸

And in the year 721 A. H. [he appointed] Ulugh Khān [to proceed in command of his troops which were at Chandēri and Badāon and in the other eastern districts of Hindustān, towards Deogir and Tilang, and Ulugh Khān]⁹ taking with him the army of Deogir, invested the fortress of Arankal which for the past seven hundred years had been the capital of Rai Sadar Mahadeo and his ancestors, and having gained possession of the clay-built citadel forming the outer line of defence, was on the point of reducing the inner stone citadel also. In the

Dihlī as the panegyrist of Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh and other monarchs who provided his allotted portion from the tray of their bounty. His *Divān* consists of 2,000 couplets. His style is strange." (*Majma'ul Fusāḥah* I. 169). The date of his death is not stated. See also Beale, O. B. D. p. 62.

¹ MS. (A) inserts باد تغلقا.

² فادخلوها. These words give the date 727 H.

³ Omit one ب from text.

⁴ MS. (A) omits پسر خود which is in the printed text.

⁵ MS. (A) omits ب. It is unnecessary.

⁶ MS. (A). The printed text has بھرام Bahrām Ullah.

⁷ The printed text adds the words شاہ نخنق.

⁸ See also the account given by Barnī which is almost identical with the above. (Elliott, III. 230).

⁹ By the copyist's error the words included in square brackets have been omitted from MS. (A), he having omitted all the words following the first باغ خان and proceeding with the words following the second باغ خان. The printed text is correct.

meantime¹ 'Ubaid Rākātī² the poet, a turbulent fellow, the notorious³ opponent of Mir Khusrū (on whom be mercy) who rascal that he was wrote the following famous verses :

223. Khusrū's own verse was very raw, so by mistake he took Nizāmi's⁴ saucepan by mistake, his flummery⁵ to cook.

(Mir Khusrū in many of his compositions complains bitterly against him and Sa'd Falsafī) joining with Shaikhzāda Dimishqī on the occasion of the late arrival of the stage from Dihli, spread a false report that the Sultān Tughlaq was no more, whereupon great dismay spread through the Muslims. 'Ubaid also terrified the Amīrs by his account of Ulugh Khān, and infidels springing up put to death many of the soldiers of the army;⁶ Malik Tigin and other revolutionary Amīrs planned an insurrection against Ulugh Khān who with fifty sowārs came by rapid marches to the metropolis, whereupon the Amīrs took themselves off, each to his own district; and Malik Tigin who had gone to the country between Multān and Jaisalmir⁷ was taken prisoner with his family, and Tāju-d-Din Tālaqāni, the son-in-law of Malik Tigin who had escaped from prison, was captured⁸ on the banks of the river Sarū, and Ubaid (the poet)⁹ also was captured in the same way in a wretched

¹ MS. (A) reads دزین میان.

² 'Ubaid. MS. (A) adds راکاتی Rākātī. See Beale, O. B. D., p. 275.

³ MS. (A) reads مشهور معارض.

⁴ Shaikh Nizāmī Ganjavī whose full name is Abū Muḥammad Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Əḥmad İlāh ibn Abī Yūsuf ibn Mursaiyidal Muṭarrāzī, a celebrated poet, author of the Sikandar-Nāma, also of other well-known works. His Khamsa (pentad) consists of Khusrū and Shīrīn, Haft Paikar Lailī-o-Majnūn, Maḳhzanu-l-Asrār and Sikandar Nāma.

His death is said by Beale to have occurred in 597 A. H. but according to the Majma'ul Fuṣḥā (I. 637) he died in the reign of Tughrul ibn Arslān the Saljuq, 576 A. H.

⁵ سکبیا is a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar. The word 'flummery' suggests itself from its etymological signification of raw, crude, harsh, W. llwmrwvd, (so named from its sourness). (vide Skeat. s. v.)

⁶ We should here read شکر مردم MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) Lat. 26°. 55' N. Long. 70°. 57' E. in Rājputāna, C. I.

⁸ MS. (A) گرفتار گشت.

⁹ MS. (A) omits شاعر. Barnī says that he was impaled alive. Firishta says that he was buried alive. (See Elliott, III, 231-233).

plight. All this party with their families and friends, they cast under the feet of elephants, and those who escaped this fate met their death wherever they went.

And in the year 723 A.H. (1323 A.D.) Ulugh Khān for the second time marched towards Tilang; and Rāi Ladar Mahādeo again shut himself up in the fort.

Ulugh Khān gained possession of both the outer and inner citadels¹ by force of arms, and took the Rāi prisoner together with his family and followers, and leaving commissioners there drew off his army to Jājnagar² and Bidar,³ and having taken as spoil many elephants and other property with jewels and valuables without number [sent them] to Dihli [and despatched Rāe Ladhar also to the capital and having given to Arankal the name of Sultānpūr] returned to Dihli.⁴

And in the year 724 A.H. (1324 A.D.), Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, upon the occasion of the tyranny of the governors of Bengal, left Ulugh Khān as his viceroy in the capital Tughlaqābād which had been built in the space of three years and a fraction, entrusting to his sound judgment the whole civil administration, and left for Lakhnauti with a firm intention of setting things straight; Sultān Naṣiru-d-Din the ruler of Lakhnauti, with the notable princes of those districts hastened to meet the Sultān and placed their necks under his yoke; Sultān Tughlaq Shāh conferred upon Sultān Naṣiru-d-Din the canopy and staff of office and all other insignia of royalty, entrusted Lakhnauti once more to his control and sent a despatch announcing his success to Dihli; then he sent on in advance Tātār Khān his adopted son, the Governor of Zafarābād who brought Bahādur Shāh otherwise known as Tūda (? Nūda) the Governor of Sunār Gānw who was boasting his independence, with a chain around

224.

١ مس. (A) درونی و بیرونی حصار.

² Or Jāipur, the former capital of Orissa. (See Hunter's Gazetteer, Vol. VII and Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. XVIII for a full account of this place).

³ Bidar (or Bedar) Town in the Nizām's dominions, Haidarābād Deccan, 75 miles N.-W. of Haidarābād town. Lat. 17°. 53' N. Long. 77° 34' E. (See Hunter's Gazetteer, Vol. II, 419).

⁴ The words enclosed in square brackets are by a copyist's error omitted in M.S. (A), the word Dihli occurring twice has misled the copyist. The printed text is correct.

his neck, and accompanied by all his elephants into the royal presence at the Court.

Sultān Tughlaq Shāh taking Bābur Shāh with him, victorious and triumphant returned to Dihlī, and proceeding by double stages made forced marches. This news gave immediate orders for the Ulugh Khān upon hearing noble palace near Afghānpur which is a distance of three krohs from Tughlaqābād. It was completed in three days, so that Sultān Tughlaq Shāh might alight there, and having passed the night in it and having rested might depart thence at an auspicious moment and alight at Tughlaqābād.

The Sultān arrived there and Ulugh Khān having meet him with all the nobles and grandees, spread a banquet of welcome. The Sultān gave orders for the elephants which he had brought with him from Bengal to be raced, and as the foundation of the New Palace was new and unsettled the palace began to shake and totter with the tramp of the elephants. When people became aware that the Sultān was mounting with a haste, they hurriedly came out from the palace, without even washing their hands. The Sultān Tughlaq Shāh was engaged in washing his hands¹ and so did not come out. In consequence he washed his hands of life and the palace fell in upon him.²

We should not lose sight of the fact that from having built a palace such as this, which was quite unnecessary, there is a suspicion that Ulugh Khān may have built the palace³ without

¹ These words are repeated twice in MS. (A).

² The text has بندق ریب دست نشستن but MS. (A) reads شستن the latter is correct. MS. (A) also omits the words خان اڑا (line 2 of the printed text).

³ Barnī gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt which descended from the sky. (Elliott, III. 235). Firīghta gives a somewhat similar account to Bādonī; without specifically stating the cause, he alludes to the suspicion which attached to Ulugh Khān of being designedly close by the author of the catastrophe, but discredits it. He further tells us that according to Ṣadr Jahān Gujarātī, Ulugh Khān had raised the palace by magic, and the magical art being withdrawn it fell; he proceeds "Hāji Muhammād Qandahārī says that it was struck by lightning and this does not seem at all improbable" (Firīghta Briggs, I. 408].

* MS. (A) قصر را qasr rd. The text has قصداً qasdan purposely.

ired, but the author of the foundations¹ as was currently run of this although this may *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* makes no mention of Firoz Shāh and out of regard possibly be due to a desire to forget him.

This event took place in Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Tughlaq Shāh the duration of the reign months.

was four years and so:

Verse.

The world beneath thy feet
If thou place sleep at last in thine own place.

Thou wilt r

reported among the people of India that Sultān It is current in Tughlaq, on account of the ill will he bore to Ghiyāṣu-l-Mashāikh, sent a message to the Shaikh while on the Sultānu-l-Sakhnauti to this effect, "After my arrival at Dihli, way the Shaikh will be (ruler) there or I."² The Shaikh replied, "Dihli is still some way off."³ This saying became proverbial from that day and gained currency.

The *Tughlaq Nāma* of Mir Khusrū which was the latest of his works, was written in verse in honour of the Sultān and in obedience to his order.

The death of the Sultānu-l-Mashāikh and also of Mir Khusrū occurred in the same year as has already been stated.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD ‘ĀDIL IBN TUGHLAQ SHĀH.

That is to say Ulugh Khān, by the agreement of the Amirs and

مَبْجُونٌ¹ literally means "hollow" but in its grammatical sense implies weakness due to want of proper support. cf. فعل اجوف "hollow" verb: a verb of which the middle letter is weak.

² In accordance with the proverb دو در گلیمی بخسیند *dū darriš dar gilimé nakhspand*. Two dervishes cannot sleep in one blanket; or again the proverb دوشمشیرو در یک نیام نگنجند *dū shamshir dar yak niyām nagunjand*. Two swords will not go into one scabbard; as we say: There cannot be two kings in Brentford.

³ This is a well-known proverb and has come from the Persian into common use in Urdu, used to express the futility of an incompetent person attempting any task, or on an occasion of unnecessary haste. "It's a far cry to Loch Awe." Roebuck in his collection of Oriental proverbs does not give this as a Persian, but as an Urdu proverb. Its origin is clear from our author's statement.

officers of the Court ascended² the royal throne in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.),¹ and after performing the ceremonial mourning for the space of forty days,³ went to the treasure house of the kings of former ages, and gave large sums such as exceeds all bounds of description, and having distributed⁴ appointments and offices among the Amirs, he made Malik Firuz his uncle's son (who is the same person as Sultān Firoz) *Nāibū-l-Mulk*, and advanced the dignity of his near relations in the same manner. Hamid Lawiki, too, was raised to an exalted position and Malik Sartez obtained the title of '*Imādu-l-Mulk*', Malik Khurram that of '*Zahīru-l-Juyūsh*' (Inspector of the Forces) Malik Pindār *Khiljī* was given the title of Qadr *Khān*, and Malik Izzu-d-Din *Mīyahyā* that of '*Azāmu-l-Mulk*', the district of Satgānw being also confirmed to him.

And in the year 727 A.H. (1326-1327 A.D.) the Sultān having formed the design of proceeding to Deogir, posted a chain of *dhāwa*,⁵ that is to say *pāiks*, or runners, as guards at distances of one *kroh* along the whole road⁶ from Dihli to Deogir, built a palace and a monastery at each stage and appointed⁷ a *Shaikh* to each. They used to keep in constant readiness food and drink, betel-leaf⁸ and all provisions for hospitality; and in

¹ According to *Firishta* on the third day after the funeral obsequies of his father.

² The period here mentioned of forty days is the same as that enjoined in olden times to the Israelites: thus we find in Genesis 1. 3, speaking of the death of Jacob "the physicians embalmed Israel and forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him three score and ten days. But in Numbers xx. 29, we find that the congregation mourned for Aaron thirty days."

The period of three days only is enjoined on Muhammadans, except in the case of widows who must perform the special ceremony of mourning called *Ihdād* for four months and ten days. Among Hindūs the period of mourning is thirty days. (See Matthew, *Mishkātu-l-Masābih* I. 389).

³ The word دهارا here spelt *dehāra* is a Sanskrit word धारणः rt. धार् to run. پایک *pāik* its Persian equivalent has a more usual form پیک *paik*.

⁴ MS. A omits درا.

⁵ نصب فرمود.

⁶ The leaf of *Chavica betle* (Miq.) N.O. Piperaceæ is used in conjunction with lime for mastication as a stomachic. The leaves containing a portion of the nut of *Areca catechu*, known as *Supāri*, some lime (*chūna*) catechu (*kath*) and various aromatics, such as cinnamon, cloves, &c., and rolled together

both¹ (palaces and monasteries) guides were stationed who were ordered to see that travellers suffered no annoyance. The traces of these (rest-houses) remained for many years. He gave Deogir the name of Daulatābād² and considering it as the centre of his dominions³ made it the metropolis, and conveyed Makhḍūma-i-Jahān his mother, with all his family and relations, the Amīrs and Maliks, the notables of the city, his servants and dependents, and all his treasure to Daulatābād: all the *Saiyyids* and *Shaikhs* and 'Ulamā⁴ also proceeded thither in the following of Makhḍūma-i-Jahān, and the stipends and emoluments of all of them were doubled, but in accordance with the saying "Exile is the gravest of all calamities and banishment is the sorest of all afflictions" this desolation of Dihli and its desertion was a source of great dis-

into the form of a cone and skewered with a small piece of wood and offered for sale. In this condition they are known as *khili*, بیڑا كھلیا or گلوری *gulurī*. The distribution of this پان *pān* or betel, forms an important part on all ceremonial occasions, generally as a final act of hospitality before the guests depart. To European palates the *bīrā* is anything but pleasant, it has a pungent somewhat acrid taste. It is a powerful sinagogue.

The medicinal virtues of the *Chavica betle* are supposed to be great. The leaves smeared with mustard oil and applied hot to the chest in several layers are used as poultices in pulmonary catarrhs, or in painful affections of the liver. They are said also to arrest the secretion of milk when applied to the breasts. A form of cancer known as "betle-chower's cancer" has been described by Dr. Elliott of Colombo.

The plant is said to be a native of Java whence it has been introduced. It grows best in a hot moist climate such as that of Lower Bengal where it is largely cultivated. (Drury, *Useful Plants of India*).

¹ MS. (A) omits the word طرف.

² MS. (A). مام نہاد و. See page 271, note 6, of this volume.

³ MS. (A) omits میانہ ولايات خود.

⁴ The word *Saiyyid* (سید) is a term used to denote the descendants of Muhammad from his daughter Fāṭima by 'Ali. The Sultan of Zanzibār also adopts this as his regal title.

Shaikh (شیخ) is a term of honour denoting some considerable reputation in the religious world: a doctor of religion and law, a head or chief of some religious order, a chief of a tribe: or a reputed saint.

The two first *Khalifahs* Abū Bakr and 'Umar are known as شیخان. *Ash-Shaiħan*. The two *Shaikhs*.

The term 'Ulamā (علماء) includes all religious teachers as Imāms, Muftis, Qāzīs, Maulavis, (see Hughes Dictionary of Islam, also D'Herbelot.)

comfort to the inhabitants, large numbers of the feeble and widows, the helpless and indigent perished by the way, while even those who arrived in safety, could not settle there; and towards the end of the above-mentioned year Malik Bahādur Gurshasp

227. the Inspector-General of the Forces, raised a rebellion in Dihli,¹ and Malik Aiyyāz, who held the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, fought with Bahādur and defeated him. Bahādur was taken prisoner and brought before the Sultān and met his punishment. After that, Malik Bahrām Iba the adopted brother of Sultān Tughlaq raised a rebellion in Multān,² and put to death 'Ali Khaṭāṭi who had been sent from Dihli to summon him thither. The Sultān, in order to put down this rebellion, left Daulatābād for Dihli and thence by uninterrupted marches reached Multān. Bahrām having come out³ against him fought with him, but was defeated and eventually put to death, his head was brought to the Sultān who intended to set the blood of the Multānis flowing like rivers on account of his crime, but when the Shaikh Ruknū-l-Haqq wau-d-Dīn Quraishi,⁴ may God sanctify his holy resting place, having bared his venerable head presented himself at the Court of the Sultān and made intercession, the Sultān pardoned the offences of the people.

Verse.

From the earliest times of Adam till the days of the king.
Great men have shewn mercy⁵ mean men have committed
faults.

And the Sultān having bestowed Multān upon Qiwāmu-l-Mulk Maqbūl retraced his steps, but after some little time⁶ having turned

¹ Barnī makes no mention of this occurrence. Firishta gives an account of it, but calls the rebel Bahāu-d-din and states that he was governor of Sāgor. The year assigned by him to this revolt in which Bahāu-d-din Gurshasp was defeated is 739 A.H. twelve years later than Badāoni's date, according to Briggs (I. 418). A reference to the original text, however, shews that the date given by Firishta is the same as Badāoni's date. *Firishta* Bo. Text I. 241.

² مس. (A) شد باغی.

³ مس. (A) نموده و مقابلہ مقتله.

⁴ *Ain-i-Akbāri* (Jarrett), III. 365.

⁵ مس. (A) عفو بود و.

⁶ مس. (A) چند گاهی.

against him despatched Behzād to replace him, but Shāhū Lodi the Afghān¹ killed Behzād and broke out into open rebellion. The Sultān on his arrival at Dīpālpur found that Shāhū had fled into the hill country,² so he turned back.

And in the year 729 A.H. (1329 A.D.) Narma Shirin the Mughul,³ the brother of Qutlugh Khwāja the Mughul King of Khuṇāṣān who had formerly invaded Hindūstān, having entered the Dihli territory⁴ with an enormous army, reduced the majority of the forts, and proceeded slaughtering and taking captives from Lāhor and Sāmāna and Indari to the borders of Badāou; and when the victorious troops of Islām came up with him, he retreated as they advanced; the Sultān pursued him⁵ as far as the frontier of Kālānor and defeated him, and leaving the destruction of that fort in the hands of Mujiru-d-Dīn Abūrijā returned in the direction of Dībli. At this time the Sultān formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Doāb it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country; he also instituted numbering their cattle and a house census, and other vexatious and oppressive measures, which were the cause of the complete ruin and desolation of the country,⁶ the weak were utterly destroyed and the strong laid the foundations of rebellion. The Sultān gave orders for the remainder of the inhabitants of Dihli and the adjoining towns to start for Daulatābād, caravan by caravan, the houses were to be purchased from their owners, and the price of them to be paid in cash out of the public treasury, in addition to which large rewards were to be offered. By these means Daulatābād was populated, and Dihli

228.

¹ MS. (A) افغان. The text reads افغانان.

² The printed text has در کوہ پایہ but MS. (A) has کوهیانہ. The text is correct.

³ MS. (A) مغل. The spelling مغول adopted throughout the printed text is incorrect, but is preserved as it is the commonly accepted form. Mr. Ney Elias in his introduction to the translation of the *Tārikh-i-Rashidi* (p. 73, note 1) says that it takes a sharp ear to distinguish the exact pronunciation of the word as spoken by a true Mongol. It sounds as often *Mo-ghol* or *Mo-ol* as Mongol. It has, he says, always the vowel sound of *o*, and never that of *ü* which is a foreign introduction.

⁴ MS. (A) مکمل.

⁵ MS. (A) تتعاقب او نمود و.

⁶ MS. (A) omits ای.

became so deserted that there was not left even a dog or a cat in the city. The following verse describes its condition :—

Verse.

There where the heart-ravishing one used to toy with her friends in the garden,
The wolf and the fox had their home, and the rhinoceros and vulture their abode.

This state of affairs also led to a diminution of the public funds. Among other sources of loss to the treasury was this that the Sultān enacted that the *muhar*¹ of copper should become current on an equal footing with the *muhar* of silver, and any one who shewed reluctance to receive it used to be instantly punished severely. This enactment led to many corrupt practices in the kingdom as a matter of course, and unscrupulous and ^{29.} contumacious rascals used everywhere in their own houses to set up mints and stamp coins,² and taking them into the cities used to purchase with them silver and horses, weapons and fine things, and thus rose to great wealth and dignity. But inasmuch as copper had no value as a currency in places at a distance and one *tanka* of gold rose to the value of fifty or sixty copper coins, the Sultān perceived the worthlessness of the copper coinage, and issued an edict to the effect that every one who had in his house a copper *tanka* should, if he brought them to the public treasury, receive for them golden *tankas* in equal value.³ The people

¹ Firishta does not use the word *muhar* مہر and it would appear here to have the meaning of "coin" in its general sense. The round muhar in Akbār's time was of the weight of eleven māshas and was worth nine rupees. (*Ain-i-Akbāri* I. 30). Barnī uses it in the same way as Bādāoni. See Barnī. Calcutta text, p. 475, line 10 et seqq.

² MS. (A) omits the word مس but it seems probable that this illicit coining was mainly confined to copper. Barnī states that the Hindūs of every province coined krors and laks of copper coins, so also Firishta.

³ The Persian text is: تنهایی زر برابر آن ببره. This can hardly mean that for every copper *tanka* a golden *tanka* would be given, and yet the wording of the preceding line gives colour to this view. It runs as follows هر کو تنهای مس در خانه پادشاه "Every one who has in his house a copper *tanka*." Barnī's account is much the same, Firishta's is more explicit, but it is not clear whether the coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. It however is most probable that the copper *tanka* having

profited greatly by this arrangement, till at last copper became copper and silver silver, and those copper *tankas* were lying in heaps in Tughlaqābād as late as the time of Sultān Mubārak Shāh according to the author of the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, and had no more value than stones. God knows the truth.

And in the year¹ 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.) he despatched a force of eighty thousand² cavalry under eminent commanders to capture the mountain of Himāchal³ which stands between the country of Chin and Hindustān, and which they also call Qirāchal⁴ with orders to leave garrisons in each successive place so that the line of communications for transport and supplies might remain open and the road of return might be easy. After the entry of this army into this country, by reason of the peculiar features of that mountain, on which heavy clouds form and rain pours in torrents at the sound of men's voices and their shouts and the neighing of horses, in consequence also of the narrowness of the

been artificially pronounced equal in value to the silver *tanka*, was repurchased by the treasury at that same value, so that the dislocation of the currency and its consequent disasters are easily intelligible. See Elliott III. 240, Brigg's *Firīshṭa* I. 415.

Although Brigg's translation leaves us in doubt as to this, the text of *Firīshṭa* is perfectly clear on the subject: and we see that these copper *tankas* were issued as tokens with an artificial value, and it was when the Sultān found that the copper currency was distrusted by his people who found it was not received in foreign countries, that he hit upon the expedient of offering to exchange the copper *tankas* for silver or gold *tankas*, hoping thereby, as *Firīshṭa* says, to rehabilitate the copper *tanka*, but the people were too wise for this, and threw the whole stock genuine and conunterfeit alike upon the Treasury which was thus drained of gold and silver. *Firīshṭa* (Bo. Ed. p. 239).

For a full account of this forced currency See Thomas *Pathān Kings* pp. 239, et seqq.

¹ MS. (A) در سی د.

² Omit . Firīshṭa says 100,000.

³ Himāchal. Snowy mountain. The Calcutta Text of Barnī calls this mountain فراجل misprint probably for قراجل p. 477, line 16, &c.

⁴ Rashīdu-d-Dīn in the *Jāmī-u-l-Tawārikh* (Elliott, I. 46) states "Besides these mountains there are others called Kalāchal (called also by the same author in another passage Lārjal). The editor notes "The mountains of Sirinor." Reinand reads the name "Kelardjek." Ibn Baṭūṭa calls them "Kaāchil" (Vol. III. 325). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit *āchal* mountain. The first part may be the Turki word قوا signifying black; from the intense cold of such a snowy range.

paths and the scarcity of fodder, the patrols were not able to stand to their posts, and the hill tribes getting the upper hand drove back the army, and falling upon the rear of the force killed many of them with poisoned arrows and stone showers, and sending the most of them to the eternal world enabled them to attain martyrdom, taking the rest prisoners.¹ For a long time they wandered helplessly among the mountains, and those who escaped after countless hardships the Sultān visited with condign punishment.² And after this calamity so great an army never gathered round the Sultān and all that money expended in their pay was thrown away.

230. And in the year 739 A.H. (1338 A.D.) Bahrām Khān Governor of Sunargānw died, and Malik Fakhru-d-Din Silāhdār became rebellious and assumed the title of Sultān, and having fought with Qadr Khān the ruler of Lakhnautī in conjunction with Malik Husamu-d-Din Abūrijā the Mustaufī, and 'Izzu-d-Din Yahyā A'zamū-l-Mulk, was defeated, and all his sources of grandeur, his treasure and his retainers fell into the hands of Qadr Khān; and when the rainy season had arrived the horses belonging to Qadr Khān died, and he had collected much money³ and had stored it up in heaps in his own house with the object of presenting it to the Sultān. In spite of all that Husāmu-d-Din Aburjā could do to dissuade him from amassing wealth and inducing men to covet it and thus leading to disorder, Qadr Khān would not listen, till eventually the very result predicted by Husāmu-d-Din ensued; Malik Fakhru-d-Din returned, and the soldiery of Husāmu-d-Din joined him and killed their own master, and all the money fell to the lot of Fakhru-d-Din. The absolute control of Sunārgānw was given him; he appointed one Mukhlis a servant of his, to Lakhnautī, and 'Ali Mubārak Inspector of Troops; Qadr Khān put Mukhlis to death and aspired at independence, writing diplomatic letters to the court of the Sultān. The Sultān appointed Malik Yūsuf, but he died by the way, and the Sultān, having other affairs to attend to, omitted to send any one else to that district.⁴

¹ Barnī states that the Hindus of Qarājal seized the passes behind the advancing force, and that of all the force only ten sowars returned. (p. 478). See also Elliott, III. 242.

² According to Firīshṭa all those who escaped were put to death by order of the Sultān.

³ MS. (A) omits و مال.

⁴ MS. (A) کسی دیگر بان جانب.

At this juncture 'Alī Mubārak by reason of the enmity he bore to Fakhru-d-Dīn, displayed the insignia of royalty, and assumed the title of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and Malik Ilyās Hāji who was a man of family and retinue, after a few days put 'Alāu-d-Dīn to death with the assistance of some of the Amirs and Maliks of Lakhnauti, and himself assumed the title of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn.

231.

And in the year 741 A.H. (1340 A.D.) Sultān Muhammād having left with the object of reducing Sunārgānū, seized Fakhru-d-Dīn and brought him prisoner to Lakhnauti, where he put him to death and returned. Shamsu-d-Dīn became absolute monarch of that region, and the kingly power and authority over that country descended for a lengthened period in the hands of his sons,¹ and never again returned to the possession of Sultān Muhammād 'Ādīl.

And in the year 742 A.H. (1341 A.D.) Saiyyid Ḥasan Kāithalī the father of Malik Ibrāhīm a scion of the Sultān, who was generally known as Ḥasan Kāngū, and who eventually obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Bahman Shāhī, fermenting a revolt in Ma'bār on the grounds of the severity of the Sultān's governors, and the innovations introduced in the laws, and the number of executions,² and gained over to his own party nearly all the great men of Dihlī who had been appointed to that district. He put to death the leaders of the opposite party. The Sultān proceeded from Lakhnauti to Deogir for the purpose of quelling that disturbance, and on his arrival at Tilang was taken ill, and was forced to return by uninterrupted marches to Dihlī. He left Qutlugh Khān in Daulatābād; thus the rebellion in Ma'bār remained unchecked and Ḥasan's influence increased rapidly.

And in the year 743 (1342 A.D.) they put to death by treachery Malik Halājun and Kul Chander Khākhar and Malik Tātār Khudīd, the Governor of Lāhore,³ and when Khwāja-i-Jahān came up against them,⁴ they came out to do battle with him, but the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished.

¹ MS. (A) reads فردی در عهد فرزندان او بود.

² MS. (A) has not the word عالم simply قتل او.

³ MS. (A) has کشته کل چندر and کشند which seems preferable.

⁴ MS. (A) omits نامزد شد and reads رفت.

And in the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) the Sultān passing through Sanām and Sāmāna gave orders to the Saiyyids and all the Muslims in opposition to the advice of Ḥasan Kānkū, for a general massacre, but he kept the chief men of those districts in their posts, conveyed them to the suburbs of the city, and conferred upon them villages and districts, and bestowing many rich robes of honour, and purses of gold gave them a place of abode there; and when a general famine arose he issued an edict that any one who wished should proceed to the eastern part of Hindustān and spend the days of dearness and scarcity there, without let or hindrance, and in the same way if any person wishing to give up living in Daulatābād should return to Dihli, no one would molest him. Moreover in that year so many people arrived in Hindustān from the countries of Khurāṣān and ‘Irāq and Samarqand, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultān, that hardly any other races were to be seen in that country.

And in this year Hāji Sa‘id Ṣāṣari¹ arrived from Egypt bearing the diploma of the Khalifah² with a banner and a robe of honour, conferring upon the Sultān the title of Nāṣir-i-Amīr-l-Mu’mīnūn from the Khalifah of the Abbāsides who were still extant. The Sultān ordered decorations and illuminations in the city, and proceeded with all the Shaikhs and Saiyyids and his retainers to give him an honourable reception, then, dismounting, he kissed the feet of Hāji Sa‘id and joined his retinue. He then re-established the Friday prayers and the ‘Id, which all this time he had kept in abeyance waiting for the orders and sanction of the Khalifah, he read the Khutbah in the name of the Khalifah, and struck out the names of those kings who had not received authority from the Dār-ul-Khilafah, with the exception of Sultān Maḥmūd. He then gave largesse³ of money and valuables to such an extent that his treasury became exhausted, he also des-

¹ The printed text reads مصري, but MS. (A) has صوصري. So has also Barnī, Cal. text p. 492, l. 10, and 13. (See also Elliott, III. 249).

Barnī gives a good account of the events preceding this mark of favour from the Khalifah, a course of fulsome adulation seems to have been then, as in more modern times, the royal road to favour.

² Al Ḥākim bi Amr Illāhi Abūl ‘Abbās Alḥmad ibn al Mustakfi biliḥābi, who was proclaimed in 741 A. H. For an account of these Egyptian Khalifahs, see Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp. 257 and seqq. Also D'Herbelot.

³ MS. (A) شُر.

patched to Egypt a precious jewel, the like of which he had not in his treasury, by the hands of Hāji Barqāī, with other rarities and presents; and having become, in his own opinion, the rightful Khalifah, and keeping constantly placed before him the Qur'ān¹ and the honorary presents and the patent of the Khalifah, would issue commands as though he were the Khalifah, and used to say 233. "The Khalifah says" this or that. He compelled the people to profess allegiance to the Khalifah, and went to Sarkdawārī which is in the vicinity of Shamshābād, and on two or three occasions² in Barūj and Kanbhāyat also³ he received patents from the Khalifah, and a second time the Makhfūmzāda-i-Baghdādi⁴ came to visit him, and the Sultān went on foot to Pālām to receive him; and when he saw him from afar off he advanced to meet him, and seated him upon the throne beside himself and made over to him without reservation, the city of Kili⁵ with the garden and the palace and all the buildings.

And in the year 745 A. H. (1344 A.D.) Malik Niẓāmu-l-Mulk governor of Karra, raised a rebellion, Shahr-u-l-lah the brother of 'Ainu-l-Mulk brought up an army against him from Oudh and took him prisoner, but the rebellion was quelled. Then Shihābu-d-din Sultān waxed riotous in Bidar, and Qutlugh Khān was despatched against him, and Shihābu-d-din coming out with his son to do battle was besieged in the fortress, and Qutlugh Khān inducing him to come out by promises of quarter, sent him to the royal presence.

And in the year 746 A.H. (1345 A.D.) 'Alī Sher sister's son to Zafar Khān 'Alā'i gained possession of Gulbarga⁶ in strong force, having put to death the ruler of Bidar, and taking much spoil,

¹ MS. (A) reads مشارق مشارق. All MSS. read مشارف which has no intelligible meaning. We must read here مشارف in the sense of 'honours,' i.e., the banner and robe of honour sent by the Khalifah to him.

² MS. (A) omits نیز.

³ MS. (A) نیز Broach and Cambay. Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 101.

⁴ Ghīṣā-d-din Muḥammad, a son of a great-grandson of the Khalif of Baghdād Al-Mustanṣir-billāh (Thomas, P. K. D. 257, note 1).

⁵ A full account of this is given by Ibn Batūta (Paris, Edn. iii. 258 and seqq.) who writes و اعطاه جميع مدينة سيري اقطاعاً و كوشك سيري و تمامي مخصوص درون حصار سيري.

⁶ MS. (A). See *Imp. Gaz.*, VIII. 332.

fought with Qutlugh Khān, but was defeated and obliged to retreat to the fortress of Bīdar where he shut himself up. Qutlugh Khān however took him also prisoner, and sent him to Sarkdawārī which was the camp of the Sultān's army. The Sultān in the first instance sent the captives to Ghazni in exile, but afterwards recalled them thence and put them all to death.

And in the year 747 A.H. (1346 A.D.) at the time when the 234. Sultān had made Sarkdawārī his camp, 'Ainu-l-Mulk arrived at the Court, bringing from Zafarābād and Oudh much property and rarities of great value as presents; then the Sultān came to the conclusion that it was advisable to recall Qutlugh Khān from the Dakkan, and send 'Ainu-l-Mulk to replace him. 'Ainu-l-Mulk got some idea into his head, and fled by night from Sarkdawārī and crossing the river Ganges made for Oudh, and his brother Shahru llāh laid hands upon certain of the elephants and horses¹ belonging to the king, which had been left behind to graze, and carried them off. The Sultān went in pursuit of them as far as Qanauj, and 'Ainu-l-Mulk, at the instigation of his brothers and a party of the followers of Malik Firoz Nāib Barbak, who had been placed in charge of the elephants and horses, crossed the river Ganges and coming over to this side² attacked the army of the Sultān, and like the thieves and *Gawārs* (of India)³ took to the woods and fought on foot, but not being able to stand against the elephants and archers of the king took to flight,⁴ and Shahru llāh and his other brother together with the majority of the sirdārs of 'Ainu-l-Mulk were drowned, and the remainder fell by the swords of the soldiers, and the fugitives were taken prisoners by the *Gawārs*, who having found 'Ainu-l-Mulk alive took him on their shoulders⁵ and brought him bareheaded⁶ to the court and gave him a few days respite,⁷ and the Sultān in consideration of his excellent

¹ MS. (A) omits ب.

² MS. (A) طرف.

³ MS. (A) omits آنہ.

⁴ MS. (A) نووند.

⁵ The text reads بولاش بود اشته and so does also MS. (A). It seems probable however that this is an erroneous reading due to the repetition of بود اشته in the original copy.

⁶ MS. (A) reads برهنه ببر naked.

⁷ Barnī entirely omits all reference to the events here recorded. The *Gawārs* are a race of gypsies in India according to Steingass. I can find no mention of them in Sherring's *Hindu Castes*, nor in Elliott's *Tribes of the N. W.*

services gave him his freedom, and in accordance with his former custom treated him well, and giving him a district sent him back to Dihli; then he recalled Qutlugh Khān from the Dakkan, but inasmuch as Qutlugh Khān had reduced that country to excellent order and had gained the good will of the people, his recall was the cause of great discontent (and disaffection)¹ and 'Aziz Khumār² who was one of the *cunaille*, proceeding to Mālwa put to death many centurions (or Amirs of a hundred) which is the meaning of the word *Yūzbāshī*³ in accordance with the Sultān's orders, and thence arose many insurrections.

And in the year 748 A.H. (1347 A.D.) the captains of hundreds, stirred up rebellion and sedition in Gujrāt against Muqbil the servant of Khwāja-i-Jahān who was *nāib-vazir* of Gujrāt, and was bringing treasure to the Court, and attacked him by night, getting possession of the treasure and horses and property belonging to the king. The Sultān arrived at Gujrāt with the object of quelling this rebellion, and sent some of the trustworthy Amirs as for instance Malik 'Alī Sarjāndār, and Aḥmad Lāchin to Daulatābād to bind the Amirs of hundreds who were there and bring them to Court. As soon as Malik Aḥmad Lāchin arrived at the pass of Manikganj, the Amirs of hundreds in their alarm⁴ came to a common understanding, and put Malik Aḥmad Lāchin to death; Aziz Khumār who had gone from Gujrāt to oppose the Amirs of hundreds of Dabho'i⁵ and Baroda, on coming face to face with the insurgents lost his head,⁶ fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. This news had reached the Sultān and had augmented his wrath considerably. And after the defeat of Muqbil and the murder of 'Aziz, the Amirs of hundreds waxed bold, and sent for their families and relations from all directions, and with one consent turned against the Sultān⁷ and having captured the fortress of Daulatābād from the governors of Malik 'Alam took possession of it, and raising

1 MS. (A) omits و قصور.

2 MS. (A) عنز حمار Aziz Hmiar.

3 يو باشليغ Commandant de cent hommes. (Pavet de Courteille).

4 MS. (A) omits the words جان خوشی.

5 MS. (A). The text is wrong here. Dabho'i. See Tieff. I 372. also map, Vol. III. see also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 76; and Bayley, *History of Gujrāt*.

6 دست و پا گم کرده (Lit.) Had lost his hands and feet.

7 The printed text reads طلبيده بغير سلطان which is meaningless. MS. (A) reads لز سلطان and this seems the correct reading.

to the throne one Isma'il Fath gave him the title of Sultan Naṣiru-d-Din. After this the Amirs of hundreds of Dabho'i and Baroda over whom the Sultan had appointed other Amirs, being defeated by the army opposed to them joined hands with the Amirs of hundreds of Daulatābād. When the Sultan went to Daulatābād Isma'il Fath prepared to give him battle, but being defeated shut himself up in the fortress of Dhārānagar by which is meant the citadel¹ of Daulatābād; many Muslims of Daulatābād were slain in this rebellion, or were made prisoners, and Malik² 'Imādul Mulk Sartez was ordered to pursue³ the fugitive Amirs of hundreds towards Bidar. In the meantime tidings arrived of the rebellion in Gujrāt of Malik Taghi, who, having put to death Malik Muẓaffar the governor of that place, had obtained possession⁴ of a large number of horses and much property. Thereupon the Sultan leaving in Dhārānagar Malik Jauhar and Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Din and Shaikh Burhānu-d-Din Balārāmī⁵ left to quell the rebellion of Taghi;⁶ the army which had fled from Daulatābād under the leadership of Hasan Kāngū, coming out of hiding attacked⁷ 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez. 'Imādu-l-Mulk was slain, and his army fled to Daulatābād and sought shelter there, and Malik Jauhar with Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Din and the other Amirs not being able to withstand Hasan in Daulatābād evacuated those districts and made for Dhārānagar. Hasan Kāngū pursued them and came to Daulatābād,⁸ and having driven out Isma'il Fath assumed the title of 'Alāu-d-Din and usurped the government, and from that time forward the rule of the districts of Daulatābād and the sovereignty of that kingdom remained in his family. The history called *Futūḥu-s-Salāfiyyūn*⁹ was written in his honour. And Taghi

1 ارگ *arg*, a small fort built between two large forts (Burhān-i-Qāfi).

MS. (A) spells this word ارک *irk*.

2 The printed text reads ملک عنایت عمادالملک MS. (A) omits عنایت. Barni calls him ملک عمادالملک سر تیز سلطانی Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez-i-Sultāni.

3 The proper reading here is بتعاقب MS. (A). The printed text has منتعاقب.

4 Read بتصرف او در آمد MS. (A).

5 MS. (A) omits ملک.

6 MS. (A) omits در آمد و.

7 MS. (A) omits ملک.

9 I can find no mention of this work.

the rebel, after the arrival of the Sultān at Gujrāt, ventured a second time to fight with him and was again defeated, and giving himself up to brigandage roamed about from place to place, the Sultān however continued to pursue him and followed him wherever he went. And in this expedition the Sultān having sent for Malik Firoz from Dihli attached him to his Court; and¹ in this year Malik Gīr the son of Malik Qabūl Khālifati, to whom the Sultān had delegated the control of all his important affairs, and on whose behalf he had written a letter expressing submission to the Egyptian Khalifah, and had sent it by the hand of Hājī Barqā'i, died, and Ahmad Aiyāz, who is also called Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Qabūl Qiwāmu-l-Mulk were carrying on the government in Dihli. Towards the end of the reign of Muhammād, disaffection and rebellion, mischief and sedition became increasingly evident day by day,² so that if he turned his attention to curing one evil, another was not wanting to supply its place,³ and matters were past all remedy,⁴ and the glory⁵ of the kingdom, and prosperity⁶ of the country was entirely subverted. Tyranny supplanted equity, and infidelity flourished in place of Islām. There were many reasons for this, which by their co-operation led to ruin and dissension, and the decline of the kingdom. These causes are given in detail in the original history⁷ the *Firozshāhi*, and also in the *Mubārakshāhi*. The results are here given in brief arranged under seven heads. *Firstly*.—The greater part of the people and inhabitants of the towns and districts were

١ بدریہ پیوست و

چندان

۲ مگری از دست نمیرفت

۳ This is the reading of MS. (A) صلاح

۴ The printed text has اصلح MS. (A) reads correctly اصلح

۵ MS. (A) اویش

۶ Omit امان و MS. (A).

۷ There are two histories known as *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi* one by Ziāu-d-Din Barnī, (*Biblioth. Indica* 1862) and the other by *Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf*. (*Biblioth. Indica* 1891). (Elliott, III. 269).

MS. (A) reads (as does the printed text) در تواریخ اصل but the better reading seems to be that given, without reference to the authority, in the footnote to the printed text در اصل تاریخ. This would distinguish the *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi* of Barnī as the original history of that name. The *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* is that of Yāhyā ibn Ahmad. (See Elliott, IV., pp. 6 and seqq.).

ruined by the rapine of Tarma Shirin, and never again recovered their prosperity. *Secondly*.—The tribute to be paid by the inhabitants of the Doāb, which district comprises some of the chief towns of Hindustān, was increased from ten per cent. to twenty per cent., besides which there was the numbering of the cattle, and the house-census, and other taxes¹ over and above these, and² in this way the more needy portion of the people left their property and cattle and attached themselves³ to the richer folk, while the wealthier subjects plotted rebellion and sedition and took to highway robbery, and pillaged the country in all directions⁴ so that from all these causes the revenue of the country began to dwindle.⁵ *Thirdly*.—An universal famine, and (consequent) dearness of grain, for it so happened that for seven whole years not a single drop of rain fell from heaven. It should be remembered that this statement has been copied as it stands from the *Mulārakshāhī*, but I cannot say whether the author of that work has been guilty of exaggeration or if in reality the facts were as stated.⁶

- 238.** *Fourthly*.—the desertion of Dihli, and the population of Daulatābād, because after Dihli was laid waste they brought people from the towns and other places into that city and populated it, and then again removed them thence to Daulatābād, so that all their hereditary estates and family holdings, and all the property and effects⁷ they possessed were wasted and dissipated, so that they never saw anything more of them. *Fifthly*.—The massacre of the eighty thousand cavalry in a body in the hills of Himāchal, and the consequent desolation of their families. *Sixthly*.—The daily occurrence of rebellion and mutiny in every place where people were in dread of their lives, some of them fell in battle but the greater number were put to death with their families upon false charges, so that in every way that wretched country was being ruined. *Seventhly*.—The blood thirsti-

¹ The word اخراجات is apparently used here in this unusual sense.

² MS. (A) و باین طریق می پیوستند.

³ تخریب و لابات می کردند و

⁴ بہر حال مخصوص ولایت کم شدن گرفت و خراب شد میان دواب ولایت.

⁵ The question of exaggeration admits of no doubt. Barni a contemporary author lends no countenance to such a statement.

⁶ MS. (A) reads اشیا.

ness of the Sultān, and his system of Government of his people; which made Saiyyids, 'Ulamā, Shaikhs, ragamuffins and scoundrels, artisans,¹ peasants,² and soldiers, all alike in his eyes. Moreover there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his Civil Court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were wearied out with their work of dragging (the wretched victims) and putting them to death in crowds. So that³ the people were never tired of rebelling nor the king of punishing (the rebels).⁴ At last the Sultān was at his wit's end what to do, but for all this he did not keep his foot out of the stirrup, nor did his sword rest from punishment, but all to no purpose, till the flood of sedition waxed violent, and the nobles of the kingdom by degrees grew⁵ feeble, at length disease overcame him, and the Sultān was freed from his people and the people from their Sultān.

Verse.

239.

Of all the people of the world, although most of them
 Are gone astray, and few of them are in the right path,
 Do thou so live that when thou diest thou mayest escape
 (punishment),
 Not so that when thou diest the people may escape (thy
 tyranny).

They relate an extraordinary story of one of the irregular acts of the Sultān which was that he kept such strict watch over all matters involving punishment, that he used to keep four Muftis⁶ to whom he allotted quarters in the precincts of his own palace, and used to see that they kept to their appointed places,⁷ so that when anyone who was arrested upon any charge, he might in the first place argue with the Muftis about his due punishment, so far as he was

¹ Whether we read متحرفة or محتدرة this word is used in a very unusual sense. Its proper meaning is a tax levied upon artisans, but here it must mean the (أهل حرفة) artisans themselves.

² This again is not correctly used. It must be read مزاجع but should be plural.

³ MS. (A) ونه خلق لز فتنه.

⁴ MS. (A) می کردند.

⁵ MS. (A) خلاص یافت.

⁶ Mufti. The officer who assists the Qāzi or judge by supplying him with *fatwās* or decisions.

⁷ We should read here جائے دادا در منازل معین نگاه داشته بود MS. (A).

able,¹ and had said, Be very careful that you do not fail in the slightest degree by defect in speaking that which you consider right, because if any one should be put to death wrongfully and the oversight should have been on your side, the blood of that man will be upon your head. Then if after long discussion they convicted (the prisoner), even though it were midnight,² he would pass orders for his execution,³ and if he himself found for conviction⁴ he would refer it to another meeting, and would endeavour to find a means of upsetting their arguments,⁵ and would come and make a speech, and when the Muftis were at a loss for a further argument he would put (the prisoner) to death on the instant or else release him on the spot.

They say⁶ that one day Sultān⁷ Muḥammad wearing his shoes went on foot into the Court of Justice⁸ of Qāzī Kamālu-d-Din Ṣadr-i-Jahān and said, The Shaikhzāda-i-Jāmī has called me a tyrant, send for him that he may substantiate his charge of tyranny against me, or, if he fails, that you may pronounce⁹ against him the sentence of such punishment according to law as the case may require. When the Shaikhzāda was summoned he confessed (to having said it) and the Sultān enquired (what his grounds were). He replied, every one whom you punish (with death) lawfully or unlawfully, that is your prerogative, but that you should hand over his wife

240. and children to the executioners as you do, to do what they will with them, in what religion and under what sacred law do you find this? The Sultān was silent and rose up from the Court,¹⁰ and ordered that the Shaikhzāda should be bound; this order was carried out and he was put into an iron cage; then he had him carried in that very way on the journey to Daulatābād on the back of an elephant. When he returned and arrived at Dihli, he brought him before the same Court,¹¹ and bringing him out of the cage gave orders in obedience to which the poor wretch was cut in two in his presence. From this it is clear that the Sultān was a mixture of opposites, and¹² for this reason his name has been handed

1 MS. (A) حسب مقدور.

2 MS. (A) مبدود.

3 MS. (A) omits آن متهم.

و اگر خود الزام می یافتد.

4 MS. (A) omits می اندیشید و.

حکایت.

5 MS. (A) omits محمد.

مسکنه قضا.

6 MS. (A) omits نهائید.

قاضی.

7 MS. (A) omits قضا.

و.

down in tradition, aye and even in some books also as "the Bloody" not as "the Just." There are many stories bearing upon this which I have heard, but to write or speak of them would lead me too far afield. So "Take example from it ye that are endowed with sight."¹ In short² after great havoc had been wrought in the affairs of the state by the excessive tyranny and oppression of the Sultān, which he however regarded as the essence of justice, and great breaches had been which the wise and learned were powerless to repair,³ by reason of his various toils and his evil designs, the disease of Phthisis⁴ found its way to his constitution; notwithstanding this he set himself to follow up Taghi, and in the

¹ Qur'ān, LIX. 2. ² MS. (A) مع النص و از اصلح آن عاجزه.

³ بیماری دق. This name was given to any kind of hectic fever, most usually that arising from phthisical disease of the lung. The following definition is from the *Bahru-l-Jawāhir*.

حمى دق هي ان يتشبت الحرارة الخارجيه عن الطبع بالاعضاء الا صلية خصوصاً القلب تفني طبويات البدن واقيل هي حرارة غريبة تحدث للبدن بواسطة حدو
تها في اعضائه.

The fever called "Diqq" is when the heat which arises from the constitution seizes upon the chief essential organs, especially the heart, and the moisture of the body disappears. Another opinion is that this is an extraneous fever which attacks the body by means of its generation in some of its members.

The *Burhān-i-Qāzī* states that it is called دق because it emaciates the body.

Sadidi's account is as follows. The fever حمى الدق is usually fatal.....It is either simple or complicated with putrid fever. The signs of this complication are persistence of the fever, with an exacerbation on the day of the paroxysm of the putrid fever, shivering is also present. The worst complication of all is (he says) when "diqq" is complicated with one of the fevers which require treatment by purges, because the treatment of "diqq" is the opposite to this.

The pulse in uncomplicated "diqq" is hard, frequent, and slender.....The surface of the body is not very hot at the first feel, but after a few moments it feels scorching, hottest of all over the arteries, the heat increases especially in the face and upper parts of the body.

Food should be nonrishing.....Some unskillful physicians withhold food and kill the patient speedily. Food should be moist and cooling. If the fever passes on to the degree called ذبول *zabūl* the pulse increases in hardness and tenuity, the eyes change and become covered with sordes, the cartilages of all the bones are prominent, the temples sink in, the skin of the forehead tightens, the skin loses its lustre, and has a dusty appearance; the eyelids become heavy; all this is the result of rapid dissolution, and the abundance of dryness and disappearance of the natural moisture. There

hope of exterminating him set out for the kingdom of Thathā where¹ Taghi had fled for safety; and² in that expedition Qarghan Nāib of the king of Khurāsān sent Altūn Bahādūr with five thousand cavalry to assist the Sultān. The Sultān's illness was at that time slightly less urgent³ and when he arrived at Thathā he fasted on the day of the 'Āshūra,⁴ which was in the very middle of the hot season, and after breaking his fast he ate some fish, wherenon his illness returned, and on the twenty-first of Muḥarram in the year 752 H. (1351 A.D.) he took his way to the next world,⁵ the duration of his reign having been twenty-seven years.

also appears in the urinary excretion, oiliness and a scaly deposit; the nose becomes sharp, the hair grows long, and lice are of frequent occurrence on the body because of the excessive amount of exhalation. The abdomen falls in till it touches the backbone, the skin of the chest is also retracted, and the nails become long (جَدْ بَتِ الْأَطْفَارِ) then the diarrhoea recurs, the hair falls out and death occurs.

It will be observed that there is no mention here of any of the lung symptoms of Phthisis, all that we have described is a continued fever of remittent type running a moderately long course as is shewn by the symptoms described. No mention is made of any eruption, nor is diarrhoea apparently more than an intercurrent symptom appearing late in the disease.

This was probably one of the fevers so common in India for which for want of a better name "typho-malarial" has been suggested.

Probably the complication of "diqq" with "putrid fever" of which Sadīdī speaks was more comparable to the "enteric fever" of modern science. Sadīdī speaks elsewhere of three degrees of severity of this fever. The first is called "diqq" the second more severe is called zabūl and the most severe of all is called "hashf."

I have only been able to epitomise Sadīdī's account which will be found at pages 427-428 of his work. (*Al Muqhnī fi Sharḥ il Müjaz*).

اندک روی بصحت نباده بود (A). ¹ MS. (A). ² MS. (A). ³ MS. (A).

⁴ "The 'Āshūra," is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. It is the only day of Muḥarram observed by the Sunni Muslims, being the day on which it is said God created Adam and Eve heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death. It is kept by the Sunnis as a fast." (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 25).

⁵ On the banks of the Indus at fourteen *kos* from Thathā according to Barnī (Elliott, III. 265), but Badāoni states he had arrived at Thathā. Barnī states that he was taken ill thirty *kos* from Thathā where he had arrived on the 'ashūra, thence he was carried ill as he was "for the second and third day until he came to within fourteen *kos* of Thathā." There he remained according to Barnī gradually growing worse and died on the 21st of Muḥarram.

When the Empire of justice arose with ease, like the sun.
The land of Hindustān came under his sway like that of 241.

Khurāsān;

A fortress like that of the Haft Khwān¹ he built of Haft Jūsh² which in loftiness

Would need the Nasr-i-Tāir³ to fly to its pinnacle inaccessible as Harumān.⁴

So strong that it registered a vow to last till the Resurrection-day, but by reason of the vicissitudes of time, it became destroyed in many places like the web of a spider.

You will find nothing upon the top of its walls but the voice of the owl.

In its topmost garden you will see nothing by the ill-omened raven.

It befits the duration and pride of Empire that its condition should become in accordance with the words "God most High is far above all that the tyrants of men say of Him."⁵

And among the celebrated poets of the time of Sultān Muham-mad is Badar Shāshi⁶ who wrote a Shāhnāma in his honour, of some thousand verses⁷ and for the very reason that it is a history in poetry it is a valuable acquisition.

SULTĀN FIROZ SHĀH IBN MALIK RAJAB

Who was the brother's son of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Din Tughlaq and uncle's son of Sultān Muham-mad 'Ādil, in accordance with the

¹ هفت خوان Haft Khwān. The capture of the Brazen fortress of Daz was the final stage of the seven great labours of Isfandiyār known by the name of the Haft-Khwān. See Shāh Namah (Atkinson), pp. 407 to 426, also Burhān-i-Qāti' s. v.

² هفت جوش Haft Jūsh. These are seven metals which are melted together to form an alloy of special value; the seven are, iron, zinc (antimony, *Steingass*) lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. Burhān-i-Qāti'. According to the Ghiāzu-l-lughāt, it also contains quicksilver and brass.

³ نسر طاير Nasr-i-Tāir. The constellation called also مقاب 'Uqāb. The Eagle.

⁴ هرمغان Harumān, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt. Burhān-i-Qāti'.

⁵ Cf. Qur'ān XXVII. 64.

⁶ See page 296, note 6.

⁷ This looks as though we should read قریب بیست هزار بیت nearly twenty thousand verses. Both MSS. however read the same as the printed text which is here followed though it is an uncommon construction.

authority appointing him the heir-apparent of Sultān Muḥammad ascended the throne of sovereignty and state, by the consent of the chiefs of the Shaikhs and the leading Amīrs and Vazirs in the aforesaid year, in the vicinity of Thatha. It is said that the Makhdūmzāda-i-Abbāsi of Baghdād, and Shaikh Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī *may God sanctify their sacred resting places* were¹ the cause of the allegiance thus sworn to Sultān Firoz, and it is currently reported that [Makhdūm Shaikh Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī *may God sanctify his resting place*]² had secretly made Malik Firoz King during the absence of Sultān Muḥammad. Some of the Muftīs informed the Sultān of this, and his orders were that those two, master and disciple³ were to be taken in confinement from Dihli and brought to the camp. This was carried out,⁴ and Malik Firoz in some way or other gained over the guards, and made his way, just as he was, to the neighbourhood of Hānsi to Shaikh Badru-d-Dīn who was one of the descendants of Shaikh Jamālu-d-Dīn of Hānsi⁵ *may God sanctify their resting-places*. That holy man exclaimed “Great God! a man has been made prisoner and taken off to be Sultān, and he wots not of it!” When they arrived⁶ at the camp of the Sultān in the vicinity of Thatha and the tidings of the arrival of these two holy men reached him⁷ he gave orders that they were to be put to death the instant of their arrival, and with that he lapsed into a state of intoxication. A son of his had gone on a hunting expedition, accordingly when the guards saw⁸ this state of affairs, they liberated the holy Shaikh and the Sultān;⁹ then Sultān Firoz by the consent of the nobles raised the banner of sovereignty and got the Sultān’s son out of the way by some crafty scheme, and

¹ MS. (A) reads بیعت بودند for بیعهت نمودند (Text).

² The words between square brackets are omitted from MS. (A).

³ The reading here is uncertain. The printed text has پیر و مرید را while MS. (A) has مرید و مراد را. The latter has the more genuine ring though it is an uncommon expression.

⁴ MS. (A). The text reads بیاورند.

⁵ که یکی از اولاد شیخ جمال الدین هانسی قدس الله سرهما بود.

⁶ خبر این دو عزیز باو رسیده (A). مسیده اند (A).

⁷ MS. (A).

⁸ MS. (A).

⁹ MS. (A). گداشته اند (A). By Sultān, Firoz Shāh must be here meant.

after that¹ he had returned to Dihli he made the *pargana* of Chaurāsi in the district of Hānsi a present to the monastery and rest house of Shaikh Badru-d-Din, whom I have mentioned. This is what I have heard—God alone knows the real truth. They also say that Sultān Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh took the reverend Shaikh under his protection, till one day the Shaikh, *may God sanctify his resting-place*, tied a knot upon one of the Sultān's robes and said “Naṣīru-d-Din fastens and God opens” and that very day the Sultān died.

Verse.

The only kingdom which sorrows not for the affliction of its decline,

Hear my words freely spoken, is the kingdom of the darvesh. **243.**

However this may be, the Sultān Firoz at the outset of his reign issued this order that the Mughuls who had obtained influence over the soldiery should be brought apart from the camp, and inasmuch as their mutinous conduct had passed all bounds, the Sultān himself saw to their safe custody, and punishing these Mughuls effectually put a stop to their interfering with the discipline of the army.

Verse.

Far better than giving a Mughul a hint to plunder

Is it that you should rejoice him with a sight of Paradise.

Then he brought his army in safety into security, and proceeding by way of Siwistān made for Dihli by continuous marches, and Aḥmad Aiyāz, styled *Khwāja-i-Jahān*, who in the absence² of the Sultān had urged the claims of an obscure child³ to the

¹ MS. (A) بعد از آنکه.

² MS. (A) در غیبت.

³ Shams-i-Siraj 'Afīf gives the “true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khān, son of Kishlū Khān Bahrām, one of the servants at the Court.”

He asserts the *Khwāja-i-Jahān* who was on terms of great intimacy with Firoz Shāh received false tidings that Tātar Khān and the *Amīr-Hājib* Firoz Shāh were missing and either dead or prisoners. “After the days of mourning were completed, the *Khwāja*, believing this report to be correct, placed a son of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh upon the throne, and thus through adverse fate committed a blunder.” Elliott, III. 279–280.

throne, and had given him the title of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Maḥmūd Shāh, appointing himself *Vakil*, after considerable argument,¹ and much correspondence, by reason of his helplessness and dejection, by the mediation of Ashraful-Mulk and the other nobles and grandees, came with bared head, casting his turban on his neck, to the neighbourhood of Hānsi, and had an interview with the Sultān, who washed out the writing of his fault with the water of forgiveness, and made him over to the Kotwāl of Hānsi, and as for the party who had been his companions in this faction and opposition, he dispersed them all in different directions. At Sarsuti tidings arrived of the birth of Shāhzāda Fath Khān,² whose son eventually became Tughlaq Shāh, and the news of the death³ of Taghi Tāghi also reached him there from Gujrāt; and on the second of Rajab in the aforesaid year, he graced the throne of Dihlī by his accession and made a fresh distribution of appointments.

244. And in the year 753 H. (1352 A.D.) he went to the Sirmūr hills for the purpose of relaxation and sport, and returned thence, and in the month of Rajab of this year Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Nāṣiru-d-Din Muḥammad Shāh, was born.

And in the year 754 H. (1353 A.D.) he returned from Kalānor whither he had gone on a hunting expedition, and built a lofty building on the banks of the river Sarsutī and [gave it to Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Din Multāni, may God sanctify his resting place, the Shaikhul-Islām] and Malik Qubūl⁴ Nāib Vazir he made Khān-i-Jahān,⁵ and at the close of this year he went to Lakhnāti with the intention of putting down the rebellion of Ḥāji Ilyās who had assumed the title of Shamsu-d-Din. He accordingly took refuge in the fort of Ikdāla,⁶ which is the strongest of the forts

¹ Cf. Elliott, III. 285.

² MS. (A) ۸۵ پسریں آخر تغلق شاہ بود. Sirāj 'Afif tells us that he founded a town here and called it Fatḥābād in honour of this event. Elliott, III. 283.

³ MS. (A) قتل طغی.

⁴ See note 6, page 254.

⁵ In MS. (A) this sentence precedes the one in square brackets.

⁶ Ikdāla. Regarding this fortress, see J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 244. See Elliott, III. 294. It was afterwards called Azādpur by Firoz Shāh. (Elliott, III. 297).

of Bangāla, and after a desultory¹ defence fought for a very short time, and threw his elephants and his material of war, with his servants and retainers to the winds, and all of them fell into the hands of the Sultān who, having made peace with him because of the rainy season,² retraced his steps.

And in the year 755 H. (1354 A.D.) having crossed by the ford of Manikpūr he arrived at Dihli and built Firozābād³ on the banks of the Jamna. And in the year 756 H. (1355 A.D.) he

¹ This appears to be the meaning. MS. (A) omits سلطنت and has درآمد سلطنت see also Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 294 and note.

² بُشْكَال bushkāl in M. Pavet de Courteilles Turkī Dictionary this word is given given پوشکال pushkāl or پوشکال pushkāl Saison des pluies. He gives three instances of its use from the Bābernāmāh.

³ Firozābād. This must not be confounded with the Firozābād which arose from the change of name of Pandūah, see Elliott, III. 295, and Pandūah, *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. XI.

This Firozābād (see J. A. S. B., 1870), was situated five *kos* (ten miles) from Dihli, and included according to Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, eighteen places, the *qasba* (townships) of Indarpat and others a list of which will be found in Elliott, III. 303. At page 298 will also be found an account of the founding of the city of Hissār (Hisār Firozah) and of the construction of two canals leading to it one from the Sutlej and the other from the Jumna. The modern representation of the latter canal, which was called Rajiwa, is found in the Western Jumna Canal passing through Karnūl (see Hunter's *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VII. 258 for an account of this canal). The canal leading from the Sutlej was called Alagh Khāni (Ulugh Khāni). In modern maps there is a trace of this canal, but it is called the Jureah canal, which is probably the word Rajiwa converted and applied in error to this canal. Rennell's map (Tieff. Vol. III) shews the supposed canal of Firoz Shāh, and it is evident from our author's statement that this canal was commenced not from the Hissār end but from Dipalpūr, which lay at the junction of the Biās and Sutlej on the banks of the Biās, and passed south-east near Fatḥabad, if not actually through it, to join the river Jahjar, which in Rennell's map is called the Jidjer, its nearest point measured from Dipalpūr being exactly 100 miles (forty-eight kroh) on this map, whereas the town of Jhajhar Lat. 28° 16' N. Long. 77° 42' 15" E. is 200 miles (Hunter's *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VII. 195). (The river Jahjar flowed south-east through Fatehpūr joining the Jumna near Etawah). For this reason it appears likely that the canal was led not to Jhajhar but into the river Jahjar as above stated. (See Bo : Firishta, Text I. 263).

Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif makes no mention of Dipalpūr in connection with any canal, and there is one difficulty in his account as he says that both the canals, the Rajiwah and Ulugh Khāni, were conducted through the vicinity of

went to Dipālpūr and bringing a canal from the river Satlaj¹ led it as far as the Jahjar which is forty-eight *kroh* from there.

In the year 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) he conducted a stream from the river Jamna from the vicinity of Mandūi (Mandili) and 245. Sarūr,² and having led seven other canals into it took it to Hānsī

Karnāl. If this was so the "supposed canal of Firoz Shāh" in Rennell's map cannot be the Ulugh Khānī. His words are as follows:—

دھانہ این ہردو جوی از اتصال کرنال بیرون آورده میان هشتاد کروہ کروہ
در شهر حصار فیروزہ بردہ

Dahāna-i ī har do jā az ittisāl i karnāl birūn āwarda mīyān i hashtād kroh kroh dar shahr i Hiṣār Firāza burda.

It is not to be supposed that Firoz Shāh would take his canal from Dipālpūr to Karnāl when his objective was Hissār; we have also Badāoni's clear statement that a canal was brought from the Sutlej and led as far as the Jahjar, this canal would coincide with the line of that shewn in Rennell's map, but not with that of Shams-i-Sirāj.

The canal mentioned in the next paragraph is evidently the one to which Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf refers (Elliott, III. 299-300), although it is not very evident what the exact course of this canal was: I can find no trace of any places named Mandūi (Mandili) or Surūr anywhere in the maps, while Rās mentioned here by Badāoni must be what 'Afīf calls Great Larās, as he states that it was in the neighbourhood of Great Larās that Sultan Firoz built the city of Hiṣār Firoza. (Elliott, p. 299). Rennell (memoir p. 72, quoting from Dow I. 327 has Beraisen, which is a mistaken reading of bi Rāsain in the original), that is to say the two Rāses, Great Larās and Little Larās.

It would seem that there were in all three canals to Hiṣār Firoza, one from Dipālpūr to Hissār and on to the Jahjar, this was brought from the Sutlej. A second from the Jumna as far as Karnāl (Rajīwah). A third from the Sutlej as far as Karnāl (Ulugh Khānī). At Karnāl according to 'Afīf's account these two last joined. The only way this can have been possible is by the courses of the Sutlej and Jumna being very different from their present courses or even from the beds of these rivers in 1782 when Rennell made his map.

By bringing the Sutlej further south-east near to the course of the Ghaggar say near to Thanesar, we should have a point from which we can understand that it would have been advantageous to bring water from both the Sutlej and Jumna via Karnāl.

See Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1833, p. 105 and 1840, p. 688.

See also Thomas' Pathān Kings, 294 and notes.

1 MS. (A) مسئلہ.

² I cannot identify these places. Firīshṭa (Bo. Text I. 262) says Mandawī and Sirmūr, MS. (A) reads Mandili and Sardar.

and thence to Rās¹ where he built a fortress which he called Hisār Firoza, and dug² a spacious reservoir beneath the palace which was in that fortress, and filled it with water from the canal ; he also led another stream from the canal of the Ghaghār underneath the fortress of Sarsutī, and from thence to Birnī Kherā,³ and in the space between them he built a fortress⁴ and named it Firozābād.⁵ At the end of this year on the occasion of the 'Idū-z-Zuhā a robe of honour arrived for the Sultān from the Khalifah Al-Hākim bi amrillāhi Abū Fath Abū Bakr ibn Abil Rabi' Suleimān⁶ from the Dārul Khilāfat of Egypt, with a patent conferring upon him the whole of Hindustān : and⁷ in this same year messengers from Hāji Ilyās the ruler of Lakhnautī, having arrived bearing splendid presents and offerings, were distinguished with countless favours and kindnesses, after which they returned, and it was ordered that in return for these presents (handsome) elephants⁸ should be sent. The whole of Hindustān was now in possession of Sultān Firoz with the exception of Lakhnautī which was held by Hāji Ilyās,⁹ who had come to terms with the Sultān,¹⁰ and with the exception also of the Deccan, which, after the death of Sultān Muḥammad, had come into the possession of Hasau Kāngū.

¹ See page 326, continuation of page 325, note 3. Briggs' Firishta calls it Raisseen. I. should be Rāsain, the two Rāses, i.e. Great Larās and Little Larās, Elliott, III 298.

² MS. (A) كافت.

³ MS. (A) the text reads هرني كهرا. Sarsutī is shewn in Rennell's map (Tieff. III) as lying southeast of Karnāl. Birnī Kherā, I cannot trace. Firishta Bo. Text, I. p. 263 reads بنه سر كهرة ba nahr-i-Sarkhatra. Compare Rennell's memoir, pp. 72-73.

⁴ MS. (A) بنى فرموده.

⁵ فيروز آباد نام كرد. At the village of Gāwīn on the banks of the Jumnā, Elliott, III. 302.

⁶ According to the list of Egyptian Khalifahs given in Thomas' *Pathān Kings of Dihlī* the Khalifah in 757 A.H. was Abul Fath Al-Mu'tazidbillāhi Abu Bakr ibn ul-Mustakfi billāhi. He was the sixth of the Egyptian Khalifahs. Al-Mustakfi billāhi Abul Rabi' Suleimān ibn ul-Hākim biamrillāhi was the third of this line.

⁷ MS. (A) adds و.

⁸ MS. (A) omits خوب.

⁹ مه حاجي اياس داشت.

¹⁰ MS. (A) مصالحة كرد.

And in the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) having gone to Samāna, he appointed Malik Qabūl *Sirbārdādār*¹ to proceed against² the Mughuls who had arrived on the frontier of Dipalpur. The Mughuls upon hearing particulars of the Sultān's army turned back

246. and went to their own country, and the Sultān returned to Dihli;³ and in this year the Sultān despatched some Arabian horses and foreign fruits⁴ with all kinds of choice presents by the hands of the messengers of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn of Lakhnauti who had arrived at his Court bearing many presents,⁵ and at Bihār they heard that the Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn had died, and Sultān Sikandar his son had ascended the throne in the room of his father, so they sent the horses in accordance with orders to the Court at Bihār and conducted the messengers back to Kārṇā.

⁶ And in the year 760 H., the Sultān having formed the design of attacking Lakhnauti with a vast army, left Khān-i-Jahān in Dehli, and after deputing Tātār Khān, that is to say Malik Tātār, to proceed from Ghaznin to Multān, set out and passed the rainy season in Zafarābād, and at this place, A'zam Malik Shaikhzāda-i-Bustāmī⁷ who had become intimate during his absence with Malik Ahmad Aiyāz, and by the orders of the Sultān had been banished, brought from the Dārul Khilāfat of Egypt a robe of honour for the Sultān and received the title of A'zam Khān. Saiyyid Rusūldār was sent with the messengers of Lakhnauti⁸ to the Sultān Sikandar at Lakhnauti, and Sikandar despatched five fine elephants with other costly presents and offerings to the Court. The Sultān when the rains were over leaving Zafarābād shaped his course for Lakhnauti, and while on the way set apart the requirements of kingship, and elephants and a store of rubies which at that time were held in great estimation, for the Shāhzāda Fath Khān, they

247. also struck coins in his name. When they arrived at the confines

¹ MS. (A) Sirāj 'Afif calls him Torābānd. Elliott, III. 311.

² MS. (A) برس مدن.

³ مراجعت نمود (A)

⁴ MS. (A) گیو

⁵ MS. (A) اور

⁶ The events preceding this are related by 'Afif, shewing how friendship was established between Sultān Firoz and Sultān Sikandar. Badāoni's account gives no idea of the circumstances. (See Elliott, III. 305-312.)

⁷ MS. (A) omits ~~کے~~.

⁸ A footnote to the text states that in two MSS. the words بود یافته follow the word لکھنوتی.

of Pandūah, Sultān Sikandar shut himself up in the castle of Ikdāla¹ whither his father had been in the habit of going for refuge, and after the Sultān had laid siege to that fortress Sultān Sikandar asked for quarter, and sent thirty-seven elephants with other costly presents as his humble service.

And in the year 761 H. (1359-60 A.D.) the Sultān proceeded by continuous marches by way of Pandūah² to Jaunpūr where he spent the rains, and at the close of this year he marched with a lightly equipped force³ by way of Behār towards Jājnagar, and sent his elephants and baggage to Karrā, and by uninterrupted marches arrived at Satgār⁴ the Rāi of which place⁵ withdrew, and thence he came to Bārānāsi⁶ which was the abode of the Chief Rāi, and crossed the river Mahanīlūrī,⁷ and the Rāi of Bārānāsi having taken to flight made with all haste for Tilang. The Sultān pursued him part of the way turned back to hunt,⁸ and arrived at the country of Rāi Parīhān Dev⁹ who sent a present of thirty-two¹⁰ elephants and other costly offerings. From thence the Sultān coming to Padmāwati and Param Talāo¹¹ which was the haunt of elephants of enormous size, engaged in hunting them and killed two [and they took the other three alive]¹² and Malik Ziau-l-Mulk¹³ wrote a quatrain upon this :

¹ See 'Afif's account of this. (Elliott, III. 308). Sirāj 'Afif calls this place "the islands of Ikdāla." see note 6, page 324.

² 'Afif says by way of "Qānnūj and Oudh"—Jaunpūr was we are there told so called by Sultān Firoz Shāh after Sultān Muhammād Shāh, son of Tughlaq Shāh, whose name was Jaunān, so he called the place Jaunān-pūr. He stayed there six months, during which period the city was built on the banks of the Kowāh (Gūntī).

³ 'Afif says حضرت شاہ بنگاہ در کفره گذشت the Shāh left his heavy baggage in Karrā. Text p 163. (Calc. Edu. Bibl. Ind.) see Elliott, III. 312, note 2.

⁴ MS. (A) سمنگھڑہ.

⁵ Named Adeśar ('Afif) or Rāi Sidhan (Firishṭa).

⁶ 'Afif says Banārāsi the ancient residence of the independent Rāis of Jājnagar.

⁷ MS. (A) صہندوری.

⁸ 'Afif tells us (Text, pp. 166-67) that the Sultān turned aside from the pursuit to hunt some wild elephants (see Elliott III. 312-313).

⁹ The Rājā of Beerbhoom (Briggs' Firishṭa).

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads & two three.

¹¹ MS. (A).

¹² Not in MS. (A).

¹³ MS. (A) ضیا الدین.

Verse.

The Shāh who of right¹ assumed a lasting kingdom
Seized the ends of the earth like the glorious Sun
To hunt elephants he came to Jājnagar,
Two he killed and thirty-three² he took alive.

And thence by way of Kārra he returned with all possible
haste.³

248. And in the year 762 H. (1360-61 A.D.) victorious and triumphant he came to Dehli, and after a short time he gave orders for an expedition to the river Salima,⁴ which is a river issuing from a large mound of sand and falling into the river Sutlej which they also call Satlaz.⁵ The Salima is also called the Sarsuti,⁶ and this river consists of two large streams which are always flowing, and situated between these two streams there is a high mound or dyke, and if this were dug through the water of the Sarsuti would flow into this stream, and it flows through Sihrind and Mansūrpūr and Sāmāna.⁷

The Sultān gave orders for fifty thousand men with spades to be collected and to occupy themselves in digging through that barrier. Out of it they obtained many bones of elephants and human beings. Every bone belonging to the arm of a man was three *gaz*⁸ (in length). They were partly converted into

¹ MS. (A) **حق**.

² There is a footnote in the text which says that "in one MS. this same number occurs and it is probably correct," but on the other hand there is 'Afif's statement that there were only eight elephants, seven males and one female to begin with (Text, p. 167.) However 'Afif, Text 172, says he took with him 73 elephants alive.

³ MS. (A) **بسّرعت تمام نام نهر سالیمه**.

⁴ Compare with this Firishta's account, with which Badāoni's is almost identical. *Firishta*, Bomb. Edn. p. 265.

⁵ Firishta says **سالیہ** see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* XII. 261, for the Sarsuti & Saraswati. See also J. R. A. S. Jan. 1893, pp. 49-76. The Salima seems to answer in position to the Markanda which runs near Shāhabād S. of Ambulā.

⁶ *Gaz.* See *Aīn Akbarī* (Jarrett), II. 58 *et seq.* Throughout Hindustān there were three kinds of *gaz*—long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts each of which was called *tassūj*.

Presumably it is the short *gaz* which is here meant but even this would be about 26 inches, and taking the author's meaning to be the bones of the forearm, an ulna measuring 26 inches is hardly likely to have been human.

stone and had partly remained bone, just as they were. That stream however could not be diverted,¹ and ² in the meantime he made Sîrhind and for ten *krohs* beyond into one district, which he put under the control of Ziāul Mulk Shamsu-d-Din Abū Rijā, and ordered them to build a fort there and called it Firūzpūr which is in fact Sîrhind,³ and the Sultān from thence, went to Nagarkot whose Rājā after a siege and some fighting came in and submitted and met with royal treatment.⁴ The Sultān gave to Nagarkot the name of Muhammādābād after the deceased Sultān Muhammād; and when they brought the Sultān ice on that mountain fort he said,⁵ “when Sultān Muhammād, who is now dead and whom I regarded as a god, arrived in this place they brought him a *sharbat* mixed with ice, but he had⁶ no inclination for that beverage because I was not with him.” Accordingly they made an iced *sharbat* with several elephant and camel loads of cane-sugar which was carried with Sultān Firūz, and he ordered them to read the whole of the Qur’ān for the soul of Sultān Maḥammad and distribute the *sharbat* among the entire army. Under these circumstances they informed the Sultān⁷ that from the time when Sultān Sikandar Zūl Qarnain arrived at this place the people of that city have preserved an image of Noshāba⁸ and keep it in a room, where they worship it. There are one thousand three hundred books of the Brahmins of olden time in that idol temple which is commonly known as Jawālamukhi;⁹ a flame of fire rises from it towards heaven and is not to be extinguished, No, not by thousands of *mashks*¹⁰ of water. The Sultān having sum-

249.

¹ I take this to be the meaning. The Persian is آن جوی گند و نشاد.

² MS. (A) inserts و.

³ See *Imp. Gaz.* (Sîrhind) XII. 552, and Kāngra VII. 414.

⁴ See Elliot III. 318-319.

⁵ MS. (A) ۸۵.

⁶ MS. (A) ازان.

⁷ MS. (A) adds the word سلطان.

⁸ Firīshṭa's words are صورت نوشابه را ساخته.

⁹ Firīshṭa say Jālāmukhī جالامکھی.

¹⁰ MS. (A) *mashk*. The goatskin bag for carrying water.

Briggs in his translation adds the words “the wife of Alexander the Great,” but upon what authority does not appear. The wives of Alexander were Roxāna the daughter of Oxyartes, whom he married in 327 B.C. and

moned the Brahmins, ordered some of his translators to translate some of those books¹ into Persian. Among those translators 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālid Khānī,² who was one of the poets and *mūnshīs* of the time of Firūz wrote in verse a translation of a book on the risings and settings of the seven planets, and their good and evil import, and of auguries and omens. Its name is called up to the present day³ *Dalā'il-i-Firuzī*, and the author of this *Muntakhab* read it in Lāhor in the year 1000 H. (1591-92 A.D.) from beginning to end. It is moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects; and I saw some other books before that also which were translated in the name of 'Sultān Firūz, some of them on the Science of "Pingal"⁴ that is to say on Music, and the kinds of *Akhāra*⁵ which they call *Pātūr bāzī*, and some on other subjects. I found most of them to be profligate, and their paucity of interest is for the most part due to the triviality of their subject matter, and the difficulty of explaining it, as is evident.

The Sultān leaving there proceeded to Thathā, and the Jām,⁶ by which title the ruler of Thathā is called, entrenched himself so that the Sultān was induced by the vehemence of the rainy season, and the amount of water which was out, as well as by the dearness of

(2ndly) at Susa, 324 B.C., Barsine or Stateira the eldest daughter of Darius III, while according to some accountants (Arrian) he also took as his wife Parysatis the daughter of Ochus, at Susa, B.C. 325. Arrian is the only author who mentions this last wife. (Smith, D. G. R. Biography).

It نوشابه represents in reality either of the wives of Alexander it must be the first named whose name might have been written نوشانه, *Rushāna* and by copyist errors perverted to نوشۂا, *Nūshāba*.

Firūshṭa's original however gives no countenance to the statement in Briggs' translation.

¹ MS. (A) omits بعضی but writes بعد.

² MS. (A) reads خالی Beale (O. B. D.) calls him 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālid Khānī and mentions him as the author of the *Dalā'il-i-Firoz Shāhī*, probably on the authority of this passage.

³ MS. A مانده.

⁴ So called from *Pingala* or *Pingalanāga*, the inventor of the art of prosody. See Albirūnī, India I. 137, also Colebrooke Essays, II. 57.

⁵ The *Akhāra* is an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females. See Āīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett), III. 258. The word *Pātūr* signifies in Hindi a prostitute or dancing-girl.

⁶ 'Afīf tells us that Jām the brother of Rāī Unar, and Bānhbana (بانہبنا) his brother's son were in possession of Thathā.

grain, to abandon the siege and make with all haste for Gujrāt,¹ which country he placed under the control of Zafar Khān; then having deposed Nizāmu-l Mulk² and appointed him Nāib Wazir of Dihlī, he returned to Thathā; and on this occasion the Jām asking for quarter³ had an interview with the Sultān, and with all the *Zamīn-lārs* accompanied him to Dihlī, and from thence took his leave after being kindly treated and confirmed on his former footing as ruler of Thathā.⁴ In the year 772 H. (1370 A.D.) Khān-i-jahān the Wazīr, died, and his son Jūnā Shāh obtained that title;⁵ and the book *Chandāban*⁶ which is a *Maṣnavī* in the Hindi language relating the loves of Lūrak and Chāndā, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic work, was put into verse in his honour by Maulānā Dā'ud. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and Maḳhdūm Shaikh?⁷ Taqī-d-Dīn Waiz Rabbānī used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit,⁸ and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them, and⁹ when certain learned men of that time asked the Shaikh¹⁰ saying, what is the reason for this Hindi Maṣnavī being selected? he answered, the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the Āyats of the Qur'ān, and the sweet singers of Hindūstān. Moreover by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive.

250.

In the year 773 H. (1371-72 A.D.) Zafar Khān died and the control of that province was confirmed to his son.¹¹

¹ Encountering great difficulties on the march, so much so that for some months the impression in Dihlī was that the army had been lost ('Afif. Text, p. 211).

² Amīr Husain son of the late Amīr Mīrān (Elliott III. 326).

³ Famine appeared and his troops were starved out (Elliott III. 334).

⁴ 'Afif says the son of the Jām and Tamāchī brother of Bānbana were appointed to rule over Thathā.

⁵ See Elliott III. 371.

⁶ MS. (A) reads حداین *Hudāyan* without dots, and also reads حندی *Handū*. I have failed to obtain any information regarding this work.

⁷ MS. (A) omits شیخ.

⁸ MS. (A) برو سر مبارز.

⁹ MS. (A) reads و مردم را از استقماع آن حالات غریبه روی میداد و پرسیده اند.

¹⁰ MS. (A) اند.

¹¹ According to Firishta, Zafar Khān died in 775 H. and was succeeded by his elder son Daryā Khān.

Then in the year 776 H. (1374-75 A.D.) an event distressing to the people (death) happened to Fath Khān; and in this year Shamsu-d-Din Dāmaghāni having obtained the yellow girdle and the *Chandol* of silver, that is to say, the palanquin of honour, was appointed governor of Gujrāt in place of Zafar Khān; and since he had boasted when accepting the post on his departure, that he would send to the Court every year a hundred splendid elephants, two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves, Muqaddam-zādas¹ and Abyssinians, together with valuables and money, when he found that he could not perform his promises he was compelled to rebel.

251. And in the year 778 H. (1376-77 A.D.) the Amirs of hundreds² of Gujrāt put him to death and sent his head to the Court; thus that rebellion was quelled, and thereafter Gujrāt was put under the control of Farhatu-l-Mulk, otherwise known as Malik Mufarrih Sultāni.³

And in the year 779 H. (1377-78 A.D.) he marched towards Itāwa and Akchak⁴ and having sent the Rāis of these districts with their families to Dihli, built many fortresses on these frontiers; then having left Firozpūr and Batlāhi,⁵ in charge of the son of Malik Tāju-d-Din, and having given Akchak to Malik Afghān returned to Dihli. In this year also Malik Nizāmu-d-Din the ruler of Oudh, who was in attendance on the Sultān, died, and the governorship of that province devolved upon Malik Shaifu-d-Din his eldest son.

In the year 781 H. (1379 A.D.) having gone⁶ to Sāmāna and passing through Shāhābād and Ambāla, he came to the country at the foot of Sintūr hills,⁷ and receiving many presents from

¹ مُقَدْدَمْ زَادَة muqaddamzāda has the same meaning as خانہ زادہ Khānazād, born in the house.

² Briggs' "Ameer Jadeeda" is in the original text امیران صدہ Amīrān-i-Sada as in Badāoni.

³ We see from Firishta that it was now he acquired the title Farhatu-l-Mulk (Bo. text, p. 267).

⁴ Firishta gives the reason of this expedition, which was a rebellion of the zemindars of Itāwa. Instead of اکچاک Akchak, Firishta reads اکھال Akhal. He says اتوا و اکھل و تیلائی Itāwa, Akhal, and Tīlāi.

⁵ تیلائی Tīlāi Firishta.

⁶ MS. (A) رفتہ رفتہ.

⁷ Firishta says بدانہن کوہ سہارن پور. To the foot of the hills of Sahāran-pūr.

the Rāis and Governors and Commissioners, arrived at the capital and summoning Maliku-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, who held the title of Nuṣrat Khān,¹ from the district of Karra and Mahoba, appointed him to the Multān district,² with a view to close the door to Mughul intrigues: he then confirmed Karra and³ Mahoba together with all their dependencies upon the son of Maliku-sh-Sharq⁴ Suleimān the son of Malik Marwān, whose adopted son was Saiyyid Khizr Khān, the grandfather of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Din Badāoni who eventually succeeded to the kingdom of Dihli.

And in the year 782 H. (1380 A.D.) he raised the standard for an expedition with the intention of taking vengeance on the Khūkhar Rāi Chief of Kaithar⁵, who had invited and put to death by treachery both Saiyyid Muḥammad and Saiyyid ‘Alāu-d-Dīn his brother,⁶ who were Governors of Badāon. The rebellious Khūkhar⁷ fled towards the hills of Kumāon, accordingly after laying waste and plundering the whole of his country, he left Malik Khitāb the Afghān in the country of Sambhal⁸ to deal with the rebellion of Khūkhar, and turned back after having made over Badāon to Malik Qabūl; Qabūlpūra which at present is a quarter of Badāon lying outside the fort is called after his name; also he used to come every year for the purpose of sport and lay utterly waste the Kaithal⁹ country.

And in the year 787 H. he built a fortified town in a place called Babūli¹⁰ which is seven *krohs* from Badāon and is better

¹ MS. (A).

طرف ۲

² MS. (A).

⁴ Firishṭa calls him ملک شمس الدین سلیمان Malik Shamsu-d-Dīn Suleimān.

⁵ MS. (A) reads. دای کھو کھر مقدم کیتھر موسوم بکھر کو Firishṭa reads. The chief of Kaithar called Kharkū. مقدم کیتھر.

⁶ Firishṭa says Saiyyid Muḥammad governor of Budāon with his brothers Saiyyid ‘Alāu-d-Dīn and Saiyyid Maḥmūd.

⁷ کھر کو Kharkū (Firishṭa).

⁸ Firishṭa MS. (A) سنبول. Firishṭa calls him Malik Dā’ud Afghān.

⁹ MS. (A) کیتھر. Kaithar. Firishṭa states he had given Malik Dā’ud orders to ravage the country year by year.

¹⁰ Possibly from the abundance there of the *Acacia Arabica* known as Babūl or Kikar. However Firishṭa calls it بسویلی. Basūli.

known as Mawās,¹ and gave it the name² of Firūzpūr, and since in later times no other building was ever erected by the Sultān it became commonly known as Ākhirinpūr.³ Now-a-days although not a trace of that building remains, still from the old bricks and the foundations and general lie of that high ground it is evident that once upon a time there was a building on that site.⁴ The age of the Sultān was now nearly ninety years, and how truly had these verses come to pass—

When thou reachest eighty or ninety years
Great is the vexation thou reapest from the world;
And going further when thou reachest the hundredth stage
Death will then be to thee a form of life.

Khān-i-Jahān⁵ the Vazir who had obtained great influence in the affairs of the state, and was in a position to overthrow those who opposed his schemes of self-aggrandisement, at a hint from the Sultān destroyed one party and put to death another, and making

253. accusations of conspiracy against Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān and some of the other Maliks who were hand in glove with him, by this means turned the Sultān against him, and gave him a fixed idea⁶ that this confederacy had for their object to raise the Shāhzāda to the throne; accordingly the Sultān set his heart upon the defeat and extinction of those Amīrs. The Shāhzāda, however, after that he had been in terror for some days and had omitted to pay his respects to the Sultān, one day in private⁷ came into the Sultān's presence and loyally told him the whole truth, and informed him also of the treacherous designs of Khān-i-Jahān, so that the tables were turned.⁸ Obtaining *carte blanche* from the Sultān to defeat and exterminate Khān-i-Jahān, and having brought over to his

1 Or Mawāsāi MS. (A) مواسای.

2 MS. (A) نام آن گذاشت.

3 i. e. Last city.

4 MS. (A) omits ذمین.

5 Briggs says Zaffur Khān Farsy—but this is not in the text. This was Jūnān Shāh who has been mentioned, see next page, note 7.

6 MS. (A) او کرد.

7 Firishta tells us that he came in concealed in a woman's litter under the pretence that his own wife was visiting the Sultān's harem.

8 MS. (A) قضیه منعکس شد و.

side¹ the Firūzī Amīrs and the mass of the people, in the month of Rajab 789 H. (1387 A.D.) he started with a strong force to attack Khān-i-Jahān, and having wounded him plundered his house and family. Khān-i-Jahān fled² with a few followers towards Miwāt, and took refuge there with one Kūkā a Zamīndār;³ and the Shāhzāda destroyed certain of the Amīrs who had been well-disposed to Khān-i-Jahān. Subsequently to this the Shāhzāda became Vazir with full uncontrolled powers, and the Sultān having given him all the apparatus of royalty, elephants and horses, servants and insignia, and conferring upon him the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn wa-ud Dunyā Muḥammad Shāh, in the month of Sha'bān of the above mentioned year raised him to the throne, and betook himself to devotion and worship of the Most High, so that in the Friday *Khuṭbah* the names of both kings used to be mentioned;⁴ Sultān Muḥammad ordered upon a new scale the appointments and salaries of the Amīrs, and confirmed the distribution of districts, and having given Malik Ya'qūb the title⁵ of Sikandar Khān appointed him to attack Khān-i-Jahān in Miwāt; Kūkā Chūhān a Zamīndār of Miwāt⁶ bound Khān-i-Jahān and sent him to Sikandar Khān, who put him to death,⁷ and having sent his head as a present to the Court of Muḥammad Shāh set out⁸ for Gujrāt.

And in the year 790 H. (1388 A.D.) Muḥammad Shāh arrived on a hunting expedition at the Sirmūr hills, and Malik Mufarrīḥ who was in Gujrāt, in unison with the Amīrs of hundreds put Sikandar Khān to death, and the whole of his army being utterly despoiled

254

¹ MS. (A) متفق گردانیدہ

² Having first put to death Zafar Khān (*Firishta*).

³ *Firishta* calls him Kūkāe Chauhān.

⁴ See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, pp. 297 and 305.

⁵ The word خطاب must be inserted here though no copy has it.

⁶ MS. (A) omits the words زمیندار میوات.

⁷ MS. (A) بقتل رسانیدہ. The first Khān-i-Jahān was according to 'Afīf originally a Hindū. He was a native of Telingāna and a man of high position in favour with the kāi of that country. His name was Katlū, but on becoming a Muslim he was named Maqbūl. 'Afīf states that he died in 707 A. H. and when he died all Dihlī went into mourning. This Khān-i-Jahān was his son Jūnān Khān.

⁸ MS. (A) دکھل دیو.

came with the *Sipahsâlär* to Dihli ; Muḥammad Shâh, returning from the hill country, with the great carelessness which characterises youth took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khân, but spent his time in enjoyment and luxury, so that the affairs of the kingdom fell into great disorder ; and the Sultân's soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samâu-d-Dîn and Kamâlu-d-Dîn, who were the *protégés* of Muḥammad Shâh, set themselves up in opposition to them, and assembled in a spacious plain, and stoned and wounded Malik Zahiru-d-Din Lâhori whom the Shâhzâda had sent to admonish them. He came in that state before Muḥammad Shâh and informed him of what had happened, whereupon the Shâhzâda having collected forces set out to do battle with that party. The army of the Shâhzâda was victorious at first, and bore back the army of the Sultân, so that they took refuge with the Sultân Firûz. The battle raged fiercely for two days and when the Sultân's body servants found themselves in straits, they bore the Sultân, who was little more than a puppet, to the field of battle and displayed him there, and when the troops of Muḥammad Shâh and his elephant drivers set eyes upon Sultân Firûz they left fighting and came over to the Sultân. Muḥammad Shâh with the small following which remained to him, went towards the Sirmûr hills, and the army of the Sultân, which was near a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, fell upon the camp of Muḥammad Shâh, and entering his private apartments sacked them and swept them away. The Sultân at the instigation of some interested persons, unwillingly deposed Muḥammad Shâh

255. from his position as heir apparent, and conferring upon Tugħlaq Khân¹ the son of Fath Khân, his grandson, the title of Tugħlaq Shâh raised him to the position of heir-apparent. Tugħlaq Shâh beheaded Mir Hasan the son-in-law of the Sultân, who was a special favourite of Muḥammad Shâh, and having exiled Ghâlib Khân the governor of Sâmâua, sent him to the country of Bihâr. On the sixteenth of Ramazân in the year 790 H. Sultân Firûz attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence, and was buried on the borders of the

1 So Firishta. Briggs says here, p. 461, "placed his grandson Gheias-ood-Deen upon the throne." The text is تغلق شاه ولد شاهزاده فتح خان. Tugħlaq Shâh the son of the Shâhzâda Fath Khân. This was Ghâlibu-d-Dîn Tugħlaq Shâh II.

Hauz-i-Khāss, over his tomb a lofty dome was erected which is well-known. They devised two chronograms for the date of his death *Wafāt-i-Firūz* and *Naql-i-Firūz Shāh*, the second of these is deficient by one unit.¹ The duration of his reign was thirty-eight years and some months.²

All good fortune is till death and no longer,
In the dust one man is no better than another.
When a drop is thrown into the river
It cannot again be recognized.
The nature of the Heavens is to overthrow,
It is of no use to oppose the decree of Fate.
Who knows with the blood of what hearts
This stirred up dust has been mixed !
Every road, if the wise man is not blinded,
Is the hide of the elk, and shagreen from the wild ass.³

Among the poets of the reign of Firūz Shāh and his boon-companions, is Malik Aḥmad, the son of Amir Khusrū, *may God have mercy upon him*, and although there is no famous anthology of his, still there are some imitations of the writings of the earlier poets which are entered in the writings of some of the learned men; and are well-known. Among them is an imitation of this poem of Zahir⁴

256.

زهی ریو ده زرفعت کلاه گوشّه تو
کلاه گوشّه گردون زروری عیاری⁵

Hail ! thou whose cap of empire snatched in its exaltation the cap of empire of the heaven, by craftiness.

And it is said that in the first hemistich we should read

زهی طباقچه قهر تو از طریق نفاذ

Hail to thee ! the blow of whose wrath, in thy supreme power

وفات فیروز¹ و فیروز شاه². *Wafāt-i-Firūz*. These words give the value 790 while *Naql-i-Firūz Shāh* give 789.

¹ Firishta says nearly forty years, p. 271, Bo. text.

² That is to say, it is not really dust but the remains of living animals.

⁴ Zahīru-d-Dīn Tāhir ibn Muḥammad, a co-temporary of Jamālu-d-Dīn İṣfahānī and Ḥakīm Khāqānī Shīrvānī, was a native of Fāryāb.

He died in the year 598 H. and is buried at Surkhāb of Tabrīz which has been called "the Sepulchre of the Poets." His poetry was held in great estimation. (*Majma'ul-Fuṣūlā* I. 330) see also Beale O. B. D., p. 286.

⁵ MS. (A) reads عیاری for جباری see also footnote to text.

and in place of بوده (snatched) in the last hemistich we should read فگنده (thrown)] ;¹ and another is this verse

این سهل سهل بود که گوگرد سرخ خواست
گرنان خواجه خواستی آن را چه کردی

This was extremely easy, that he asked for red sulphur :²
If he had asked bread from the Khwāja, what could I have done ?

which was thus written,

این سهل سهل بود که آب حیات خواست

This would have been very easy had he asked for the water of life.

Another is in this verse,

گرمشک خواند خاک درت وا فلک مرنج
نرخ گهر بطن خریدار نشکند

If the sky calls the dust of your door musk, do not grieve,
For the jewel's worth is not affected by the abuse of the pur-chaser.

The poet had written,

گر لعل خواند منک درت مشقري مرنج

If Jupiter calls the gravel at your door rubies, do not grieve.
257. And some of his poems also I have seen, but I remember none of them, and since Malik Aḥmad was the real son of Amir Khusrū, and reminded them of his father, the King and his companions and the learned men of the age were greatly pleased with these imitations and thought them very valuable.

¹ The portion between brackets is not found in MS. (A).

The verse would then read as follows :

زهی طپانچه قهر تو از طریق نفاذ کله گوشة گوردن فگنده ز عیاری

گوگرد احمر *Gügird-i-Aḥmar* (Sulphur). The red Gügird is said to be a mineral of exceeding rarity which is only found in a mine in the Valley of the Ants; the ants of that region are the size of goats. It is said that at night a light is emitted from the mine which may be seen for many leagues, but when the mineral is taken out of the mine it does not possess this luminous property. It is an important ingredient in Al-Iksīr (Elixir of life) and just as Quicksilver is called Abūl-arwāḥ (Father of spirits), they call this Abūl-ajsād (Father of bodies).

It has various beneficial qualities (*Burhān-i-qāti'*.)

Another poet was Maulāna Maz̄hār Karra,¹ whose descendants are still living in the city of Lakhnauti and have been highly thought of and respected from generations back. There is an anthology of his consisting of fifteen or sixteen thousand verses, but inasmuch as he was more of a Mulla than a poet, his poetry is not so highly esteemed by the learned, although were they to search, they would bring to light many a good thing in the way of rarity (of expression).

Another (poet) is Qāzī ‘Ābid² who wrote this poem—

My friends say, ‘Ābid with this fine nature of yours
How is it that you have not written more poems and odes ?
To whom shall I address poems and odes, since in our time
No suitable lover and no generous patron has arisen.

This is a translation of the following poem in Arabic—

They say, thou hast given up writing poems, I reply, yes !
perforce ;
The door of claims and causes is closed.
The land is empty—there is no benefactor from whom to
hope for favours, nor is there any beauty to love.
And the strange thing is that though no one will buy poetry
Still in spite of this they appropriate and steal it.

SULTĀN TUGHLAQ SHĀH IBN FATH KHĀN IBN SULTĀN FIRŪZ

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and power by the consent of the Amirs in the year 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) in accordance with the will of his grandfather, assuming the title of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, and despatched several famous Amirs to oppose Muhammad Shāh towards the foot of the hills (of Sirmūr). Muhammad Shāh after fighting for a little betook himself to Nagar Kot, and the army of Tughlaq Shāh on account of the difficulty³ of the way turned back (to Dihlī) and Abu Bakr Khān son of Zafar Khān and grandson of Fath Khān, who was his brother's son, being panic-stricken and terrified, went to his father,⁴ and Malik Ruknu-

258.

¹ In the *Majma‘ul Fuṣḥā* he is called Mazhar-i-Hindi Qāzī of Agra (? Karra) the panegyrist of Firūz Shāh, but no particulars are given. The *Atash Kada-i-Azur* merely mentions his name as Mazharī.

² Neither the *Majma‘ul Fuṣḥā* nor *Atash Kada-i-Azur* mention this poet.

³ مَعْبُ.

⁴ بَنَانِي پدر رفت و.

d-Din Chanda Wazir, in concert with other Amirs, made friends with Abu Bakr Khān, and killed Malik (Mubārak) Kabir¹ in Firūzābād at the door of the rest house of Tughlaq Shāh, and having pursued Tughlaq Shāh and Khān-i-Jahān the Wazir² when they fled, put them to death and hung up their heads³ over the gate of the city; this event occurred in the month of Ṣafar⁴ in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.); the duration of the reign of Tughlaq Shāh, was five months and eighteen days.⁵

Verse.

[He laid low in the dust that rose of kingdom which the garden
of the king
Had cherished in its breast with endless care.]⁶

ABU BAKR SHĀH IBN ZAFAR KHĀN [IBN FATH KHĀN⁷]
IBN FIRŪZ SHĀH.

After the martyrdom of Tughlaq Shāh, by the ill-judged agreement of the Amirs assumed the Government under the above title, and at the commencement of his reign distributed appointments among the Amirs, and raised Ruknu-d-Din Chanda to the dignity of Vazir, and eventually, when he heard that Ruknu-d-Din in concert with certain of the Amirs, was plotting sedition,

259. and entertained ambitious designs upon the kingdom, got rid of him together with his following, taking possession of his elephants and treasure, obtained complete hold over Dihli and increased in power daily. In the meantime the Amirs of hundreds of Sāmāna cut to pieces Malik Sultān Shāh Khushdil, the Amir of Sāmāna, who had been sent against the Sultān Muḥammad Shāh to the country at the foot of the hills, at the head of the reservoir of Sāmāna and sacked his house, and sending his head to the Shāhzāda Muḥammad Shāh at Nagarkot invited him to come; Muḥammad Shāh accordingly left Nagarkot, and came to Sāmāna by way of Jalandhar by continuous marches, and having gathered together the

1 MS. (A) omits مبارک. Firishta calls him Amīru-l-Umarā.

2 Firishta tells us that this was Malik Firūz 'Alī son of Malik Tajū-d-Dīn.

3 MS. (A) inserts ب.

4 MS. (A) در صفر سیمین. Firishta says 21st of Ṣafar.

5 MS. (A) writes بود و هفده روز پنجماه.

6 Not in MS. (A).

7 The words in square brackets are not in MS. (A).

paraphernalia of royal magnificence, for the second time raised the standard of royalty in the month of Rabi'ul Awwal in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.), and in the following month of Rabi'ul Akhir of the same year, set out to capture Dihli with a force of 50,000, and alighted at the palace of Jahān Numā where he bestowed upon the Amirs suitable appointments; among others¹ he conferred upon the Governor of Multān the title of Khizr Khān; and Abū Bakr Shāh having raised an army for the assistance of Bahādur Nāhir Khān Zāda of Miwāt, on the (2nd) of Jumādiu-l Awwal² of the aforesaid year engaged in battle on the plains of Firuzābād with Muḥammad Shāh, and gained the day. Muḥammad Shāh, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the river Jamna and entered the Doāb, and sent Humāyūn Khān his younger son to Sāmāna, and having obtained thence a great following and the requirements of sovereignty, and taking with him certain Amirs of Hindustān with fifty thousand cavalry, a second time marched his standards towards Dihli. As it chanced he became engaged in battle with Abū Bakr 260. Shāh and was again defeated, and Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him part of the way, but considered it an excellent opportunity to return. Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Chaptar,³ which is a town on the banks of the Ganges, and giving over his following to destruction once more attempted to fight. And in the month of Muḥarram of the year 792 H. (1389-90 A.D.) Shāhzāda Humāyūn Khān having called together many Amirs from the frontier of Sāmāna to reinforce him, laid waste the country round Dihli, engaged in battle in the neighbourhood⁴ of Pānipath with 'Imādu-l-Mulk who had been sent by Abū Bakr (Shāh)⁵ with four thousand cavalry to oppose him, and being defeated retreated towards Sāmāna. And in the month of Jamādiu-l Awwal of the aforesaid year Abū Bakr Shāh marched for Chaptar (Chītar) with a strong force, with the object of opposing Muḥammad Shāh, and had encamped at a distance of twenty kroh from Dihli, when Muḥammad Shāh with

¹ MS. (A) از آنچه ملک.

² The text and MS. (A) both read بتاریخ جمیع الاولی.

³ MS. (A) چیتر Chītar. Firishta says الیسرا ۴. Jalesar. Bo. text p. 275.

⁴ MS. (A) در نواحی.

⁵ MS. (A) omits the word ماہ.

four thousand men,¹ passing unobserved round his right flank,² reached Dihli by another route and entered the palace of Humāyūn, where the populace both great and small declared in favour of him; Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him and arrived at Dihli, and having put to death Malik Bahāu-d-Din Jangi whom Muḥammad Shāh had left to guard the gates, without hesitation made for the palace of Humāyūn, and Muḥammad Shāh, being taken off his guard, was not able to oppose him and leaving by way of the door of the *Hauz-i-Khūṣ* fled again with all haste to Chaptar (Chitar) his original abode and asylum.³ Many of his noted Amīrs and of his body servants were put to death, and although Sultān Muḥammad Shāh was no longer able to stand against Abū Bakr Shāh, still⁴ the soldiery and people were very ill-disposed towards Abū Bakr Shāh, and in the month of Ramażān in the aforesaid year, Mubashir Chap and some of the slaves of Firūz Shāh's party who had been promoted to the rank of Amir, and for one reason or another bore a grudge against Abū Bakr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence⁵ with Muḥammad Shāh, and invited him;⁶ Abū Bakr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking assistance from Bahādur Nāhir set his face to go to *Kotila*⁷ of Miwāt, and set out leaving Malik Shāhin and Imādu-l-Mulk and Malik Bahri and Saifdar Khān in Dihli; then Muḥammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amīrs entered Dihli for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firūzābād with great ceremony; and Mubashir Chap,

¹ Firishta says with 4,000 chosen Cavalry.

² چپ غلط کرده. Firishta says,

و بعد از آنکه نزدیک گشت راه چپ کرده

³ جانب دهلی ایلغار فرمود که مقر و مفتر اصلی او بود (A).

⁴ MS. (A) adds here چون.

⁵ MS. (A) خطبای.

⁶ MS. (A) استدعا نمودند.

⁷ kotla. Hindī कोटला *kotlā*, a small fortress. Bahādur Nāhir was ruler of Miwāt, see Firishta Briggs, 471. This word Kotla seems to have been made use of by Firuz Shāh to designate certain of his hunting palaces. See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 292, note 3, and references there given.

By this Kotila however, Kotila of Miwāt, we may understand probably Hardwār or a town in its vicinity, which appears in Rennell's map G. n. as "Coupelé" see Elliott, III 455, n. and 458.

having received the title of Islām Khān, was promoted to the rank of Vazir, and after some time he left Firūzābād and went to the palace of Humāyūn, Juhān (Numā),¹ and gave orders for the slaves of the Firūzī party who had been a source of disturbance in the days of tumult and riot to be put to death without distinction, and many of the free men also, who came from the eastern quarters of Hindustān were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of their pronunciation,² and were put to the sword. Abū Bakr Shāh after this misfortune could not recover himself, and remained at the *Kotila* (of Miwāt) just as he was till Muḥammad Shāh³ by continuous marches came against him, and Bahādur Nāhir Miwātī and Abū Bakr Shāh who had taken refuge with him, after fighting for a long time begged for quarter and had an interview with Sultān Muḥammad Shāh. Bahādur Nāhir received a robe of honour and other marks of favour, but they imprisoned Abū Bakr Shāh in the fort of Mirath. In that self-same prison he escaped from the prison house of the world. This event took place in the year 793 H. (1390-91 A.D.)⁴ the duration of the reign of Abū Bakr Shāh was a year and a half.

¹ MS. (A) omits لما.

² This passage is not intelligible in itself, but Firishta's account explains it fully. He tells us that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereupon Muḥammad Shāh imposed upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation of this 'Shibboleth' were treated as foreigners and put to death. He writes, ناصرالدین محمد شاہ فرمود کہ هر کوہ از شما کھرا کھری گوید اصیل است و چون بطوريکہ پاد شاہ میخواست تلفظ نمیتوانستند نمود و بزیان مردم پورب و بنگالہ ادا میکردند کشتن میشند -

Firishta Bo. text p. 267.

Muhammad Shāh said "whoever among you instead of Kharā says Kharī, is a native of the country," and since (as the King in fact desired) they were not able to pronounce these words, but followed the pronunciation of people of the East and of Bengal they were put to death.

The word *Khāri* signified *brackish* as applied to water: natives of Eastern Bengal however use the word *Khārā* in place of *Khāri*, using the word as if it were an adjective agreeing with the masculine word *pāni*, water.

³ محمد شاہ MS. (A) not in the text.

⁴ There is an error in MS. (A) here which writes, در سنه ثالث و خمسين در سنه ثالث و سبعين 753 H. see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 303.

Verse.

He reckoned certain days and then he came to nothing
The time smiled to think that he too had passed away.

Verse.

262. This world is like a corpse upon which there are
 thousands of vultures
[One continually tears another with its talons,
The other rends it constantly with its beak]¹
At last, they all take to flight and
All that remains of them all is the corpse.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN FĪROZ SHĀH.

After the death of his brother's son Abū Bakr, this monarch ascended the throne of Dihli in the abovementioned year by the consent of the grandees and nobles of the State,² and assumed absolute power there being now no one left to oppose him in the kingdom. And in this same year Mufarriḥ Sultānī governor of Gujāt revolted, and Zafar Khān ibn Wajihu-l-Mulk was ordered to proceed thither.

In the year 794 H. (1391-92 A.D.) the *zamīndārs* (land-holders) of the Doāb³ breaking out into rebellion attacked the town of Balārām, and Islām Khān being appointed to proceed against Harsingrāi⁴ defeated him, while the Sultān went as far as Qanauj and Itāwa, and after punishing the infidels of that district and laying waste Itāwa, returned to Chitrā⁵ which was a favourite resort of his, and there built the city of Muḥammadābād.

In the year 795 H. (1392-93 A.D.) he appointed Malik Muqrarabu-l-Mulk to proceed against the mutineers in the district of

¹ Not in MS. (A.)

² MS. (A) reads:—

سلطان محمد شاه بن فیروز شاه بعد از فوت برادرزاده خود ابو بکر
در سنّه مذکور با تفاق اعیان دولت و رکان سلطنت بر سریر دھلی دم
از استقلال زد.

³ MS. (A) omits **مواس**.

⁴ Rājā of Itāwa.

⁵ See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 807 n. 1.

This place appears to be the same as Jalesar judging from Firishta's account.

For Jalesar see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, VII, 103.

Itāwa, who by promises and engagements¹ induced the rebels to come in, and took them to Qanauj, where he put them to death and returned to Muḥammadābād. And in the month of Shawwāl in this year, the Sultān was attacked by illness; taking advantage of this Bahādur Nāhir made an inroad upon some of the towns around Dihli. The Sultān notwithstanding his weakness proceeded to Kotla; Bahādur gave battle once and then fled, and the Sultān victorious and triumphant returned to Muḥammadābād, and was engaged in superintending the building of the city when his illness returned.

263.

In the year 796 H. (1393-94 A.D.) he appointed Shāhzāda Humāyūn Khān to oppose Shaikhā Khūkhar who had rebelled and gained possession of Lahore, but the Shāhzāda was still in the city when the Sultān² took his departure from the populous city of existence to the deserted regions of annihilation, and was buried in the mausoleum of his father on the banks of the *Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ*:³ the duration of his reign was six years and seven months.

Masnavī.

What is the world, but a wayside abode of trouble and evil?
 A house of labour and toil, a mansion of pain and affliction?
 Here is no truth and no faithfulness; here are no friends and
 no friendship;
 Hundreds of times have I seen this, and proved it by frequent
 experience.⁴

SULTĀN ‘ALĀU-D-DĪN SIKANDAR SHĀH IBN-I-MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN-I-FIROZ SHĀH,

Who bore the name of Humāyūn Khān, ascended the imperial throne in virtue of his being heir apparent, on the nineteenth of

¹ MS. (A) (ه) موارد قول و.

² He died according to Firishta's account on the 17th of Rabi'n-l-Awwal, and was buried beside his father on the banks of the *Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ*. Text, p. 278.

³ The *Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ* was a reservoir constructed by Firūz Shāh, one of his many public works. It is said in the Zafarnāma of Yazdī to be "so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other. It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dihli obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Firūz Shāh is by its side." Elliott, III, 441-501.

See also Thomas Pathān Kings, 310 note 1.

⁴ MS. (A) and footnote to Text read: دیده و از موده صدبار.

Rabi'n-l-Awwal in the year 795 H. (1393 A.D.) and after one month and sixteen days he bid farewell to this hired rest-house, and removed his effects to the permanent mansion.¹

So long as the world has been, thus has it been, and thus will it ever be.

264. The issue of affairs will be at last the same for all.

[And during the time that he was Shāhzāda, a learned man wrote and composed in his honour an imitation of the Maqāmāti Ḥarīrī I have seen a Maqāmāti from this work].²

SULTĀN MAHMŪD SHĀH IBN-I-MUHAMMAD SHĀH,

Who was his youngest son,³ ascended the throne⁴ on the twentieth of Jumādiu-l-Awwal⁵ in the aforesaid year relying upon the allegiance of the Amirs,⁶ with the title of Sultān Nāshiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd, and having bestowed upon Muqarrabu-l-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khān, he made him his heir apparent,⁷ and confirmed to the Amirs their appointments⁸ districts and titles; and with a view to restoring order in the important affairs of State, which had suffered in consequence of the dominance of the perverse infidels, he bestowed the title of Sultānu-sh-Shurq⁹ upon Khwāja-i-Jahān, and transferred him from Qananj to Bihār with full powers and uncontrolled authority, and despatched him thither. He proceeded as far as Jājnagar¹⁰ and took possession of it,

¹ And was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Hauz-i-Khāss. He reigned one month and fifteen days (Firishta).

² The portion in square brackets is not found in MS. (A).

³ Firishta also says کوچکترین پسران. the youngest of his sons. Briggs translates this “a youth, the son of.”

⁴ MS. (A) omits سلطنت.

⁵ Text reads جمادی الاولی.

⁶ The text reads here بور حکم تبیعت, but this is I venture to think wrong.

MS. (A) reads سعث and taking this together with Firishta's reading, we should, I think read بور حکم بیعت “relying upon the allegiance.”

جملہ اکابر و امورا باوری بیعت کردا سر در رقة فرمان آوردند. Firishta reads:

⁷ Firishta says became Vakīlu-s-Salṭanat and Amīru-l-Umarā.

ولایات و خطابات.

⁸ MS. (A) So also Firishta. Briggs however converts this into “Mullik-oos-Shark,” p. 478.

¹⁰ Firishta says Jaunpūr جونپور.

acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Likhnautī began to send elephants annually as presents to Dihli.

He also rebuilt¹ the greater number of the forts which the infidels had destroyed, in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandilā, Malūta,² Bahraich and Tirhut, and despatched Sārang Khān to the district of Dibālpūr to quell the rising of Shaikhā Khūkhar. And in the month of Zū Qu'dah of the same year Shaikhā Khūkhar³ fought a sharp engagement with Sārang Khān, at a place called Sāmoothala⁴ which is twelve *krohs* from Lahore, but was defeated and retired to the hill country of Jamūn; Sārang Khān thereupon left Lahore in charge of his brother 'Ādil Khān,⁵ and returned towards Dibālpūr.

And in the month of Sha'bān of this year Sultān⁶ Maḥmūd leaving Muqarrab Khān as his Viceroy in Dihli, and taking with him Sa'ādat Khān, who was commonly known⁷ as 'Abdu-r-Rashid Sultānī, marched in the direction of Biāna and Gwāliār. In obedience to the order of the Sultān a spacious chief mosque⁸ built of stone was erected in the town of Basāwar, and is standing at the present time, and when⁹ the Sultān arrived near Gwāliār, Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn Dhārwāl, and Malloo Khān¹⁰ the brother of Sārang Khān, and Mubārak Khān son of Malik Rājū¹¹ conspired against Sa'ādat Khān, but he, becoming aware of their design, arrested Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Mubārak Khān and had them put to death.¹²

¹ MS. (A) تعمیر فرمود و.

² MS. (A) دلمور.

³ MS. (A) supplies بھرگھر. Firishta says "advancing from Ajūdhān."

⁴ Firishta does not give the name of the place.

⁵ MS. (A) reads لاھوڑا برادر خویش عادل خان.

⁶ MS. (A) repeats the words

محمد مدفرب خان را به نیابت در شهر گذشتہ و سعادت خان را که
بعبد الرشید سلطانی —

⁷ MS. (A) اشتباہ داشت.

⁸ MS. (A) omits و.

⁹ MS. (A) omits چون.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits خان. Firishta calls this man Malloo Khān.

¹¹ So also Firishta.

¹² Firishta writes بکشت. Badāoni apparently always uses سیاست in the sense of capital punishment.

Malloo Khān fled to Muqarrab Khān in Dihli. The Sultān having returned to the Capital, encamped at some distance from the city, and Muqarrab Khān fearing his displeasure because he had given asylum to Malloo Khān,¹ entrenched himself and prepared to fight² and remained in his fortified position three months, and war arose between Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān.³

And in the month of Muḥarram in the year 797 H. (Nov. 1394 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd was induced by the deceitfulness of certain friends of Muqarrab Khān to leave Sa'ādat Khān, to enter the fort and come to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who thus obtained the assistance he needed. The following day Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān met on the field of battle, and Muqarrab Khān being defeated again entered the fort. Sa'ādat Khān went to Firūzābād,⁴ and acting in concert with some of the Amirs summoned Nuṣrat Khān son of Fath Khān and grandson of Sultān Firūz Shāh⁵ from Miwāt, and set him upon the throne in the month of Rabi'u-l-Awwal of the aforesaid year, with the title of Nāṣiru-d-

286. Din Nuṣrat Shāh. Nuṣrat Shāh was nothing more than a puppet, for Sa'ādat Khān assumed the whole of the authority in state matters, and some slaves of the Firūzi party and some elephant drivers joined with Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, and by some clever artifice placed him upon an elephant, and without warning fell upon Sa'ādat Khān unawares in full force; Sa'ādat Khān was paralysed and helpless, and⁶ of necessity took to flight and came

¹ MS. (A) omits خان.

² MS. (A) نصرت.

³ This account is unsatisfactory as it throws no light upon the real course of events. Firishta writes as follows:—Muqarrab Khān came out to receive the Sultān and to pay his respects, but becoming alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Malloo Khān, fled to the city where he fortified a position and began to fight. The quarrel lasted for some three months, with frequent engagements between the besiegers and the besieged, when recognizing that this was all due to Sa'ādat Khān Bārbak, Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh at the instigation of his intimates entered the city upon a favourable opportunity in the month of Muḥarram 797 H. and came to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who on the following day started from Dihli to fight against Sa'ādat Khān, but was defeated and forced to return to the city.” (Firishta, Bo. text p. 279). Cf. Briggs, p. 480.

⁴ Being compelled by the onset of the rains to decamp (Firishta).

⁵ The text reads نصرت خان بن فتح خان بن سلطان نیروز شاه. The above translation is to avoid the ambiguity which a literal rendering involves.

⁶ MS. (A) .

to Dihlī, where he sought the protection of Muqarrab Khān, and was treacherously¹ put to death by him: then the Amīrs of Nuṣrat Shāh's faction such as Muḥammad Muẓaffar Vazīr and Shihāb Nāhir and Malik Fazlu-llāh Balkhi,² and the slaves of Firūz Shāh's party one and all³ renewed their declaration of allegiance to Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh and divided the appointments afresh.

Sultān Maḥmud was known as King in Dihlī, while in Firūzābād Nuṣrat Shāh enjoyed that title,⁴ and Muqarrab Khān placed the citadel of old Dihlī under the command of Bahādur Nāhir Miwāti, and bestowed upon Malloo Khān⁵ the title of Iqbāl Khān,⁶ and day by day battles were fought between these two kings,⁷ who were like the two kings in the game of chess.⁸ Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh retained possession of the country of the Doāb, and Sanbhāl, Pānipath, Rohtak, and Jahjar,⁹ while a few old ruined forts such as Dihlī and Siri and the rest, remained in the hands of Sultān Maḥmūd, and from that time forward this proverb became a common expression: The rule of the Lord of the world (Khudāwand-i-Ālam) is from Dihlī to Pālam.¹⁰ And all over Hindustān there arose various parties each with its own Malik.¹¹

Verse.

Say, either you rule in the city, or let me rule
For the affairs of the state go to ruin between two rulers.

The affairs of the kingdom continued in this state for a space of three years, at one time the Dihlī party got the better of the Firūzābād¹² party and at another time the positions were reversed.

¹ MS. (A) omits بعذر.

² المخاطب بقتلخان. (Firishta).

³ MS. (A) omits بتمام.

⁴ See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, 312, note 1, and 318, note 1.

⁵ MS. (A) omits خان.

⁶ Firishta states that these two joined neither king waiting to see how affairs would turn out.

⁷ For a space of three years (Firishta).

⁸ That is to say could neither win nor be removed from the encounter.

⁹ Cf. Thomas *Pathān Kings*, 313, notes 1-2.

¹⁰ Ilukm-i-Khudawand-i-Ālam az Dihlī tā Pālam.

¹¹ See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 315 n. 1.

¹² MS. (A) دیروزیان.

Verse.

267. Like the kite which is six months female and six months male.¹

And in the year 798 H. (1395 A.D.) many battles took place between the *Masnad-i-'Alī*,² *Khizr Khān*, the Amir of Multān, and Sārang Khān the ruler of Dipalpūr, and, eventually, owing to the treachery of certain of the slaves of Malik Ma'wān, who was the tutor of Malik Suleimān the father of *Khizr Khān*, and in consequence of their throwing in their lot with Sārang Khān the governor of Dipalpūr,³ Multān passed from the possession of *Khizr Khān* to that of Sārang Khān, and his party began to grow weaker and weaker every day.

And in the year 799 H. (1396 A.D.) Sārang Khān having overcome⁴ Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, and Tātār Khān the Wāli of Pānipath, gained possession of the country as far as the outskirts of Dihli.⁵ Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh sent Malik Ilyās⁶ a slave of the Firuz Shāhī party with elephants and an army to reinforce Tātār Khān. He accordingly drove Sārang Khān out of Sāmāna and delivered it to Ghālib Khān.⁷

And in the month of Muḥarram 800 H. (1397 A.D.) a severe engagement took place between the two parties in the neighbourhood of the village of Kotla; Sārang Khān was defeated⁸ and fled towards Multān, and Tātār Khān proceeded to the frontier of Tilaundi, and sending Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubin in pursuit of Sārang Khān, returned. And in the month of Rabi'u-l-Awwal in the year already mentioned,⁹ Mirzā Pir Muḥammad, grandson¹⁰ of the

¹ The *Bur-hān-i-Qāzī*.

او شش ماہ نرو شش ماہ ماده میداشد و بعضی گویند یکسال نرو یکسال ماده است

It is a male for six months and a female for six months, some say one year male and one year female

The *Haiyātu-l-Haiwān* says nothing about this (art. حیا and عقاب,) but mentions a statement that the عقاب 'uqāb eagle or kite has no male, but the females are impregnated by the fox. See also I. K. (Slane) iii, 305.

² See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, n. 1.

³ MS. (A) omits the words حاکم دیپالپور.

⁴ MS. (A) omits و.

⁵ MS. (A) also *Firishta*.

⁷ In the beginning of Muḥarram 800 H. (*Firishta*).

⁸ MS. (A) reads افتاد و سمت ملٹان.

⁹ MS. (A) reads سنه مذکور.

⁶ MS. (A) omits و.

¹⁰ MS. (A) *Firishta* writes نبیوہ.

great Amir Timūr Gūrgān¹ King of Khurāsān and Māwarā-an-Nahr, had crossed the river Indus,² and was besieging the fortress of Uchh.³ ‘Ali Mālik, Sārang Khān’s lieutenant fought and held the fort for a month, and when Malik Tāju-d-Din Bakhtyār arrived at the fort of Uchh with a thousand cavalry given him by Sārang Khān, Mīrzā Pir Muḥammad left Uchh, and taking Malik Tāju-d-Din Bakhtyār and his thousand sowārs⁴ unawares in their position on the banks of the river Biāh, attacked them. The greater number of Malik Tāju-d-Din’s force fell by the sword, while those who escaped the sword were drowned in the floods of destruction;⁵ and Mīrzā Pir Muḥammad⁶ after gaining this victory pursued them with all speed,⁷ and invested the fortress of Multān.⁸ Sārang Khān held out against him for six months engaging him frequently, but at last begged for quarter, and had an interview with the Mīrzā,⁹ who took up his station in Multān pending the arrival of the great Timūr.

268.

¹ MS. (A) گورگانی. *Gurgānī*. The exact meaning of this title has been much discussed; the most recent opinion is that of Dr. Erdmann, according to whom “Kurkān or Gurgān stands for ‘son-in-law’ or for a prince who is allied by marriage with some ‘mighty monarch.’” In this way, its Mongol sense, it is used, he tells us by *Rashīdū-d-Dīn*. He also tells us that Kurkān or Gurgān represents the Chinese expression *Fu-mā* and that the Amir Timūr was called *Timūr Fu-mā* by the Chinese, because he married the daughter of Chūn-ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty. *Fu-mā* in fact means “son-in-law” in Chinese, when applied to princes, and thus is a translation of the Mongol word.”

For fuller particulars see note, page 278 of the *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī* by Elias and Ross, from which the above is extracted. In M. Pavet de Courteille’s Turki Dictionary we find “گورگان prince de la race de Timour qui épouse une fille de la race de Djengniz-Khān: prince de race royale qui épouse une fille de roi: prince né de parents issus de Khāns qui épouse la fille d’un Khakan: surnom de Timour; savant, beau, poli.” *see also Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 464. n.

² By a bridge of boats (*Firishta*). ⁸ اوجہ (Firishta.)

³ بختیار هزار سوار. ⁶ Firishta says

چنانچہ اکثر آن مردم در وقت گیریز بقتل رسیدند و بعضی در آب غرق گشتنند. Most of them were put to death as they fled, and some were drowned in the river.

⁴ MS. (A) omits بیر محمد.

⁷ MS. (A) omits تمام.

⁵ Firishta tells us that Malik Tāju-d-Din escaped with a few men and fled to Multān.

⁹ Being compelled by famine (Firishta).

And in the month of Shawwāl in the aforesaid year Iqbāl Khān, who is better known as Malloo, swore many oaths of allegiance to Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, whom he deported to the fortress of Jahānumā,¹ taking him away with elephants and an armed force; and Sultān Maḥmūd and Muqarrab Khān and Bahādur Nāhir shut themselves up in old Dihlī. On the third day from this Iqbāl Khān made a sudden attack in strong force upon Nuṣrat Shāh hoping to take him by surprise; Nuṣrat Shāh fled from Jahānumā and came to Firuzābād,² and leaving there crossed the Jamna and went to join Tātār Khān his Vazir at Pānipath. The whole³ of the army and elephants of Nuṣrat Shāh fell into the hands of the astute Iqbāl Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqbāl Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amirs peace was established between these two leaders; but after a few days⁴ Iqbāl Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān,⁵ and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him; and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and getting Sultān Maḥmūd into his power made a puppet of him and took the management of the state into his own hands. Then in the month 269. of Zū Qa'dah of the aforesaid⁶ year Iqbāl Khān wrested Pānipath by force from the followers of Tātār Khān, and seized all his baggage and his elephants and army. Tātār Khān previously to this expedition of Iqbāl Khān, had left Pānipath with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihlī but found himself quite unequal to the task, and throwing his country⁷ to the winds left Dihlī and went to Gujrat with a large following to join his father.⁸ Iqbāl Khān coming to Dihlī bestowed upon Malik Naṣiru-l-Mulk, a relation of Tātār Khān who had joined him, the title of 'Ādil Khān, and placed under his control the district of the Doāb.

And in the month of Safar of the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.) Amir

¹ MS. (A) reads نما پنلا جهان but Firishta reads نما جهان as in the text.

² MS. (A) مدد و . ³ MS. (A) تماصی . ⁴ MS. (A) دروز.

⁵ Firishta says "from motives of worldly wisdom broke his faith."

⁶ MS. (A) مددکور.

⁷ اولکا Aulaka or او لکا aulakā. A Turkī word signifying "province, ville, pays, fief" according to M. Pavet de Courteille.

⁸ His father Zafar Khān (Firishta).

Timūr the Great attacked the town of Tulumba,¹ and taking Multān, put to the sword ² the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sārang Khān whom Mirzā Pir Muḥammad had kept in confinement; proceeding thence by continuous marches he also took the fort of Bhat,³ and having taken prisoner Rāi Jaljin⁴ Bhatī put him to death together with the garrison and inhabitants of the fort.

Leaving there⁵ and taking Sāmāna, he put to death crowds of fugitives from Dipalpur and Ajūdhan and Sarsuti,⁶ who were helplessly fleeing in all directions in terror of their lives, and taking large numbers of them prisoners he took them along with him, and covering great distances he crossed the river Jamna, and entered the Doāb,⁷ and sweeping the greater part of the country

¹ Text تلینہ MS. (A) طلبیہ Firishta تلینہ. Tulumba (see Hunter Imp. Gaz., XIII. 163) is shewn in Rennell's map at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenāb, Langana being at the junction of the Chināb and Rāvī: (Tieff. III.).

Firishta says. "Arrived at a place where the river of Jamū and the Chenāb meet where there was a strong fortress called Talaubha." Briggs says "to the conflux of the Chunab with the Ravy."

From Tulumba Firishta tells us Timūr marched to Shāhnawāz where they took all the grain they required and burned the remainder. From thence he went to Ajūdhan and Bhatnīr. Shāhnawāz is shewn in Rennell's map on the Eastern bank of the Rāvī, Long. 72° E. Lat. 30° 5' N. Ajūdhan is Pāk Pattan, and is about 80 miles S.-W. of Shāhnawāz. Here is the tomb of Shaikh Faridu-d-Din Ganji Shakkar which was visited by Timūr. From Ajūdhan to Bhatnīr is about 90 miles. Firishta says from Khālīskol to Bhatnīr is fifty Kroh. See Elliott III. 415 et seqq, for the description of this campaign translated from the Malfuzāt-i-Timūri. Timūr calls Khālīs kol, Khālīs Kotāli, and says it is ten kos from Ajūdhan and fifty from Bhatnīr.

² MS. (A) بہت پر.

³ MS. (A) بہت پر. Bhatpar This should be Bhatnīr, see note 1 above. Firishta says that Timūr's force accomplished the distance between Ajūdhan (Khālīs kol) and Bhatnīr in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

⁴ The Bombay text of Firishta has راؤ خلیجی Rao Khiljī, see also Briggs Firishta p. 488 footnote. Both MSS. agree with the text in giving Rāi Jaljin as the name of the governor of the fort. The Malfuzāt-i-Timūri calls him Rāo Dūl Chain, see Elliott III. 422-423.

⁵ On the 3rd of Rabi'u-l-Awwal.

⁶ 5th of Rabi'u-l-Awwal, see Elliott III. 426-428.

⁷ MS. (A) دو آب در آمدہ کردہ میان.

with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage, camped on the banks of the river Jamna opposite the town of Lūnī¹ not far from Dihlī;² and at this camp he put to the sword about fifty thousand prisoners who had fallen³ into the hands of his soldiery before reaching the river Ganges; and some of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his army also, who had not the slightest acquaintance with the sword, taking all these Hindustāni Muslims for Hindūs, in their desire for the reward of holy war⁴ sent many of them with their own hands into the next world.

270. Then in the month of Jamaidu-l-Awwal 801 H. the great Timūr crossed the Jamna and encamped at Firuzābād⁵ and the next day encamped above the Hauz-i-Khāss. Iqbāl Khān having got ready a force of men and elephants, came out against him and engaged his troops, but was defeated in the first engagement, and in spite of all their efforts they were not able to withdraw even a portion of the elephants into the city,⁶ so complete was the rout. And in this defeat⁷ many were killed, and when the glittering soldiers of the army of the night had routed the troops of the day, Iqbāl Khān and Sultān Maḥmūd leaving their families and friends

¹ Lūnī, seven miles N. N.-W. of Dihlī. Tieff. I. 136. Lounī ville autre fois peuplée et munie d'un fort. Timūr arrived there on the 27th Rabī'u-l-Awwal. Lūnī was situated on a Doāb between the Jamna and the Halin.

² MS. (A) ندیکی.

⁸ MS. (A) اوقناد بود.

⁴ The reward of the غازی “Ghāzī” or one who fights in the cause of Islām is thus defined “God is sponsor for him who goes forth to fight in the road of God, for his satisfaction and for that of his Prophet.” He shall if he be not killed, return to his home with plunder and rewards. And if he die, his reward is Paradise (*Mishkāt*, XVII, 1).

The جهاد jihād or holy war is a duty enjoined in several passages in the Qur'ān and the Traditions, and its rewards are those of Paradise. (See Hughes Dict. of Islām, Art. *Jihād*).

⁵ Firishta states that he dug a deep trench and fastened a number of cows and buffaloes together with raw hide, stationing sharpshooters behind them, and when Iqbāl Khān came out against him with his troops and 120 elephants defeated him with great slaughter and advanced to the Hauz-i-Khāss; and see Elliott, III, 438, *et seqq.*

The date given by Badāoni is apparently wrong, as the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri* says that Timūr crossed the Jamna on the 5th Rabī'u-l-Ākhir. See Elliott, III. 443 and note 1.

⁶ MS. (A) omits تردد and writes پشمر.

⁷ Not in MS. (A) which reads عظیم خلقی.

in the bonds of shame and disgrace, took flight.¹ Sultān Maḥmūd fled straight to Gujrāt, and Iqbāl Khān crossing the Jamna escaped to the town of Baran. On the following day the Great Timūr gave quarter to the inhabitants of Dihli, receiving from them much valuable property and many presents as the price of quarter. In the meantime however, the people of the city killed some of the soldiers, accordingly on the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners,² and took them all off towards Transoxiāna; eventually Shaikh Aḥmad Kathū³ whose tomb is well known at Sar Khez⁴ in Gujurāt near to Aḥmadābād, went along with the army and had an interview with the Great Timūr, and made apparent to him his condition as a Darvēsh, and his surpassing knowledge, moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again⁵ the learned doctors who were with the

¹ On the 7th Rabī'u-l-Āakhir.

² Firishta حکم بھارت و اسراہیل دھلی فرمود. See Elliott, III. 447.

³ MS. (A) کتو.

Shaikh Aḥmad Khattū was born at Dihli A.H. 737 (A.D. 1336) of a noble family of that city. His name was Naṣīru-d-Dīn. He was a disciple of Bābā Ishaq Maghrībī, and came to Gujurāt in the reign of Sultan Aḥmad Gujurātī (A.D. 1411-13). He was buried in Sarkhech near Aḥmadābād, Āin-i-Akbarī [Jarrett], III. 371).

Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭū surnamed Ganjbakhsh was surnamed from Khaṭṭū a village near Nāgor, the residence of his spiritual guide Bābā Ishaq Maghrībī. After his return from a pilgrimage to the holy places he came back to Gujurāt and settled first at Sarkhej and afterwards at Aḥmadābād, in the building of which he was associated with Sultān Aḥmad, A.H. 813-20.

He died at Sarkhej in 849 A.H., aged 111 years, and his mansoleum with the buildings attached are said to have been begun by Muḥammad Shāh I, the son of Aḥmad Shāh, and to have been completed by his son and successor Qutbū-d-Dīn Shāh. See Bayley, History of Gujurāt, pp. 90-91, notes.

⁴ The text reads سرکھچ احمد باد vide Āin-i-Akbarī (Blochmann), Text, II. 220.

The text of Badāoni reads سرخیز مسکنچ MS. (A) reads سرکھچ.

Tieffenthaler, I. 377 speaks of it as follows:—"A trois milles de Guzarate se trouve Sarkés, village où est le mausolée construit à grands frais par Gaus Ahmad Roi du Guzarate" again at page 375 we find "Gaus Ahmad, dont le magnifique tombeau porté par des arcades voutées, a rendu fameux le village de Sarkés, distant de 3 milles de la ville."

Sarkhej was three miles South-East from Asāwal in the vicinity of which Aḥmadābād was built by Sultān Aḥmad, 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.).

⁵ MS. (A) بختهای الزامی کردہ.

Transoxiāna force, and begged for the prisoners' lives. The Great Timūr conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded¹ to his request and liberated all the prisoners.

This signal service of the Shaikh remained ever as a debt upon the people of Hindustān ; and a full detail of this circumstance is given at length in the *Maqāmāt* of the Shaikh. A few days after

271. this victory Khizr Khān and Bahādur Nāhir Miwāti,² who had taken alarm and fled to the hill country of Miwāt, came in and paid their respects to the Great Timūr ;³ orders were issued to make all of their party prisoners, with the exception of Khizr Khān, who had apparently done some former good service which saved him. After this he raised the banner of return and seized the country at the foot of the Siwālik hills,⁴ and greatly shook that hill country as it were with an earthquake, ere he reached Lāhor.

For the date of this victory they assigned the two words رخ (Rukhā, affluence, prosperity) and خار (Khār,⁵ a thorn); and Shaikhā Khūkhar⁶ also, who had formerly served the Amir and had taken Lāhor by fraud from Sārang Khān, fell into his hands. He accordingly imprisoned him together with his wife and family, and gave orders to sack Lāhor and take the inhabitants prisoners. Then having made over Dipālpur and Multān to Khizr Khān he

¹ MS. (A) قبول فرموده.

² On Friday the 24th of Rabi'u-l-Āakhir according to the *Malīfūzāt-i-Timūri*, which gives a different account of the treatment accorded to them.

³ Badiāni omits to mention the capture of Mirnt (29th Rabi'u-l-Āakhir) and the victories on the Gauges (Jumādiū-l-Awwal 1st to 15th).

⁴ According to the account in the *Malīfūzāt-i-Timūri* this was in response to an embassy sent to Bahādur Nāhir by Timūr at Kūtilā.

⁵ Both of these words give the date. رخ = 200 + 600 + 1 = 801

خار = 600 + 1 + 200 = 801.

⁶ Timūr captured seven forts in the Siwālik hills, fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days with invariable success. The eighth fort belonged to Shaikhā Khukhar and was taken about the 15th of Jamādiū-l-Awwal (Elliott III. 407). Malik Shaikhā Khukhar was brother of Nuṣrat Khūkhar who was formerly governor of Lāhor on behalf of Sultan Maḥmūd of Dihlī. He was taken prisoner by Prince Pīr Muḥammad and Rustam and Amir Jahān Shāh, who had been sent by Timūr with an army to Lāhor for that purpose and to levy a ransom from the city of Lāhor. The *Malīfūzāt-i-Timūri* states that Timūr proceeded straight to Jammū whence his route was by Jabbān, Sambast, Barūja to Attock where he crossed the Indus. This was during the days between the 24th of Jumādiū-l-Ākher and the 3rd of Rajab. See Elliott III. 474-477; see also *Zafar Nāma* of Yazdī, Elliott III. 520-52.

said to him¹ ‘I have taken Dihli and have made a present of it to you.’ Leaving Lāhor he proceeded by uninterrupted marches by way of Kābul to his capital Samarqand while Khizr Khān went to his own territory (*jāgīr*).

At this time such a famine and pestilence fell upon Dihli that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Dihli. In this interval Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, who after his defeat by Iqbāl Khān had gone into the Doāb, seeing that he had an open field, went first to Mirath and thence to Firuzābād, and fortified the city of Dibli. ‘Ādil Khān and the other folk who had escaped from the hands of the Mughuls, coming out of the various holes and corners where they had been hiding, gathered round him; when he had got together this company he nominated Shihāb Khān to proceed to Baran against Iqbāl Khān. Whilst he was on the way, a body of Hindūs attacked Shihāb Khān suddenly by night, and raised him to the dignity of martyrdom. Iqbāl Khān with great energy and promptitude obtained possession of his elephants and army, so that from day to day his power increased, while the affairs of Nuṣrat Shāh, became more and more entangled. Iqbāl Khān leaving Baran, started in the direction of Dihli, and Nuṣrat Shāh leaving Firuzābād made for Miwāt where he died, and the four quarters of Hindustān came under the dominion of Maliks of the various tribes.²

Then in the year 802 H. (1399 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched against Shams Khān Auḥādi³ the ruler of Baiāna, and the hostile forces met in the vicinity of Nūh and Patal; fortune favoured Iqbāl Khān and Shams Khān proceeded to Baiāna. Iqbāl Khān led his army towards Kaithar and exacted contributions of money and services from Rāi Harsingh.⁴ And in this same year Khwāja-i-Jahān was received into the mercy of God in Jaunpūr.

¹ MS. (A) reads here حواہ نہودہ بروزان میرفت.

² Firishta tells us the names of these various independent rulers. See Briggs I. 498.

³ According to Firishta this was in 803 H.

⁴ MS. (A) رائی ہر سنگھ Rāi Harsing was Rāi of Itāwa. By Kaithar or Katehar is meant Rohilkhand. See Thomas Pathān Kings, p. 325, note 2.

Quatrain.

How long wilt thou say " Who has drunk the cup of pleasure ? "
 How long wilt thou say " Who has gained the palm of fortune ? "
 What avail all these idle tales, for we must depart,
 What profit in all these empty stories, since death must come.

And Malik Mubārak Qaranqal,¹ having assumed the title of
 Mubārak Shāh, took his place.

And in Jamaidu-l-Awwal² in the year 803 H. (1400 A.D.) Shams Khān of Baiāna and Mubārak Khān son of Bahādur Nāhir had an interview with Iqbāl Khān, who taking them with him fought a battle near Baitālī on the banks of the Blackwater, which is known as the Kālāpāni, with Rāi Sir³ the ruler of that district, and overcame him, and pursued the infidels as far as the confines of Itāwa ; and on his arrival at Qanauj, Sultānu-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh came up from Jaunpūr and sat down over against him on the other bank of the river Ganges, but inasmuch as neither of them could effect a crossing, they each returned⁴ to their own

273. country without doing anything. As he returned, Iqbāl Khān treacherously put to death Shams Khān and Mubārak Khān.⁵ In this same year Turkbacha Sultāni, the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān of Sāmāna, collected a large army, and on the ninth of Rajab of this year fought a battle with Khizr Khān near Ajūdhan, and being defeated went to the town of Bhūhar, where Ghālib Khān in concert with the other Amirs put him to death.

¹ His adopted son Malik Wāsil.

² All MSS. write this constantly جمادی الاول instead of جمادی الارول.

³ Firīghta (Bo. text) says.

و چون بقصبگ بیتالی که کنار نهر گنگ است رسید رای سانیر بمقابلہ آمد

Whence he arrived at the township of Baitālī on the banks of the Ganges Rāi Sanir ... came out to oppose him.

Briggs says :—" When he reached the village of Puttyaly on the Ganges the Ray of Serinagar ... opposed him."

The Kālāpāni is the Kālī Naddī or Kālinī (see Hunter Imp. Gazett. VII. 827) lying between the Jumna and Ganges. Tīmūr calls it the Karāsū (Black water), Elliott, III. 452.

⁴ The text here is wrong ; for باز کشیدن باز کشید MS. (A).

⁵ MS (A) only says Shams Khān, but Firīghta's account includes Mubārak Khān so that the text is probably correct.

And in the year 804 H. (1401 A.D.) Sultān Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Dihli from Dhār, and although Iqbāl Khān went out to receive him, and caused him to alight at the Jahān Numā¹ palace with all expressions of service and manifestations of respect, still, since Iqbāl Khān was in possession of all the paraphernalia of royalty, Sultān Maḥmūd became very jealous of him and took him with him towards Qanauj. And in this year Māliku-sh-Sharq Mu'bārak Shāh died, and his younger brother Sultān Ibrāhīm succeeded him, and came out to fight with Sultān Maḥmūd and Iqbāl Khān. Sultān Maḥmūd before engaging in conflict left the army of Iqbāl Khān under pretence of a hunting expedition, and had an interview with Sultān Ibrāhīm who treated him with scant ceremony; Sultān Maḥmūd accordingly removed Shāhzāda Fath Khān of Herāt, who was holding Qanauj on behalf of Mu'bārak Shāh, and took that fortress under his own control. The populace of Qanauj, both people and soldiery, joined Sultān Maḥmūd, and Sultān Ibrāhīm returned to Jaunpūr, while Iqbāl Khān retraced his steps towards Dihli, so that Sultān Maḥmūd was left in undisputed and contented possession of Qanauj.

And in the year 805 H. (1402 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān made an attack upon the country round the fortress of Gwāliār, which Rāi Harsingh² had taken by treachery from the Muslims during the invasion of Timūr, and wresting it from the possession of Bairām Dev the son of Harsingh,³ took it into his own control. 274.

And in the year 806 H. (1403 A.D.) Tātār Khān the son of Zafar Khān, forgetting his filial duty took his father prisoner by treachery and sent him to Asāwal, assuming to himself the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din Muḥammad Shāh, and set out at the head of a large army with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihli. While he was on the way his uncle Shams Khān administered poison to him and removed him, then he released Zafar Khān and the whole army joined him.

¹ MS. (A) reads جہان پانہ جہانپانہ. This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Dihli connecting old Dihli with Siri. It was situated in the midst of the inhabited city, and had thirteen gates; of the other two, Siri had seven gates, and old Dihli ten gates. See Elliott, III. 448. The palace was called Jahān Numā as in the text.

² Firīghta calls him فریشٹہ Narsingh.

³ Both MSS. and text read فریشٹہ Harsingh.

Verse.

A parricide is not fitted to be a king,
And even if he is fitted he will not last for more than six
months.

And in the year 807 H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Gwāliār and Itāwa, the Rāis of which districts all took refuge within the fortress of Itāwa, and stood siege for four months; at last they made overtures for peace, sending four elephants and other presents of suitable nature. Iqbāl Khān leaving there came to Qanauj, and fought with Sultān Maḥmūd, but was unable to effect his purpose owing to the strength of the fortifications, so returned to Dihlī without accomplishing his object.

And in the Muḥarram of the year 808 H. (1405 A.D.) he marched for Sāmāna, and from thence came to Rūpar,¹ and by stratagem laid hands upon Bahrām Khān Turkbacha, who had been an antagonist of Sārang Khān, and flayed his head. Leaving Rūpar he proceeded towards Multān, intending to fight with Khizr Khān, and at Talaundi taking with him Rāi Kainālu-d-Din Mubīn and the other *Zamīndārs*, on the nineteenth of the month of Jumādiu-l-Awwal in the abovementioned year, he engaged in battle with Khizr Khān in the neighbourhood of

275. Ajūdhan,² on the banks of a tributary (of the Satlaj);³ and since

¹ In the Umballa district, 43 miles North of Ambāla city, Lat. 20° 57' N. Long. 76° 33' E. on the south bank of the Sutlej, (Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 82).

² Ajūdhan the ancient name of Pākpattan. Lat. 30° 20' 40" N. Long. 78° 25' 50" E. It is known as Pākpattan, or Ferry of the Pure, from Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj Shakkar who is buried there. The saint was called Ganj Shakkar as he was reputed to have the miraculous power of turning into sugar whatever he put into his mouth, even earth and stones. Pilgrims from all parts of India, Afghanistan, and Central Asia flock to this shrine, and during the *Muharram* festival as many as 60,000 persons have been present. During the afternoon and night of the last day the crowds vie with one another in attempting to gain access to a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine known as the "Gate of Paradise." Whoever can force his way through this opening during the prescribed hours is assured of an entrance into Paradise. For this reason the crush is excessive and many are injured.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* X. 532-533, also Cunningham (A. G. I.) 214-219.

³ In the text and MSS. we read در کنار دھنہ دھنہ i-dihinda, which at first sight seems difficult to understand, until the old maps are consulted. We see in Rennell's map (A.D. 1782) that Ajūdhan was situated (G. g) upon an island surrounded by the Satlaj to the north, and a

ill-fortune attended Iqbāl Khān,¹ he was defeated in the very first engagement, and his horse being wounded could not bear him off the field, so that the soldiers of Khizr Khān pursued him, and cutting off his head sent it to Fathpur, one of the dependencies of Multān. And in the month of Jumaidu-l-Ākhir of this year Sultān Maḥmūd came from Qanauj at the invitation of the Amīrs of Dihlī, and once more sat upon the throne of Dihlī, and conferred appointments upon the Amīrs, and sent the family of Mubārak Khān to Kol. And in the month of Jumaidu-l-Awwal of the year 809 H. (1406 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd marched with a force towards Qanauj, and Sultān Ibrāhim came out thence and crossed the Ganges, but they both turned back without fighting.²

Sultān Ibrāhim went towards Jaunpūr, and Sultān Maḥmūd towards Dihlī, but seeing that the Amīrs of Sultān Maḥmūd's army one after the other left for their own districts as they came to them in the march, Sultān Ibrāhim turned back and besieged Qanauj; Malik Maḥmūd Tarmati, who was holding Qanauj for Sultān Maḥmūd, kept Sultān Ibrāhim engaged in fighting for four months, but when he saw that no reinforcements were arriving from any quarter he was forced to sue for peace, and surrendered Qanauj to Sultān Ibrāhim.³ Sultān Ibrāhim passed the rainy season at Qanauj, and then having made over that district to Ikhtiyār Khān the grandson of Malik Daulat Yār of Kanpila, started to reduce Dihlī.

tributary stream which left the main river to the eastward of Ajūdhan, and flowing south-west joined it again some 35 miles lower down. This explains Badāoni's statement. The town of Ajūdhan is generally said to have stood upon the bank of the Satlaj itself. Cunningham (A. G. of India 214) says "The ancient town of Ajūdhan is situated on the high bank of the old Satlej 28 miles to the south-west of Depalpur and 10 miles from the present course of the river" (1871 A.D.) But from Badāoni's statement it is clear that Ajūdhan stood, not on the banks of the Satlaj itself, but on a southern loop or tributary stream. It is the modern Pākpattan, see note 2.

¹ There is a play on the words جی Iqbāl, good fortune and بدار Idbār, bad fortune.

² According to Firishta Ibrāhim Shāh was induced to return to Jaunpūr by the intelligence that Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujrāt had taken prisoner Alp Khān, commonly called Sultān Hoshang, and was now marching on Jaunpūr.

³ MS. (A).

The text has the words کوہ فتح which seem to be superfluous. They are not in MS. (A).

And in the year 810 H. (1407 A.D.) Nuṣrat Khān Karkandāz,¹ and Tātār Khān the son of Sāraug Khān, and Malik Marhabā the slave of Iqbāl Khān, turned against Sultān Maḥmūd and joined Sultān Ibrāhim, and Asad Khān Lodi fortified himself in Sambhal. The following day Sultān Ibrāhim reduced the fortress of Sambhal and gave it to Tātār Khān: then crossing the Ganges he encamped on the banks of the Jamnā near the fort of Kicha in the vicinity of Dihli, where he learned that Zafar Khān had taken the district of Dhār² and was making his way to Jaunpur;³ accordingly leaving Malik Marhabā in Baran, he reached Jaunpur by continuous marches; Sultān Maḥmūd pursued him and having killed Malik Marhabā in battle, and taking Sambhal⁴ without a fight, left thero Bāsad Khān after his usual custom. Tātār Khān marched to Qanauj and the Sultān came to Dihli. And in this year Khizr Khān came with a large force and drove Daulat Khān out of Sāmāna.⁵ The Amirs of that district all sought an interview with him, and the whole country as far as to the outskirts of Dihli fell into his hands; only Rohtak and the Doāb remained in the possession of Sultān Maḥmūd.

And in the year 811 H. (1408 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd proceeding to Hissār Firūz took it⁶ from Qiwām Khān to whom Khizr Khān had given it, and having taken possession of it, on arriving at the village of Rata⁷ turned back towards Dihli: Khizr Khān then

¹ Or probably Gurgandāz "the wolf-slayer" MS. (A) reads کنگر. (?) *kinja*, which means a huge elephant.

² In Central India. Lat. 23° 36' N. Long. 75° 4' E. see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* IV. 248.

³ In Central India, between Lat. 25° 23' 45" and 26° 12' N. Long. 82° 10' and 83° 7' 45" E.

Sultān Ibrāhim built at Jaunpur the Atala Masjid, using for this purpose the stones of a Hindū temple the votive offering of Jai Chand which he destroyed. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* VII 152.

⁴ In Rohilkund Lat. 28° 35' 5" N. Long. 78° 36' 45" E., 23 miles S. W. of Moradābād and four miles W. of the Sot River. See Rennell's map. Tieff. III. where he places it 45 miles N. E. of Bareilly. The Sambalaka of Ptolemy. See McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 133. See also Hunter XII. 187.

⁵ Tieff. I. 133, about 25 miles S. W. of Hānsī and 100 miles to the eastward of Dihli.

⁶ MS. (A) reads اے حصار را Firishta call the fortress فیروزہ Firūza.

⁷ Or اے Rana MS. (A).

came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fathābād to oppose Sultān Maḥmūd,¹ and laid siege to Dihlī, but was not able to maintain the siege by reason of the severe famine which prevailed in Dihlī, then having taken possession of the Doāb he returned to Fathpūr.²

And in the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.)³ Bairām Khān Turkbacha,⁴ who after the death of Bahrām Khān Turkbacha had become master of Sāmāna, and had been defeated in a battle with Daulat Khān, and again revolting against Khizr Khān had had a second interview with Daulat Khān, now offered his services to Khizr Khān, and received a confirmation of the grant of the districts formerly held by him in fief. And in the year 813 H. (1410 A.D.) Khizr Khān besieged the fortress of Rohtak⁵ for six months, and after reducing it proceeded to Fathpūr.⁶ In this year Sultān Maḥmūd made an expedition to Kāithar and arrived at the capital Dihlī.

In the year 814 H. (1411 A.D.) Khizr Khān came to Narnūl⁷ and Miwāt⁸ and ravaged that country, and blockading Sultān

از فتحا باد بر آمد رهتک بجنگ سلطان آمد
دھلی را محاصرہ کرد

¹ MS. (A) reads here بزنگ سلطان آمد

² For some inscrutable reason Briggs passes over the events of two years here. cf. Firishta, Bo. text, p. 292, and Briggs, pp. 503-504.

³ The text says 712 H. MS. (A) gives 812 H.

The editor of the text gives a footnote to say that all three MSS. give 712 H.

⁴ MS. (A) inserts د before بیرام خان and omits ل after سامان.

Firishta says that Ikhtiyār Khān joined Khizr Khān seeing he was the stronger.

⁵ Held according to Firishta by Malik Idrīs on behalf of Maḥmūd Shāh.

⁶ By way of Sāmāna (Firishta).

⁷ Which was held by Iqlīm Khān and Bahādur Khān (Firishta).

⁸ Miwāt. For an account of this Province see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. IX, pp. 418 and seqq. from which the substance of this note is taken :

The Meos, a tribe which gave their name to this province were of obscure origin claiming to be Rājpūts, but probably a combination from various stocks and sources and nearly allied to the Mīnas. The original Meos probably became converts to Islam at the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī; their customs are a mixture of Hindū and Musulmān observances.

The province of Miwāt lay south of Dihlī and in Mughul times formed part of the Subah of Agra. Its most famous towns were Narnaul, Ulwur,

Mahmūd in the fortress of Sirī, which is part of Dihli,¹ and Ikhtiyār Khān in Firozābād, and fighting several fierce battles, was prevented from maintaining the siege² by reason of the dearness of grain, and returned to Fathpūr by way of Pānipat.³

And in the year 815 H. (1412 A.D.)⁴ Sultān Mahmūd departed from this world, and the kingdom passed from the family of Firuz Shāh. The duration of his reign, full as it was of turmoil and vicissitudes, was twenty years⁵ and two months, during which Sultān Mahmūd had had only the name of sovereignty.

Verse.

Who is there in this long-enduring world
Who can say "Mine is the kingdom" save the Almighty?

Verse.

A heart which the fates exalt to a lofty position
They later on entangle its neck in a noose.

Tijāra and Rewārī. Bahādur Nāhīn (who is frequently mentioned in the text) was the founder of the Khanzāda race, long the rulers of Mīwāt.

The province of Mīwāt included part of the British districts of Muttra, Gurgāon, a considerable portion of Ulwur, and some of Bhartpūr.

See Tieffenthaler. Vol. III. Map. where the province is marked.

¹ In the *Malīqāt-i-Timūrī* we read that Timūr plundered "all the three cities of Dihli, by name Sirī, Jahānpānāh and old Dihli."

See Elliott, III. p. 447, also Thomas *Pathān Kings*, p. 313, note 3.

² MS. (A) omits قوا.

³ Pānipat. A town of great antiquity. Lat. 29° 23' N. Long. 77° 1' 10" E. 53 miles N. of Dilhī. It was the scene of decisive battles on three occasions in historical times. The famous surgeons, father and son, Shaikh Hasan and Shaikh Bīnā were natives of Pānipat, see Ain-i-Akbari (B) I. 543, note to No. 94.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* XI. 44.

⁴ In the month of Zū Qa'da (Firishta). Firishta does not state the year though taken in connection with what has gone before he appears to mean 814 H. but see n 2: Badāoni however agrees, with the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*. On this point see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 317, note i.

⁵ MS. (A) reads here,

و مدت ملک بان همه تزلیز و انقلاب نوزده سال و دو ماہ بود

Firishta has almost the same words but says بیست سال twenty years as in the text. So also the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*.

Firishta's statement is not very clear as to the year in which Mahmūd died, but as he goes on to say that after his death the Amirs gave in their

Save the blood of kings there is nought in this bowl,
Save¹ the dust of lovers there is nought in this desert.

Of the poets of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd is Qāzī Zāhir Dihlāvī² who has left a Diwān (anthology) full of *qaṣīdahs* in eulogy (of Maḥmūd) of which this is one.

Heir to the mighty monarchy, Sultān Maḥmūd,
Who succeeded his father and grandfather in the sovereignty 278.
of the world;

He removed Dabarān³ from the sky to serve as his signet,
While Taurus complained saying I have but this one eye
left.⁴

By the first strain of his bow string he has wakened the Lion,
And after that he has stretched him out in sleep with the
deep-piercing arrow.

The whole world boasts of full satiation at the board of thy
favour,

Save only the lute which complains that its belly is empty.⁵
Oh thou whose world-conquering sword flashes in the dark-
ness of infidelity like to the lightning flashing through the
darkness of night,

Although the heaven has made thine enemies intoxicated
like the eyes of the beloved idols for some time, still at last
it has overthrown them.

allegiance to Daulat Khān Lodī, who struck the coinage, &c., in Maḥarram of
816 H. it is tolerably clear that he means Zu-l-Qa'da 815 H. as the date of
Maḥmūd's death, and not 814 H. as Briggs would have it.

¹ Misprint in the text. MS. (A) reads **نَجَّا**.

² Qāzī Zāhir Dihlāvī. I can find no mention of this poet.

³ المُرَبَّن The *Hyades* one of the two clusters of stars included within the
constellation *Taurus* the other being the *Pleiades*.

Ancient astronomers were not agreed as to the number of stars included
in the *Hyades*. Thales reckoned two only (α and ϵ) the two eyes of the
Bull. (Smith, Dict. Greek and Rom. Antiq. 150 a).

⁴ The constellation *Taurus* is here spoken of as having lost one of his two
eyes by which must be meant the two clusters of stars above mentioned,
and not α and ϵ of *Taurus* as reckoned by Thales.

⁵ The **ربابة rubāb** or lute, is a stringed instrument like a guitar but having
the body shaped like a hollowed gourd somewhat resembling the body of the
mandolin.

It is envy of thy generous hand which throws the ocean into tumult, for if it be not so, the ocean is never so disturbed by the winds of heaven.

The following is also by the same author :

279.

Thou art a monarch before whom the heavens bow in adoration,
 Thou art a King in whose reign time itself exults.
*Qiblah*¹ of the nation, and mainstay of kingdoms and religion, Mahmūd
 Whom the assemblies of Sultān have chosen as their Imām.²
 The Qāzī of the heavens³ comes out on foot to receive him
 When the Governor of his unerring judgment sends the summons.
 He keeps constant watch⁴ lest sedition should make a night assault,
 Thy vigilance stands with a drawn sword in its hand while the people sleep (in safety).
 In order that thy enemy may not enjoy the sweet breezes of the garden of thy favour
 The heavens have afflicted him with fever and headache in addition to catarrh.⁵

1 This line should read as in MS. (A).

قبلة خلق و قیام دول و دین مصہود.

A foot-note to the Calcutta text states that the reading there given is the same in all three MSS. of Badāoni and that probably the word **مَنْ** has dropped out after the word **بَلِيَّد**. This is a quite unnecessary supposition. The reading above given fulfils all requirements. MS. (B) corresponds save that for **بَلِيَّد** it reads **بَلِيَّد**, an evident copyist's error.

قبلة *Qiblah*. This is the direction in which Muslims are bound to turn during prayer : This is laid down in the Qur'ān, Sura II. "We see thee often turn thy face about in the heavens, but we will surely turn thee to a qiblah thou shalt like. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, wherever ye be turn your faces towards it" (v. 139). From the Hijra, Muhammad at first directed his followers to turn towards the temple at Jerusalem, but in the second year of the Hijra the Ka'bah at Mekka was fixed as the qiblah. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, s. v. *Qiblah*.

2 امام *Imām*. In this passage the word is used in the sense of *Khalifah*.

3 قاضی چرخ *Qāzī-i-Charkh*. The planet Jupiter.

4 مہددار پاس *Mehdadar Pās*.

5 This couplet is inevitably ridiculous to English ears : the meaning is that in order to deprive him of the pleasures of the perfumed breezes, he has been afflicted with the anosmia which results from a cold in the head.

The heavens have apportioned every arrow of thine to one
of the various families,
It were not possible to allot the arrows¹ in any better way
than this.

The following is also his :

My love has gone outside, do thou my life also go outside,
For if thou art not outside with my love, thou wilt be outside
the pale of love.

Specially that now, in order to uproot the infidels and rebels,²
The royal standards have gone out clothed in good fortune.

Shāh Maḥmūd, he who when he sallied forth against the
infidels,

Thou would'st say 'Isa has come forth to slay Dajjāl.³

Thy reign has cast sedition into the bondage of annihilation.

I said to the heavens, Beware ! this is a prisoner⁴ of the
Sultān, free him not !

¹ سهام Sihām, called also قداد qidāh, These are the arrows used by the ancient Arabs for gambling in the manner called الميسر Al-maisar (forbidden in the Qur'ān, II. 216, v. 92, 93). In this game a camel was bought and slaughtered, and divided into twenty-eight portions which were drawn for with ten arrows called أزلام azlām. The numbers after the names of the arrows indicate the value of the share drawn, فوز fazz (1), قوام tau'am (2), معلق muallq (3), رقيب raqib (4), نفس nāfis (5), حلس hils (6), مسبل musbal (6), معلق muallq (7).

The remaining three arrows were blanks and gained no share. Their names were سفيع safih, منيع manih, وغد waghd. The name of each arrow was written upon it and they were all put into a bag called رباة ribābah, and given into the charge of a trustworthy man known as al-mujīl or al-mufiẓ whose duty was to shake the arrows up and draw out one for each in turn. Whoever drew a blank had to pay the cost of the camel, while those who drew a winning arrow received a proportionate share according to the value of the arrow. See Majma'u-l-Bahrain, Maqāmah, XIII. p. 99.

² The couplets are here given in the order in which they occur in both MSS. (A) (B).

³ دجال Dajjāl. See page 278 n 4 " A name given in the Hadīṣ to certain religious impostors who shall appear in the world ; a term equivalent to our use of the word Antichrist. Muḥammad is related to have said there would be about thirty." Hughes' Dict of Islām. 64. See also Albirūni Chronology of Ancient Nations, pp 195-196.

⁴ MS. (A) بندى MS. (B) بندى.

This is also his :

The month of Dai¹ has arrived, and the air has in consequence become so cold²

That nothing save the icy breeze can move from its place.

The earth is cold and frost bound,³ the air is even colder than the earth,

In very truth the air is chill with the weariness of age.

In the garden the fire of the tulip and Gulnār have died down,

280. From the cold the (graceful) trees of the garden have become mere sticks.

The water is hard frozen from the cold, and says with petulance,

I will break if anyone places his foot upon my head.

No single bud comes out from its resting place in the heart of the tree, although it wears upon its cypress-like body a cap and mantle.

The bird has ceased its song when it saw the havoc wrought by autumn,

When a general pillage is going on, lamentation is futile.

Seek not for leaves and seed-bearing fruit in the garden, for to-day

The leaves have been scattered by the wind, the seeds remain hidden beneath the earth.

The morning breeze draws every breath like a deep drawn sigh, Seeing that it has cast to the winds so beauteous a being as the rose.

So far has the rose gone that should you search the East and the West,

You will not find it save in the assembly of the King of the World.

Shāh Mahmūd from the splendour of whose assemblies, there is eternal spring in the month of Dai, and the world is like Paradise.

¹ دی The tenth month of the Persian Shamsī year when the Sun is in Capricorn, corresponding to the commencement of winter.

² MS. (A) omits دی.

³ MS. (A) reads گشت از برف in place of گشت آنین. Text and MS. (B).

He who when he draws up his array, and orders it for battle,
The lines of the enemies at the very sight of him pale with
terror.¹

His heart is the rising place of sacred knowledge,² and he has
knowledge,

Because ³ he fathoms the secrets of Fate with a glance.

Oh thou who in the rules of Government art an example to
vazirs,

The vazirs have issued no order save on the authority of thy
judgment.

If it be not the intention of the wind to write a memorial
of thy virtues ⁴

Why does it scatter the leaves of the rose in the garden, 281.

The sun in comparison with thy (brilliant) judgment looks
like Suhā⁵

Although Suhā cannot be seen in the bright light of the Sun.
Thou slayest thine enemies, and Time confesses thy excellency;
Thou art the refuge of the people, and the evil doers take
shelter under thy wing.

The cupbearer of thy feast bears a cup of joy in his hand,
The herald of thy fame has the whole world beneath his feet.
The banquet of Truth cannot be spread save in praise of thee
Although the whole feast terminates with the distribution of
sweetmeats.

Hail Khusrū! even should I remain excluded from attendance
upon thee

I shall not take one moment's rest from praising and eulogising
thee.

My duty is thy service, since were I to refrain from that
I have no other occupation save singing thy praises.

¹ An adequate translation of these lines seems impossible. There is a
play upon words here which cannot be preserved in English. The words اَرَادْ صَفْرًا *tajnīs-i-lafzī* or draw upon words here which cannot be pre-
served in English. The words اَرَادْ صَفْرًا *ārad ṣafra*, have two meanings, 1st,
draws up its lines, and 2nd, grows pale, according as صَفْرًا is taken as two
words or as one.

² MS. (A) and (B) write دارد وقوفی غیب است.

³ MS. (A) write کر. Text and MS. (B) ك.

⁴ MS. (A) reads incorrectly خواهم بنوشت.

⁵ Suhā is the name of a dim star in Ursa Major. See Lane s. v. سُهَّا.

Thou hast led thine army against thy enemies, and I follow thee
 Sending early and late the army of benediction to thy assistance.
 As long as the nights of the month of Dai are longer than its days,
 And until the season of Nauroz comes round unpreceded by winter,
 May the garden of thy enjoyment blossom like the season of spring.
 May the life of thy enemies be shorter than the days of winter.

This is another of his compositions.

The scent of the rose has arisen, haste my companion to the rose-garden,

Seek for the old wine, and re-call that old love of thine.

282. The branch of the rose, like the date-palm of 'Isā, refreshes the soul in the garden

Because the breeze gently shakes it continually like Mariam.¹

Although the tender branch inclines with the wind, from one side to the other

Yet a stream flows, *Praise be to God*, up to the *Širāt-i-mustaqim*.²

The branch is full of leaves, why does the nightingale complain in its song ?

How is it possible that Moses should have patience when he has Khižr for companion ?³

¹ " So she conceived him and she retired with him into a remote place. And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm-tree and she said, ' O that I had died before this, and been forgotten out of mind ! ' and he called to her from beneath her, ' Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet ; and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to gather ; so eat and drink and cheer thine eye.' " Qur'ān. Palmer's translation. See Qur'ān. Sura XIX. vv. 20-28.

² *Širāt-i-mustaqim*. The hair-like bridge over the midst of Hell over which the righteous will pass like lightning.

Qur'ān, I. 5, Hughes art *Širāt*. It is also interpreted to mean the religion of Islām. Qur'ān, III. 44. See also Lane, s. v.

³ This refers to the legend told by Muḥammadan commentators on certain verses of the Qur'ān, that when Khižr had disappeared in search of the water of immortality, Moses was inspired to search for him and was told that he

The wind draws lines across the stream like the scribe as
he drives his pen,
The eye of the narcissus points to the sky like the eye of the
astronomer as he prepares his tables.
The parrots flaunt in green attire, the ringdove wears white
garments,
The crow is devoid of any such honourable vestments, wear-
ing as it does a black blanket.¹
You would say² that the narcissus has produced a transcript
of these people (*umam*) who sleep below the dust. Look !
it has for each *alif* two *mīms*.³
The sumbul and narcissus are copies of the locks and eyes
of the fair ones;
Of those two, one falls prostrate stricken with blackness,
the other comes intoxicated (with love).⁴

would meet him by a rock where two seas met, and where he should lose a
fish which he was directed to take with him. The companion spoken of is
said to have been Joshua, and the servant who guided them (v. 64) was no
less than Khizr himself, and when Moses asked if he should follow him said,
"Verily thou canst never have patience with me. How canst thou be patient
in what thou comprehendest no knowledge of." Khizr upon being assured
by Moses that he would be patient bade him to follow but not to ask about
anything he might see. They embarked in a ship which Khizr scuttled, where-
upon Moses naturally asked the reason and was rebuked. Further on they
met a boy whom Khizr killed and again roused Moses' impatience ; again
they found a wall which Khizr prevented from falling without exacting any
reward for his services, and again Moses became impatient whereupon Khizr
said, "This is the parting between me and thee" and explained to Moses the
reason for his action in each case. See Qur'an XVIII. 64 and following verses.

¹ The couplets are arranged in the order in which they come in the MSS.

² The text reads **گوئی** with a foot note variant **نیلی** MSS. (A) (B)
agree with text.

³ **نرجس** or **Nargis**. The poet's narcissus. *Narcissus poëticus* N. O. Amaryllidaceæ. This natural order has a single style with three stigmas, and six stamens of which the anthers burst inwards. The poet here likens the three divisions of the style to three *alifs* (!) and the stamens to six *mīms* (ؑ) the anthers forming the head of the letter, and the curved filament its downward stroke. Thus the single *alif* (!) and two *mīms* (ؑ) form he says the word **ام** *umam*: the plural of **اء** *ummātun* meaning the followers of a prophet, or a people of one religion, hence generically a generation of men as in the saying **قد مفت** *qad mafat* *generations of men have passed away.*

⁴ **سنبول** *Sumbul*. *Nardostachys Jatamansi*. N. O. Valerianaceæ. See note 6.

The rose-bud has blossomed by the blast of the breeze of
the garden,

In truth, he who has a resigned heart rejoices even when
misfortune befalls him.

You would say that the black spot which has come in the
heart of the tulip from the cruelty of autumn

Is a Hindū who has fallen¹ into the flames of hell.

She stands there on one foot lifting upwards two eyes²

Beseeching the merciful Lord³ to grant the King eternal life.

He in comparison with whose youthful fortune the heaven is
as an old man bowed with age,⁴

And for instructing his judgment, abstract Wisdom⁵ is as an
intelligent child.

When once the power of growth⁶ has obtained sufficient
intensity from his sharp sword, it splits the fruit-stone, as
his sword does the enemy, into two halves beneath the
earth.

The star of sovereignty,⁷ which has left its orbit to seek thy
auspicious presence,

Will find its proper orbit if it becomes stationary at thy
court.

page 146 : see also *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 405 et seqq for a paper on this,
the Indian Spikenard, from which the following is taken " the true nard or
Jatāmānsi which, by the way, has other names in the *Amarcōsh*, the smoothest
of which are *gatilā* and *lōmasā* both derived from words meaning hair." The
comparison of the narcissus to the eye is so familiar as to need no reference.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) فروقتہ.

² The scape of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.

³ MS. (A) رب عظیم.

⁴ I read here پیر نگونست *pir-i-nigünast* for پیر نکوست *(MSS. and text)* *pir-i-nekust* which has no intelligible meaning. Probably the author wrote
نگونست *nigünast*.

⁵ عقلِ کل 'aql-i-kull. The first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the
Angel Gabriel. In the language of the Šūfis the 'aql-i-kull (called also 'aql-
i-awwal) appears to answer to the " Logos " of the Alexandrian School. See
Kashshāfi-Istilabu-l-funūn, II, p. 1028.

⁶ قوت نایمہ نایبی.

⁷ رجوم کوکب رجوم کوکب *Rujū'-i-kaukab*, called also مَجْعَة Rijāt, is the motion of a
star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction which is known by
the term استقامۃ Istiqāmat. See *Kashshāfi*, s. v. رجوم.

And in truth after Qāzī Zāhir no poet arose in Hindūstān whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading. After the death of Sultān Mahmūd the great Amirs of Hindūstān as for instance Mubāriz Khān and Malik Idrīs who was the ruler of Rohtak, quarrelled with Khizr Khān and were disposed to make common cause with Daulat Khān, Khizr Khān accordingly stood fast in Fathpūr and made no expeditions to any country.

In Muḥarram of the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) Daulat Khān having gone towards Kaithar on a hunting expedition and having brought the Rāis of that district into his toils, went to Baitālī, and Mahābat Khān the Wāli of Badāon came thither and joined him. And in this year Sultān Ibrāhim besieged Qādir Khān the son of Mahmūd Khān in Kälpi, and Daulat Khān being very short handed, ignored him, and omitted to send reinforcements to either of these places ; and Khizr Khān in Zū-l-qāda of this year came to the fortress of Firuzābād,¹ the Amirs of which district came into him, and Malik Idrīs was besieged in Rohtak. Khizr Khān marched by that route to Miwāt and taking with him Jalāl Khān Miwāti the brother's son of Bahādur Nāhir, conveyed him to Sanbal which place he pillaged, and in Zū Hijjah of that same year he encamped before the gates of Dihli with the intention of taking it ; Daulat Khān held out for four months, but at last was compelled by the want of agreement with Malik Lonā and the other supporters of Khizr Khān to sue for peace, humbly and earnestly. He had an interview with Khizr Khān who threw him into prison, and delivered him to Qiwām Khān who conveyed him to the fortress of Firūza and slew him. This happened in the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) on the seventeenth of Rabi'u-l-Awwal.²

284.

Verse.

Everyone whom the world favours, she at last³ spills his blood,
What can be the condition of that child, whose mother is
his enemy.

MASNAD-I-ĀLĪ KHIZR KHĀN IBN MALIKU-SH-SHARQ⁴ IBN MALIK
SULEIMĀN,

In the year before mentioned after the conquest of Dilhī, having

¹ MS. (A) reads حصار فیروزہ آمد بے.

² Firishṭa adds. The duration of his reign was one year and three months.

³ MS. (A) reads عاقبة آخری.

⁴ MS. (A). The text reads ملک اشرف.

raised the standards of monarchy, became firmly established upon the throne of sovereignty.

This Malik Suleimān had been exalted in his childhood by Malik Naṣiru-l-Mulk Marwān Firūz Shāhī to the rank of a son, and had been educated accordingly. In real truth he was a Saiyyidzāda of high family, so that on one occasion Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Saiyyidu-s-Sadāt, the fountain of dignities, Shaikh Jalālu-l-Haqq wau-s-Shara'wau-d-din al-Bukhārī may God sanctify his soul, came for some important purpose into the house of Malik Marwān Daulat; food was served, and Malik Suleimān brought the ewer and basin to Makhdūm intending to pour water over his august hands. Makhdūm addressing him by the title of Malik Marwān Daulat, said, This lad is a Saiyyid Zāda, and it is derogatory to him to allot him such a menial service. From that 285. day forth, it was known that Malik Suleimān was an undoubted Saiyyid; but besides this, the signs of Saiyyidship, and good qualities and praiseworthy traits became manifestly visible in the character of Masnad-i-'Alī Saiyyid Khizr Khān.

Verse.

The Saiyyid was a man in whom were manifested

The virtues of Muḥammad, and the grace of 'Alī the accepted.

The following is an epitome of the career of Malik Marwān Daulat. He was governor of Multān in the time of Firūz Shāh, and after the death of Malik Marwān Daulat, the Government of that district devolved upon his son Malik Shaikh, shortly after whose death it was confirmed to Malik Suleimān. He also bade farewell to this world in that reign, and the country of Multān with its dependencies was conferred upon Saiyyid Khizr Khān on behalf of Sultān Firūz Shāh, up to the date when the aforesaid Saiyyid was advanced to the Sultānat by the Amirs. He however would not assume the title of King; but received the title of Rāyāt-i-A'ala.¹

On the date mentioned he alighted at the palace of Sultān Maḥmūd, and gained over the hearts of great and small by public *largesse* and unbounded favours, distributing titles, offices, and territories among his personal attendants; in the very first year of his accession he conferred upon Malik Nahv² (Tukfa) the title

¹ See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, and footnote.

² MS. (A) ~~سَمْعَانٌ~~ Tukfa.

of Tāju-l-Mulk, and appointed him with a considerable following to the command of the eastern districts of Hindūstān ; he accordingly crossed the river Ganges at the ford of Pirāhā,¹ and entered the country of Kaithar. Rāī Har Singh and the rebels of that district sought refuge in the forests of that country² and lay hid there. Then he gave over Kaithar to rapine and plunder, whereupon Mahābat Khān Hākim of Badāon also came in and had an interview with him, and Rāī Har Singh being reduced to extremities submitted to him, agreeing to the conditions imposed of the payment of tribute and of a yearly offering. Tāju-l-Mulk and Mahābat Khān seized the banks of the river Rahab, and on arriving at the ford of Sargdawārī crossed the Ganges, chastised the infidels of Kahwar (which is now known by the name of Shamsābād)³ Kanpila and Baitālī, and passing by the towns of Sakīna⁴ and Pādham came to Rāparī ;⁵ and Hasan Khān and Malik Hamra his brother, who held the government of Rāparī, and Rāī Sar the governor of Chandawār, together with the infidels of Gwāliār all came and joined hands with him, agreeing to pay tribute, and voluntarily assuming the yoke of obedience. From thence Malik Tāju-l-Mulk came to the township of Jālesar,⁶ which he wrested from the grasp of the infidels of Chandawār, and restored as of old to the control of the Muslims who had held it in days of yore, and gave fresh currency to the Muhammadan religion. Then having appointed his own agents and

286.

¹ MS. (A) از گذر پیرامہ.

² MS. (A) در جنگل آنولایت.

³ Shamsābād. Town in Farukhābād district, N.-W. P. situated on the South bank of the Buri Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh town (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, XII, 375).

⁴ Sakīna. For this we should perhaps read Sakīta (MS. (A) lends countenance to this view).

Sakīt lies in the direct route indicated between Kanpila and Rāparī, 12 miles South-East of Etah town. It was here that Bahlool Lodi died on his return to Dihli from an expedition against Gwāliār (*Ain-i-Akkari*).

⁵ Rāparī. Village and ruins 44 miles South-West of Mainpūrī town. Local tradition ascribes the foundation of the ancient city to Rāo Zorāwar Singh, also known as Rāparī Sen (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, XI, 511).

⁶ On the Doāb plain, 38 miles East of the Jumna, and of Muttra. (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, VII, 103).

having seized the right bank of the Black water,¹ inflicted condign punishment upon the infidels of Etāwali, and then returned towards the city.

And in the year 818 H. (1415 A.D.) he gave to Saiyyid Khizr Khān the younger son² of Malik Mubārak, whose countenance betokened royal dignity, the territory of Firūzpūr and Sihrind, together with the whole of the districts which were in the possession of Bairam Khān Turkbacha, and subjected the supreme control and administration of that tract of country to his will and pleasure, while Malik Sadhū Nādir,³ having assumed the control of the western portion of Hindūstān, was appointed to this office with the rank of Nāib-i-Shāhzāda (*i.e.*, vicegerent of the Prince).

And in the aforesaid year the Prince here alluded to having, in concert with Malik⁴ Sadhū Nādirā and Zirak Khān the Amir of Sāmāna and other Amirs and Maliks,⁵ set in order the important affairs of that province, and put everything upon a satisfactory footing, returned to Diblī his capital city.

And in the year 819 H. (1416 A.D.) he appointed Malik Tāju-l-Mulk⁶ with a large army to carry the standards of Khizr Khān⁷ towards Baiāna and Gwāliār; Malik Karimū-l-Mulk, the brother of Shams Khān Auḥadī came and had an interview with him.

287. Having cleared those regions of the thorns of infidelity he returned; and in this selfsame year some of the Turkbachas of Bairam Khān's party seized by treachery Malik Sadhū Nādirā, who was holding the district of Sihrind as the Shahzāda's deputy, raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and took possession of Sihrind. Khizr Khān thereupon sent Zirak Khān to put down this rebellion, and he accordingly went thence to the foot of the hills in pursuit of those rebels, but after encountering many difficulties he returned.

¹ The Kālī Nādī or Kālīndī, or Kālinī, rises in the Muzaffarnagar district, and drains the whole eastern portion of the Doāb. The name in the text آب سیاه *ab-i-siyāh* means Black water, and is a translation of the Hindūstānī *kālī naddī*.

² MS. (A) reads wrongly پسر خود for پسر خود.

³ MS. (A). The text reads نادرہ.

⁴ MS. (A).

⁵ Omit و after ملوک.

⁶ MS. (A) reads تاج الدین *Tāj-u-d-Din*.

⁷ MS. (A) ریات اعلیٰ خضر جانی.

In this year also Sultān Aḥmad, who was the ruler of Gujerāt, laid seige to Nāgor,¹ but upou hearing of the march of Khizr Khān abandoned the siege and withdrew. Khizr Khān came to Chhāin,² and Alyās Khān the governor of Chhāin gave in his allegiance to him. Thence he proceeded to Gwāliār, and although he did not reduce that fortress, still he levied tribute and offerings from it, and thence came to Baiāna where Shams Khān Auḥādi gave in his submission. And in the year 820 H. (1417 A.D.) Tūghān the Ra'is with his band who had been the murderers of Malik Sadhū revolted. Zirak Khān was again appointed (to chastise them), and scattered that gathering in all directions.

And in the year 821 H. (1418 A.D.) Khizr Khān went up against Kaithar, and Har Singh Dev, who has already been mentioned, laid waste the whole of Kaithar, and took to the forest of Ānwla, the circumference of which is twenty-four *krohs*. After several engagements he was defeated, and eventually withdrew to the hill country of Kumāon. Tāju-l-Mulk crossed the river Rahab and pursued him as far as the hills, and from there came to Badāon, and taking with him Mahābat Khān, the governor of Badāon, crossed the Ganges by the crossing of Bajlāna: then having dismissed Mahābat Khān, he himself went on to Itāwa, whence he returned to Dihli laden with spoil. In this same year, also, Khizr Khān³ again led an army against Kaithar, and proceeding by way of Kol arrived at Baitāli, where he crossed the Ganges and came to Badāon. On this occasion Mahābat

288.

¹ Nāgor. In Brigg's translation of Firīṣṭa this appears as Bagore (I. 509). It is Nagaur in Jodhpur State, Rajputānā 48 miles North-West of Nasirābād and 75 North-East of Jodhpur city.

² The text reads جہابن Jhaban but MS. (A) reads چھائی Chhāin.

In Brigg's (I. 509) we find this place called Jalwār, with a footnote: "I have some doubt as to the true name: it is differently written in my various MSS." In the lithographed edition of Firīṣṭa the name is written plainly enough جانور Jānūr (Bombay Edn. I. 294), and it is said that without waiting for Khizr Khān to advance, Aḥmad withdrew in the direction of Mālwā, and that when Khizr Khān arrived at Jānūr, Alyās Khān who was governor of the new city called 'Arūs-i-Jahān, which was one of the cities built by 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, came to pay his homage. Evidently, then, the city mentioned in our text and this "Arūs-i-Jahān" are the same.

³ MS. (A) reads here بارز بدھلی اُمد و ہم در سندھ کوڑہ باز, which appears to be a copyist's error.

Khān Badāoni being afraid of him, shut himself up in the fortress, and opposed Khizr Khān for a space of six months; he was on the point of being defeated, when Qiwām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān, and certain of the other Maḥmūd Shāhī Amirs who had seceded from Daulat Khān and had espoused the cause of Khizr Khān, meditated treason against Khizr Khān: but Khizr Khān becoming aware of this state of things¹ abandoned (the siege of) Badāon, and returned to Dihli. And in the year 822 H. (1419 A.D.) he put those traitor Amirs to death on the banks of the Ganges, in vengeance for the treachery of which they had been guilty. In the same year also an obscure person on the confines of Bajwāra,² falsely gave himself out to be Sārang Khān who had been killed some time before, and upon his assuming this name several adventurers flocked to him. Khizr Khān deputed Sultān Shāh Lodi³ to proceed against him. They fought a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Sihrind, and Sārang Khān the impostor fled and took to the mountains. Sultān Shāh made Rūpar his head quarters.⁴ In this same year Khizr Khān sent Tāju-l-Mulk to Itāwa. Rai Sipar was holding out in that fort, but sought for quarter, and consented to pay revenue to Tāju-l-Mulk.⁵ Thence he came to Chandwār, and having laid it waste and pillaged it, proceeded by way of Kaithar to Dihli. In this same year Malik Tāju-d-Din died, and the duties of his Vazirship were entrusted to his elder son Malik Sikandar. Tūghān Raīs again raised an insurrection in Sihrind, and Malik Khairu-d-Din was appointed to oppose him, and returned after having satisfactorily quelled his rebellion.

¹ MS. (A) reads قصیدہ which is preferable to دعہ as found in the text.

² Firishta, (I. 295) says نو دیک ماچیوارہ near Māchiwāra, and in the Āīn-i-Akbari we find it stated that Māchiwārah is situated on the banks of the Sutlej (Jarrett, II. 310). In Rennell's Map (Tieff. III.) we find Māchiwārah figured between Rūpar and Lüdhāna. It lies 23 miles south of Lüdhāna, and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bajwāra is further north near Hoshiarpur. (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., II. 439).

³ Firishta adds, "called Islām Khān who was the governor of Sarhind."

⁴ This appears to be the meaning of the text. Firishta tells us that Islām Khān pursued "Sārang Khān" with his own forces and those of certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself.

⁵ MS. (A) راجھی. Firishta calls him Rai Samīr.

And in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) Khizr Khān proceeded to 289. Miwāt and took Kotla; thence he hastened to Gwāliār, from the Rāi of which place he levied considerable sums and returned to Itāwa. Rāi Sipar had gone to hell, and ¹ his son had tendered his submission. In this interval ² a severe illness attacked Khizr Khān which led to his return towards Dihli. Having arrived at that city on the seventeenth of Jumādiū-l-Awwal in the above year, he was received into the mercy of God and passed away from the world.

Verse.

Every evening is followed by the morning.

At last there comes an end to every labour.

The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.³

SULTĀN MUBĀRAK SHĀH IBNI KHIZR KHĀN IBNI MALIK SULIMĀN,

In accordance with his rights as heir-presumptive ascended the throne with the consent of the Amirs in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.)⁴ and became firmly settled in the administration of his kingdom. In this year Jasrat Khūkar⁵ the son of Shaikhā Khūkar raised a rebellion, the reason of which was that he had taken unawares Sultān ‘Ali the king of Kashmīr, who had started with the intention of conquering Tatta⁶ and had defeated him in one of the mountain passes,⁷ a vast amount of plunder falling into his hands. Emboldened by this victory, he used the royal treasures which he had obtained to further an attempt to seize the kingdom of Dihli, and having crossed the rivers Biāh and Sutlej with a

¹ MS. (A) و.

² MS. (A) اُننا دوین و.

³ Firishta adds, "He was a just and wise king, kind and true to his word, his subjects loved him with a grateful affection so that great and small, master and servant, sat and mourned for him in black raiment till the third day, when they laid aside their mourning garments, and raised his son Mubārak Shāh to the throne."

⁴ MS. (A) reads correctly احمدی for MS. (B) has the same reading as the text.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) omit کھوکھر. Firishta writes کھکھر Khakar and calls him the brother of Shaikhā Khakar.

⁶ Thus the text and MS. (B). MS. (A) reads simply تاتا. Bagasba; Tatta, i.e., for the town of Tatta.

⁷ MS. (A) درون گہانی کوہ شکست داد. The text reads کھانتی.

large army, and assaulted Talaundi which was in the possession of Rāī Kainālu-d-Din Mubīn,¹ and Rāī Firūz fled from before him.

290. Jasrat came to Ludhiāna² and plundered and pillaged along the banks of the river Sutlej as far as the boundaries of Rūpar;³ there he crossed the river and came to Jālandhar.⁴ Zirak Khān had taken refuge in the fort of Jālandhar. Jasrat descended the bank of the river Sarsuti whereupon the question of peace arose; Jasrat by some treachery made Zirak Khān prisoner. Sultān Mubārak Shāh moved towards Sihriṇd, upon hearing which Jasrat Shaikhā⁵ released Zirak Khān who went to Sāmāna and offered his services to Mubārak Shāh who proceeded to Ludhiāna. Jasrat having crossed the Ludhiāna river drew up to oppose him, being in possession of the whole of the boats. The army of Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross the river, until after the rising of Canopus⁶ when the river became fordable. The Sultān then crossed the river; Jasrat fled and having

¹ We must read تلوندی کمال الدین. This is shewn to be the right reading by the collateral passage in Firishta which reads (I. p. 297), و تلوندی که برای کمال تعلق داشت فارت گرد belonged to Rāī Kamāl."

² The text and both MSS. read کدھنہ Kudāhnā, but it is evident that we should read لدھیانہ Ludhiāna. We find in Firishta (*loc. cit.*). و حبرت بلود یانہ گمڈہ. "Jasrat having come to Lūdiāna." Talaundi I cannot identify, but there is a place on the North bank of the Sutlej in Rennell's map, called Tulloom, this with the affixed genitive feminine termination (Punjābi) *di*, would give Tulūndī or Tuluṇdī, i.e., the village of Tuluṇ. Tulloom lies about 20 miles S. S.-W. of Ludhiāna (see Rennell's map, Tieff, III), on the opposite bank of the river.

³ Rūpar in Rennell's map is placed North-East of Ludhiāna about 50 miles distant: but on modern maps it is shewn almost due East of Ludhiāna and about 35 miles from it.

⁴ A place of considerable antiquity, the original capital of the Rājpūt kingdom of Katoch. It is described by Hwen Thsang as having been a town of two miles in circuit in the 7th century A.D.

It is mentioned by Ptolemy by the name of *Kulindrine* or *Sulindrine*, see Cunningham, A. G. I., pp. 135, etc., and Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, VII. 91.

⁵ MS. (A) omits بی probably correctly as we have seen from Firishta's account.

⁶ Firishta tells us they crossed on the 11th Shawwāl (October, 8th A.D. 1421).

crossed the river Chhināb¹ came to Talbar² in the hill tracts. The troops of Mubārak Khān followed him and the greater part of his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost. Rāi Bhim³ the chief of Jammoo offered his services to Mubārak Shāh and guided his army.⁴ Mubārak Shāh returned thence to Lāhor.

And in the year 825 H. (A.D. 1421) he remained encamped on the bank of the river Rāvi for nearly a month, rebuilt the city of Lāhor which had been laid in ruins during the late invasion, and completely repaired the citadel where it had been breached and levelled;⁵ then having left there Malik Mahmūd Hasan who bore the title of Maliku-sh-Sharq, returned to Dihli. Five months later Jasrat Khūkar again came against Lāhor with a large army and encamped at the abode of Shaikhū-l-Mashāikh Shaikh Hasan Zinjāni,⁶ may God sanctify him, and every day for a month made repeated efforts to take the city by assault, but eventually failing to attain his object⁷ withdrew to Kalānor⁸ and fought a battle with Rāi Bhim, and when both sides were in the midst of the fight they agreed to make peace.

291.

Malik Sikander Tuḥfa who had been despatched from Dihli to reinforce Malik⁹ Mahmūd Hasan crossed the Rāvi by the ford of Pūhi¹⁰ and encamped at Lāhor, and Jasrat feeling that he was not able to cope with the conjoint forces¹¹ crossed the Chhināb

¹ The Chenāb.

² In the Kashmīr hill tracts.

³ Firishta tells us that Rāi Bhim offered his services and guided the army to Bīsal, the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. Jasrat fled from there, his men were killed and he lost all his possessions.

⁴ MS. (A) reads رائی سلیم both here and some lines lower down.

⁵ MS. (A) reads شکستگی و پسگنگی حصار.

⁶ Firishta says فزدیرک شیخ حسین زنجانی فرود آمد.

⁷ MS. (A) بمقصود خود نرسیده.

⁸ Seventeen miles west of Gurdāspur town. Lat. 32° 1' N. Long. 75° 11' 30" E. It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father's death and ascended the throne (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., VII. 323).

⁹ MS. (A) omits ملک and reads از گذرپوشی in the next line.

¹⁰ Firishta says لیں Līn. See however note 1 next page.

¹¹ Firishta says that Mahmūd Hasan was also joined by the forces of Malik Rajab, Governor of Depālpur and of Islām Khān Lodī, Governor of Sihriṇd

river and proceeded to the hills of Talwārā,¹ and the army of Mubārak Shāh having put down that rebellion returned to Dihli.

In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Kaithar, and Mahābat Khān of Badāon who had revolted against Khizr Khān came in and submitted himself, and was distinguished by special marks of favour. Leaving there ² he crossed the Ganges and attacked the country of the Panwārs ³ in the neighbourhood of Khor otherwise known as Shamsābād,⁴ and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country ; then having left Malik Mubāriz and Zirak Khān and Kamāl Khān with a large force in the fortress of Kanpila to quell the insurrection of the rebels he returned to Dihli.

And in this year Alp Khān Governor of Dhār⁵ came with the object of chastising the Rāī of Gwāliār and with the intention of

and that Jasrat withdrew, crossed the Chhināb and Rāvī, and took refuge in the hills.

¹ This is the reading of the text. Talwārā is possibly the same as Talhar mentioned above. Dr. Stein, whom I have consulted, considers that Talwārā in the text refers to the village Talwārā on the right bank of the Chināb just opposite to the town of Rīāsi ($74^{\circ} 52'$ Long. $33^{\circ} 6'$ Lat.). This is, he says, a common place for crossing the Chināb as the route connecting Ponī with Rīāsi and Jammu is shown on the survey map (Atlas of India, Sheet 29), as passing Talwārā. Dr. Stein cannot ascertain whether the hill range rising to the north of Talwārā is designated by that name. Pūhī in the text is probably identical with Ponī. The reading of MS. (A) is در کوتله رفت went to Kotla.

² Firīghta tells us that Mahābat Khān in obedience to the orders of the Sultān crossed the Ganges and invaded the territories of the Rāthor tribe.

³ The Rāthors are a clan of the Rājpūts, and the Panwārs form another of their clans regarding whom Abul-Faḍl says "In ancient times the royal dynasty of Hindūstān came from this tribe" Mārwār is mentioned by the same author as the head-quarters of the Rāthor tribe. (See Āīn-i-Akkāri (Jarrett), II. 270 and III. 118).

For a full account of the Panwārs see Sherring (*Hindū Tribes and Castes*), II. p. 93, see also Elliot, (*Races of N.-W. P. of India*).

⁴ On the south bank of the Burī Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh.

⁵ The text reads پاری دھار Dihli with a foot-note variant دھار Dhār. MS. (A) reads دھار Dhār. Firīghta says, Sultān Hoshang Wāli of Mālwā. The town of Ujjain and Dhār have at one period or another supplied a capital to the legendary Hindū dynasties of Mālwā. (See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 245, Dhār).

subduing that region ; Mubārak Shāh upon receiving intelligence of this proceeded towards Gwāliār ; when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baiāna, Shams Khān Auḥadī¹ the son of Auḥad Khān Auḥadī, Governor of Baiāna, who had put to death by treacherous means his uncle Mubārak Khān, became alarmed and revolted, and after laying waste Baiāna entrenched himself² in the fortress, but eventually submitted.

Mubārak Shāh left that place and marched towards Gwāliār, but Alp Khān proceeding along the banks of the Chambal river³ would not permit the army of Mubārak Shāh to cross : however the soldiers of Mubārak Shāh crossed by another ford, scattered the forces of Alp Khān, and returned triumphant. This engagement led to a peaceful settlement, and Alp Khān sent in many presents and returned towards Dhār, while Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Dihlī.

And in the year 827 H. (1423 A.D.) he again ordered an expedition towards the hills of Kumāon and Kaithar, on returning whence he laid waste Miwāt. In this year a severe famine occurred throughout the whole of Hindūstān. In the year 829 H. he again proceeded towards Miwāt and reduced the fortresses of Indor and Alwar.

292.

¹ MS. (A). The text omits the words Shams Khān Auḥadī. Firīghta calls him Amir Khān ibn-i-Dā'ud Khān ibn-i-Shams Khān (*see* Bombay Edition, p. 299 last line), and says that he had entrenched himself on the heights.

² MS. (A) reads كشْمَنْ كشْمَنْ. The text reads كشْمَنْ كشْمَنْ.

³ Firīghta writes of this : And Sultān Hoshang seized the fords of the Chhanbal river and opposed his progress, but Mubārak Shāh discovered another ford and crossed rapidly ; and certain of the Amirs of the advance guard of the Dihlī forces pillaged the camp of the Sultān of Mālwā and took many prisoners, but inasmuch as these were Muslims Mubārak Shāh set them free.

Sultān Hoshang sued for peace sending in suitable offerings, and withdrew towards Dhār. Mubārak Shāh halted on the banks of the Chhanbal levying taxes on the old scale from the landholders of that district, and eventually arrived at Dihlī in the month of Rajab 827 H.

The Chambal or Chhanbal river is a river of Central India and one of the principal tributaries of the Jamna, it rises in Mālwā ; about eight or nine miles south-west of Mhow it is joined by the Kali-Sind, Parbatī and Banas, flows past Dholpur into Etāwah and joins the Jamna 40 miles below Etāwah town. The Charmanwati of Sanskrit writers. (*See* Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 831).

And in the year 830 H. he took Baiāna from Muḥammad Khān Auḥadī, and sent the family of Auḥadī to the palace known as Jahān Numā,¹ and assigned it to them as a residence. He then gave Baiāna to Malik Muqbil Khān one of his retainers, and Sikri to Malik Khairu-d-Din Tuḥfa, while he himself led an army against Gwāliār receiving the submission of the Rāis of that district.

And in the year 831 H. (1427 A.D.) ambassadors arrived in Dihli from Qādir Khan, governor of Kālpī, bringing tidings that Sharqī² was besieging him. Mubārak Shāh marched to oppose Sharqī; but in the meantime tidings arrived that Sharqī had attacked Bhūngāon³ and was encamped there, intending to proceed to Badāon.⁴ Mubārak Shāh, who had crossed the river Jamna at the ford of Nūh Patal, and had attacked Jartauli,⁵ on arrival at the township of Atrauli⁶ received intelligence that Mukhtāṣṣ Khān⁷ the brother of Sharqī had arrived on the borders of Itāwa with an army and many elephants; Mubārak Shāh detailed Maliku-sh-Sharq Mahmūd Ḥasan with ten thousand cavalry to oppose Mukhtāṣṣ Khān. Mukhtāṣṣ Khān joined hands with Sharqī who proceeded along the banks of the Black-Water, otherwise known as the Kālinī,⁸ and arrived in the vicinity of the township of Burhānābād one of the dependencies of Itāwa. Mubārak Shāh marching from Atrauli encamped at the town of

293.

¹ This palace was in Dihli. Firishta writes: "Sent his family and relations to Dihli."

² Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī.

³ The text reads بھون گاؤں *Bhūn gān w* MS. (A) reads *Bhūkānūr*.

In Firishta we find, افواج شرقیہ بھوکانور را تاختہ, The troops of Sharqī attacked Bhūngāon. Bhongāon is in the Mainpuri District, 9½ miles east from Mainpuri at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk roads. The town was founded according to tradition, by Rājā Bhim Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the *jhil* or lake. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* II. 403.)

⁴ Badāon lies N. of Bhongāon at a distance of about fifty miles.

⁵ Firishta writes, جرتولی را کہ از مشاهیر بلاد مواس بود تاختت. Attacked Jartauli, one of the famous cities of Mawās. I fail to locate this place but it must have been in the Doāb. I can find no mention of it.

⁶ Atrauli, 16 miles from Aligarh town. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* I. 180).

⁷ Firishta calls him Mukhlīs Khān.

⁸ MS. (A). The text reads Kāli Pāni. This is the Kālinī, the Karā Sū of the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* (see note 3 page 360).

Kota,¹ but Sharqi declined battle and withdrew towards Rāpri, and thence, after crossing the Jamna, proceeded to Baiāna and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as Chandwār; a space of four *krohs* lay between the two armies so that the outposts of the forces could see each other. They remained thus confronting each other for twenty days; at last Sharqi came out in force, and from mid-day till nightfall hard fighting went on between the two armies, and the event was not decided on that day; on the following day Sharqi turned back towards his own country,² and Mubārak Shāh, considering that both sides were Muslims, no longer pursued him, but went towards Satgāna,³ and having conquered that country followed the bank of the Chanbal river and came down to Baiāna.

Muhammad Khān Auḥadī, who on account of having had an (unsatisfactory) interview with Sharqi had taken fright, and had entrenched himself in the fortress, came and sought protection in an interview with Mubārak Shāh.⁴ Mubārak Shāh thereupon retraced his steps to Dihli.

And in the year 832 H. Maliku-sh-Shārq Maḥmūd Ḥasan, who had been left in Baiāna by Mubārak Shāh as his Viceroy, and had put the affairs of that place in order, and had also chastised⁵ those infidels who had made common cause with Muhammad Khān and had raised disturbances, came to Court and received substantial favours, and the fortress of Firoza was confirmed to him. In that same year Malik Rajab Nādira, governor of Multān died, and Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan received the title of 'Imādu-l-Mulk (Pillar of the State) and proceeded to Multān.

And in the year 833 H. (1429 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh went to Gwāliār by way of Baiāna, and having taken the Rāpri district from the son of Ḥasan Khān gave it to Malik Ḥamza, and returned 294.

¹ Firishta writes مالی کوٹہ *Mālik kotah*.

² Took the road to Jaunpūr (Firishta).

³ Went to Gwāliār by way of Halghāt. (Firishta). MS. (A) ساتگانہ
Satgāna.

⁴ Firishta says "Muhammad Khān Auḥadī for the reason that he despaired of any help from Sultan Sharqi, asked for quarter and tendered his submission" and was freely pardoned.

⁵ تنبیہ نمودہ MS. (A) ۳۱۵ تنبیہ نمودہ Text.

to the city (Dihli). On the way thither Saiyyid Sālim, who had served Khizr Khān for thirty years,¹ and held the fief of Tabarhinda, died. The title of Saiyyid Khān was conferred upon one of his sons, and that of Shujā'u-l-Mulk upon the other.² And Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, one of the servants of the aforesaid Saiyyid Sālim, raised a rebellion in Tabarhinda and took possession of the enormous wealth which had been amassed by Saiyyid Sālim. Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyyid Sālim, and appointed Malik Yūsuf Sarūr and Rāi Hansū Bhatī³ to oppose him (Fūlād). Fūlād Turkbacha made a night attack upon them and scattered their forces, and much valuable booty fell into his hands. Mubārak Shāh led an army against Tabarhinda, and the Turkbacha slave was besieged there. Mubārak Shāh summoned ‘Imādu-l-Mulk from Multān, and sent him with a message to the Turkbacha slave, who, after suing for quarter, came out from the fort and had an interview with ‘Imādu-l-Mulk, but did not rely upon his assurances, and returned in alarm to the fort and continued to fight. Mubārak Shāh permitted ‘Imādu-l-Mulk to proceed to Multān and himself returned to Dihli. The slave (Fūlād) continued to engage in battle at intervals with the troops of Mubārak Shāh during the six months during which he was absent. At last he sent considerable sums of money⁴ by way of presents to Shaikh ‘Ali Mughul who was the ruler of Kābul. Shaikh ‘Ali accordingly came to his assistance from Kābul with a vast army, which was reinforced by a large number of men from the borders of the Panjāb. He removed the slave

¹ Firishta writes

گویند سید السادات سید سالم مدت سی سال در جضور خضرخان از زمرة اصراء عمده بود -

"They relate that Saiyyidu-s-Sadat Saiyyid Sālim was for a period of thirty years reckoned by Khizr Khān as one of his best Amirs."

² MS. (A) ۵۱۵ Text ۵۱۵. Firishta also adds that the whole of their father's privileges together with all the immense wealth he had amassed were confirmed to these two sons, but that these favours were not sufficient to secure their fidelity to Mubārak Shāh. Badāoni's account does not explain the incident related in the subsequent passage. Firishta does, he says that these two sons of Saiyyid Sālim sent Fūlād to Tabarhinda and incited him to raise a rebellion.

³ Firishta's text reads Malik Yūsuf and Rāi Habūlī. (?)

⁴ مبلغها بوجه نمایان MS. (A). The text reads مبلغها بوجه.

(Fūlād) together with all his family and relations from Tabar-hinda and taking them with himself returned, and having crossed the river Biāh came to Lāhor. Maliku-sh-Sharq Malik Sikander, governor of Lāhor, who used to pay a yearly tribute to Shaikh 'Ali, discharged his obligation and induced him to turn his attentions elsewhere. Accordingly Shaikh 'Ali passing by Lāhor without sacking it¹ made towards Depālpūr, and 'Imādu-l-Mulk came out from Multān to oppose him. Shaikh 'Ali taking the bank of the river Rāvī, proceeded to within a short distance of Tulumba,² and turning aside from thence came to Khūtpūr.³ ('Imādu-l-Mulk) fought with Shaikh 'Ali but was defeated, and Malik Suleiman Shāh Lodi, who was with the advance guard of the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, fell in this battle;⁴ [and Shaikh 'Ali came to Khusrūābād and for a long time daily engagements were fought between him and 'Imādu-l-Mulk].⁵

295.

And in the year 834 H. (1430 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh sent a vast army to the assistance of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and appointed Fath Khān ibn-i-Sultān Muẓaffar Khān of Gujrāt to the command of that force. Shaikh 'Ali was not able to stand against them,⁶ so changed front, and retired under cover of night into an entrenchment which he had thrown up around his position; when they surrounded his entrenchment he retreated towards Jhilam, and having crossed the river there lost the greater part of his men by drowning, some were killed and some taken prisoners.⁷ Shaikh 'Ali and Amir Muẓaffar proceeded with a certain number of men to the town of Shiwar;⁸ all their baggage and property having

¹ This appears to be the meaning of the Persian.

² Tulumba is on the left bank of the Rāvī 52 miles N.E. of Multān. The old fort was situated a mile to the south of the present town. It has been identified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Panjāb, and also as the place where he crossed the Rāvī. (See Hunter Imp. Gaz. XIII 163, also Cunningham Anc. Geog. of India, 224)

³ Firīṣṭa says خاتپور Khatībpūr. The text reads somewhat obscurely here. I have supplied the words in brackets to restore the sense in English.

⁴ Which took place according to Firīṣṭa at Khyrābād three stages from Multān.

⁵ The words within brackets are not in MS. (A).

⁶ MS. (A) نیاردہ آورد Text میں نہیں آوردہ.

⁷ MS. (A) شندہ گشتند Text میں نہیں شندہ.

⁸ MS. (A) سینپور شیپور or Firīṣṭa (text) میں نہیں آوردہ.

been taken, the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk pursued them up to that point. Amir Muẓaffar remained entrenched within the fortress while Shaikh 'Alī set his face to go to Kābul. The victorious army abandoned the siege and returned to Dihli. Multān was taken away from 'Imādu-l-Mulk and given to Malik Khairu-d-Din Khān which led to great disturbances on the borders of Multān.

And in the year 835 H. (1431 A.D.) Malik Sikander,¹ governor of Lāhor, set out to quell the rebellion which Jasrat Khūkhar had stirred up at the foot of the hills. Jasrat took him² unawares and engaged him in battle; Sikander falling into the hands of Jasrat Khūkhar was taken prisoner near Jālandhar. Jasrat took his prisoner to Lāhor and besieged the city, and Saiyyid Najmu-d-Din the regent of Sikander, and Malik Khushkhabr³ the slave of Sikander, fought several battles with him. In the meantime Shaikh 'Alī collected an army and again came on to the borders of Multān,⁴ and assaulted Khūtpūr,⁵ taking prisoners the greater portion of the inhabitants of Jhilam and its vicinity, and seized Tulumba, pillaging and despoiling all the inhabitants and making them prisoners; most of them he put to death, and took the rest of them, great and small, to his own country.

In the meantime Fūlād Turkbacha, who has been mentioned above, left Tabarhinda and invaded the territory of Rāi Firoz⁶ who engaged him in battle and was slain, Fūlād sending his head to Tabarhinda.

In this year also the Sultān again led an army towards Lāhor and Multān; when he arrived in the vicinity of Sāmāna, Jasrat withdrew from in front of Lāhor towards the foot of the hills, and Shaikh 'Alī also retired to his own country. Lāhor and Jālandhar were taken from Shamsu-l-Mulk and given to Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz, and Mubārak Shāh gave orders for the family and relations of Shamsu-l-Mulk to be removed⁷ from Lāhor to Dihli, whither he himself returned.

¹ MSS. The text reads wrongly بملک.

² MS. (A) omits اورا.

³ MS. (A) reads خوشنجر Khushanjar (?).

⁴ At the instigation of Jasrat Khūkhar, according to Firishta.

⁵ See note 3 page 389. MS. (A) omits ب.

⁶ MS. (A) reads تاختہ instead of تاخت, as in the text.

⁷ Text بوند MS. (A) برد.

And in the year 836 H. (1433 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh once more hastened to Sāmāna¹ to put down the rebellion of Jasrat; when he arrived at Pānipath he received intelligence of the death of his mother, who was called Makhdūma-i-Jahān (Mistress of the world), and turned back with a small retinue² to Dihli, and having remained there ten days to perform his mourning for her, again joined his army, and detailed Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk to proceed to Tabarhinda to put down the insurrection of Fūlād. Mubārak Shāh after taking Lāhor and Jālandhar from Nuṣrat Khān gave them to Malik Allāhdād Kālū Lodi. When³ he arrived near Jālandhar, Jasrat, having crossed the river Biāh, had engaged Allāhdād Kālū⁴ at Bajwāra,⁵ and had defeated him. 297. Malik Allāhdād had fled to the hill-country.

In this year the Sultān brought an army into Miwāt against Jalāl Khān, and from thence despatching a force to operate towards Gwāliār and Itāwa, returned (to Dihli). In this same year Shaikh 'Ali coming down into the Panjāb again caused disturbances there. Mubārak Shāh accordingly nominated 'Imādu-l-mulk to reinforce the Amirs of that district. Shaikh 'Ali invaded the country from Shiwar to the banks of the Biāh, and taking great numbers prisoners and plundering, went to Lāhor. Zirak Khān and the other Amirs⁶ who were in Lāhor fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till, one night, the inhabitants of Lāhor were careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk and Malik Isma'il under cover of night succeeded in joining Zirak Khān; then sallying from the fort,⁷ gave battle and were defeated. Shaikh 'Ali pursued them, some of the fugitives were put to death, and some were taken prisoners. The following day Shaikh 'Ali took Lāhor and put to death great and small,⁸ and taking many prisoners

¹ MS. (A) سامانہ & بجائب.

² جریدہ. Firishta says تنهی he returned alone.

³ Omit و MS. (A).

⁴ MS. (A) omits کالو Kālū. ⁵ Bajwāra. A village 1½ miles E. of Hoshiārpur about 25 miles N. E. of Jālandhar.

⁶ دیکھو اُمراء کے (A).

⁷ MS. (A) supplies the words از حصار.

⁸ M.S. (A) reads خاص و عام the textual reading is probably incorrect, read خاص و عام.

remained there. And after some days, he came to Debālpūr, which Malik Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk was intending to abandon. Malik ‘Imādu-l-Mulk¹ on hearing of this despatched his brother Malik Aḥmad from Tabarhind to the fort of Debālpūr with orders to hold it. Shaikh ‘Ali becoming aware of this returned from that direction: Sultān Mubārak Shāh proceeded as far as Sāmāna in order to quell these disturbances.² From Sāmāna he proceeded to Talaundi and thence to the ford of Pūhī, where he crossed the Biāh and came to Debālpūr. Thence he marched along the banks³ of the Rāvī, and Shaikh ‘Ali crossed the Jhilam and fled,⁴ Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as the fortress of Shiwar and crossed the Rāvī near Tulumba.⁵ Amir Muẓaffar

298. Khān, brother's son to Shaikh ‘Ali, who was holding the fort with Shaikh ‘Ali's troops, fought against the king for a month, and at last sued for quarter, and gave his daughter together with a large amount of money and valuables to the prince. A part of Shaikh ‘Ali's forces who were besieged in Lāhor sought quarter from Shamsu-l-Mulk and evacuated the fort. As soon as Mubārak Shāh had completed the affair of Shiwar and the conquest of Lāhor, he proceeded with a small retinue to visit the holy shrines of the Shaikhs at Multān, and returning almost immediately came to Debālpūr and remained there for some days. Having regard to Shaikh ‘Ali (as a source of danger), he gave the districts of Lāhor and Debālpūr to Maliku-sh-Sharq ‘Imādu-l-Mulk, and taking away the districts of Baiāua from ‘Imādu-l-Mulk he gave them to Shamsu-d-din. Marching thence in light order by forced marches, he reached Dihli on the day of the ‘Id-i-Qurbān⁶ and

¹ MS. (A) omits مالک.

² MS. (A) omits و فساد and writes بِسَامَانَةٍ for بِسَامَانَةٍ بِسَامَانَةٍ.

³ MS. (A) reads incorrectly كُنَار for كُنَار.

⁴ The text and both MSS. (A), (B) read وَرَفَتْ وَرَفَتْ. The و is to be omitted.

⁵ Besieging the fort Shiwar (Firishta).

⁶ The festival of Sacrifice. This is the festival held on the 10th day of Zū-l-hijjah. It is known also as the 'Idu l-az̄hā, see Qur'ān xxii. 33—38. It commemorates the intention of Ibrāhīm to sacrifice his son Ismā'īl in obedience to the command of God. It is the chief of the Muhammādan festivals and is called 'Idu-l-kabīr, the great festival, to distinguish it from the 'Idu-l-Fitr which is known as 'Idu-q-ṣaqīr which ushers in the month of Shawwāl and celebrates the termination of the fast of Rāmazān. (See Hughes Dict. of Islām).

conferred the office of *vazīr* upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk and gave to Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk,¹ who was the Military Secretary (*Nāib-i-Lashkar*), charge of the civil administration in conjunction with Sarwaru-l-Mulk.

There was a hypocritical bond of fellowship between these two,² inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk had a grievous thorn rankling in his breast on account of the deprivation of Debālpūr, and bore a grudge against Mubārak Shāh: so that at such a juncture, seeing that he had less than ever to hope from him, he entered on a course of secret treachery and deceit. He entered into a conspiracy with the sons of Kāngū Khatri and Kajwi Khatri and Mirān Sadr Nāib-i-'Arz, (who for generations had been *protégés* of the Mubārak Shāhi family, and held several high offices) and also with another party of Muslim vagabonds, to seek an opportunity of destroying Mubārak Shāh.³

And in the year 837 H. (1433 A.D.)⁴ Mubārak Shāh built a city on the banks of the river Jamna,⁵ and gave it the name of Mubārakābād (City of Prosperity), though in reality it should have been called Kharābābād (City of Ruin), and was so zealous in building it that he spared no pains in its superintendence. In the meanwhile news of the capture of the fortress of Tabarhinda reached the court, accompanied by the head of the slave Fūlād Turkbacha.⁶ Mubārak Shāh could not contain himself for joy at this intelligence, and proceeded by forced marches to Tabarhinda⁷ and returned thence speedily to Mubārakābād. In this year tidings arrived that hostilities were going on between Sultān Ibrahim Sharqī and Alp Khān, governor of Kālpi, who had re-

299.

¹ Firishta says كمال الدين Kamālu-d-dīn.

² MS. (A) omits این.

³ Firishta names as the accomplices Sidāran, son of Kāngū Khatri and adpāl, grandson of Kanjū Khatri: with Mirān Sadr Nāib-i-'arz-i-Mamālik, Jāzī 'Abdu-s-sadr Hājib-i-Khāṣṣ and others (Firishta. *Bombay text*, I, p. 308).

⁴ MS. (A) ۸۳۷.

⁵ Briggs in his translation of Firishta (Vol. I, p. 529) assigns 839 H. as the date of the building of this city, but a reference to the original shews that the historian gives 837 H. as the date.

⁶ The text reads here باغولاد غلام but a footnote gives a variant مولاد.

⁷ this reading is confirmed by MS. (A) and also by Firishta.

⁷ Firishta says he returned direct to Mubārakābād.

ceived the title of Hoshang.¹ Mubārak Shāh accordingly sent commands in all directions for forces to be collected and held in readiness to march towards Kālpī, and that they should assemble at the Court. At this juncture Mubārak Shāh persisted in his invariable custom of visiting the site of the new city in season and out of season. One day when he had ridden out there with a body of attendants without ceremony, and was preparing to say the Friday prayers,² the infidels under Mirān Sadr, who had continually lain in wait for him at the instigation of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, seeking an opportunity (to slay him),³ with one accord entered the private apartment of Mubārak Shāh on some pretext or another, and Sidh Pāl,⁴ the grandson of the scoundrel Kajwi Khatri, put that auspicious monarch to a martyr's death. This event took place in the year 837 H. The days of his reign were thirteen years three months and sixteen days.

Verse.

Wonder not at the vicissitudes of time, for the heavens
 Retain a recollection of thousands of such stories as this.
 Set not your affections upon that which passeth away, for the
 river Dajla⁵
 Will continue to pass by Baghdād, while many Khalifahs
 come and go.

¹ Firishta throughout calls him Hoshang.

² On the 9th Rajab 837 (Firishta Bombay text I 803).

³ MS. (A) omits وقت.

⁴ The text is followed here as it agrees closely with the account given by Firishta. MS. (A) reads در محل پادشاهی در سده سده مال ساختند.....

⁵ دجلہ Dajla or Dagla, as it may also be pronounced, is the Hiddekel of the Bible (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4) لَهْلَقْ لَهْلَقْ lit., the swift. The old Persian form is Tigrā, "swift as an arrow," whence is derived Tigris, the modern name of this river. According to Pliny (VI. 27), the river in the upper part of its course where it flowed gently was called Diglito, and lower down, where it is more rapid, on account of its velocity it is called Tigris, for the Medes call an arrow by this name. According to Gesenius, in modern Persian both the river Tigris and an arrow have the common name تیر tir, which in the Zend becomes Tedjer. See Gesenius *Thes.*: also Smith *Dict. G. R. Geog.*

"The Tigris is navigable for light steamers up to Baghdad, but owing to the rapidity of the current, the traffic is all down stream carried on mainly by a primitive style of craft, which is broken up at Baghdad and transported by camels back to Mosul."

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN I FARID KHĀN,

The brother's son of Mubārak Shāh ibn i Khizr Khān, whom 300.
 Mubārak Shāh had adopted as his own son, ascended the throne in succession to Mubārak Shāh in the year ¹ 837 H. (1432 A.D.) and Sarwaru-l-Mulk, whose head was filled with treacherous designs, ostensibly owned his allegiance. Muhammād Shāh, in spite of the foregoing circumstances, conferred upon him the title of *Khān-i-Jahān* and bestowed a *khil'at* upon him, he also appointed Mirān Sadr *Mu'iinu-l-mulk*, and for a short time winked at the doings of those infidels. Maliku-sh-Sharq Kamālu-l-mulk, who was co-partner with Sarwaru-l-Mulk in the vāzirship, elected to reside outside the city, and gave in his allegiance to Muhammād Shāh. The second day after the accession Sarwaru-l-Mulk made some pretext for arresting ² certain of the servants of Mubārak Shāh, and put them to death, and left nothing undone to secure the overthrowal of the family of Mubārak Shāh; moreover, he began to divide the country among his own partisans, giving the territory of Baiāna, and Amroha, and Nārnol, and Kuhrām, together with certain districts in the Doāb, to Sidh Pāl and Sidhāran Khatri who were the (actual) murderers of Mubārak Shāh. Rānūn the Black, a slave of Sidh Pāl, arrived in Baiāna with a large following, and attempted to enter the fort; but in the meantime Yūsuf Khan Auljādī arrived from Hindwān,³ and giving him battle defeated him, and sent the greater portion of those infidels to hell. Their women and children fell as prisoners into the hands of the Muslims, and the head of Rānūn the Black was hung up over the gate of the fort. Inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk and his infidel horde began to commit violence, the Amirs of Khizr Khan and Mubārak Shāh, who were scattered here and there about the country, in several places shewed symptoms of revolt and set on foot many insurrections. Sarwaru-l-Mulk had the self-same object, namely to damage the kingdom. 301.
 Malik Allahdād Kāla Lodi, governor of Sambhal and Ahār,⁴

¹ 9th Rajab 837.² MS. (A) مسٹگیر ساخت و³ The text and both MSS. read هندوون Hindūn. Firishta reads Hindwān. Hindaun lies about 20 miles S. of Baiāna, it is situated in the Jeypore State.⁴ Ahār. In Bulandshahr District, N.-W.P., 20 miles N.E. of Bulandshahr.

and Malik Chaman¹ governor² of Badāon, grandson of Khān-i-Jahān, and Amir 'Alī Gujrātī, together with some other Amirs, raised a large following to avenge the death of Mubārak Shāh, and started towards Dihli. Maliku-sh-Sharq, Kamālu-l-Mulk, and Saiyyid Khān, son of Saiyyid Sālim, who had received the title of Khan-i-Ā'zam from Mubārak Shāh, were appointed by the *durbār* to proceed against those Amirs, and Malik Yūsuf, the son of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, together with Sidhāran and Kāngū were ordered to accompany Kamālu-l-Mulk. The Dihli army crossed by the ford of Kicha and came to Baran (Bulandshahr). Malik Allāhdād and the other noted Amirs having arrived at the township of Ahār desired to cross the Ganges without fighting and go where they could safely. But when they saw clearly that Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk was heartily bent upon taking vengeance upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk, they took courage and did not leave their positions. Sarwaru-l-Mulk becoming aware of this sent his lieutenant Malik Hushyār, under pretence of reinforcing Kamālu-l-Mulk, as a spy into their army. Yūsuf Khān and Malik Hushyār, and Sidhāran the infidel, entertaining suspicious regarding Kamālu-l-Mulk left the army and went to Dihli: and the Amirs of Sambhal and Badāon joined Kamālu-l-Mulk and came in great force to the ford of Kicha. Sarwaru-l-Mulk was engaged in strengthening his fort. The following day the loyal Amirs having crossed the Jamna encamped in the Bāgh-i-Jūd³ while the traitors and infidels sallied out from the fort and engaged them in battle, but suffered defeat in the very first onset and retreated to the fort, but before they could enter it a large number were put to death and most of the remainder were taken prisoners.

302. The day following this victory the Mubārak Shāhi Amirs encamped near the fort of Siri, and the greater part of the Amirs who were inside the fort, came out and joined them. Fighting went on between the two parties for three months.

At the latter part of this year Zirak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna

¹ MS. (A) writes ملک حمین *Malik Ḥamīn*; by Firishṭa, and in Elliott's translation of the Tārikh i-Mubārak Shāhi (IV. 82) he is called Malik Chaman.

² The word in the original is مقطع *Muqtī*, i.e., holder of a قطع *qit'*. Firishṭa calls him حاکم بدارن *Hākim-i-Badāon*.

³ MS. (A).

died, and the country was confirmed to his son Muḥammad Khān. Muḥammad Shāh, although outwardly he held friendly relations with Sarwaru-l-Mulk, still in his inmost heart was in unison with his father's Amirs. Sarwaru-l-Mulk became aware of this, and accordingly began to plot treachery against him also, and was only waiting his opportunity.

On the eighth of Muḥarram in the year 838 H. (1434 A.D.) Sarwaru-l-Mulk and the sons of the perfidious Mirān Ṣadr suddenly broke into the tent of the king with the intention of doing him a grievous injury, but at this moment Muḥammad Shāh became aware of their design; and with all despatch sent messengers to Kamālu-l-Mulk, while the attendants who were near the person of Muḥammad Shāh were on their guard, and killed the traitor Sarwaru-l-Mulk, and seizing the sons of Mirān Ṣadr executed them in presence of the *darbār*. The traitorous infidels blockaded themselves in their own houses. Kamālu-l-Mulk, accompanied by all the Amirs, entered the fort by the Darwāza-i-Baghdād (Baghdād gate). The ruffian Sidhī Pāl set fire to his house and property, and after performing the *jauhar*¹ which is a well-known custom expressed by that word in the Hindi language, went himself into battle and became food for the flames of the pitiless sword,² and his impure soul went to hell.³ Sidhāran Kāngū and the rest of the Khatri confederation, were one and all taken prisoners, and were impaled near the *hazīru*.⁴ (mausoleum)

¹ جوهر Jauhar or Jāhar जहर is a Hindi word derived from the words जीव jīv, and हरा hara signifying taking one's own life. The custom of the Rājpūts when reduced to the last extremity in warfare was in olden times to perform a rite of self-sacrifice known by this name: as for instance on the occasion of the siege and capture of Chitor by Sulṭān 'Alāud-Din: "Huge piles of timber were raised up and set on fire. The women approached in funeral procession and threw themselves into the flames. The men arrayed themselves in saffron-coloured garments and rushed out of the fortress sword in hand; most of them were cut to pieces.". The evident object of the rite was to protect the persons of the women from the indignities to which they would be submitted if they were to fall alive into the hands of the enemy.

² MSS. omit بیدری.

³ The word جوهر Jauhar, here used for "Soul," has the primary meaning of "essence." It is a Persian word and is used here as a play upon the Hindi word *jauhar* used above (Note 1).

⁴ حظیرہ Hazīra. The literal meaning of this word is an enclosure, here

of Mubārak Shāh, and Malik Hushyār and Mubārak Kotwāl were executed along with them. The following day Kamālu-l-Mulk and the other noted Amirs renewed their fealty to Muḥammad Shāh; Kamālu-l-Mulk obtained the rank of *vazīr* and Malik Chaman of Badāon received the title of *Għażiū-l-Mulk*, and was reinstated in his former position as governor of Badāon, Amroha being also added to his province; Malik Allāhdād Lodi would not accept any title, the title of *Daryā Khān* however he accepted for his brother. Thus after settling the important affairs, Muḥammad Shāh gave durability to his rule, and conducted his Government in tranquillity.

And in the year 840 H. (1436 A.D.) he turned his attention towards Multān, and halted for some days at Mubārakpūr to give time for the Amirs of the various districts to join him. When the Muḥammad Shāh's troops were all assembled at Mubārakpūr he marched thence towards Multān, and after visiting the shrines of the holy men at that place ¹ came to Dihli. And in the aforesaid year, marching towards Sāmāna he despatched a force to proceed against Shaikhā Khūkhar.² Accordingly they laid waste his country and returned.³ In the year 841 H. (1437 A.D.) tidings arrived that the tribe of Langāhs had raised an insurrection in Multān, and in the meantime Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī obtained possession of certain divisions of Dihli, and the Rāi of Gwāliār and the other Rāis refused to pay the customary tribute. Muḥammad Shāh affected to be indifferent to this, and disturbances sprung up in all directions, and everyone was hankering after something. The Khānzādas of Miwāt, who are the ancestors of Hasan Khān of Miwāt, invited Sultān Maḥmūd Khilji from Mālwā to assume the imperial power of Dihli.

And in the year 844 H. (1440 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd arrived at Dihli, and Muḥammad Shāh drew up his forces and sent out his son Saiyyid ‘Alāu-d-Dīn to engage him in battle, giving the command of the force to Mālik Buhlūl Lodi. Sultān Maḥmūd also

it means a tomb enclosed with walls or a palisade. Firishta writes "were put to death with great tortures" بعقوبة تمام بقتل وسیدنه.

¹ MS. (A) omits آنچہ.

² MS. (A). بو سر شیخا.

³ MS. (A). تا ولایت اورا خراب کردا مراجعت نمودندہ.

appointed his two sons Ghīāṣu-d-Dīn and Qadr Khān¹ to oppose them. A fierce battle resulting they at last agreed to make peace, and Sultān Maḥmūd taking advantage of that, and alleging as an excuse that he had seen in a dream that the kingdom of Multān was being ruined, marched in light order under cover of night towards Mālwa. Malik Buhlūl pursued him and seized a portion of his baggage and valuable equipment. Sultān Muḥammad was so pleased at the energy displayed by Buhlūl Lodi that he called him his son,² and bestowed upon him the country of Lāhor and Dotālpūr.

And in the year 845 H. (1441 A.D.) he marched to Sāmāna, and having despatched Buhlūl to chastise Jasrat Khānkhar, returned to Dihlī. Jasrat concluded a peace with Malik Buhlūl and held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming Sultān of Dihlī,³ till at last Buhlūl began to collect Afghāns from all directions and took forcible possession of a large number of *parganas*, then without any ostensible reason he picked a quarrel with Muḥammad Shāh and revolted against him, leading an army against Dihlī. He held Sultān Muḥammad for a considerable time closely besieged, but could not accomplish his purpose, and returned without effecting anything. In the meantime Muḥammad Shāh was afflicted with a grievous disorder,⁴ and the Amirs who were at a distance of twenty *krohs* from Dihlī revolted against him, and sending for his son 'Alāu-d-Dīn who held a *jāegir* in Badāun, and had left there on a hunting expedition at the foot of the hills, made him⁵ heir-apparent. And in the year 847 H.⁶ he passed away, the duration of his reign was fourteen⁷ years and some months, or thereabouts.

¹ The text reads مدن خان Madan Khān. MS. (A) reads قدن خان Qadan Khān. Firishta says قدر خان Qadr Khān. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*.

² MS. (A) اورا پسر خوازندہ See Elliott IV 85.

³ Firishta says: Incited him to aspire to the kingdom of Dihlī. MS. (A), instead of مبشر writes مسورو.

⁴ روز بروز سستی پذیرفتہ Firishta says: بزحمت صعب مبتلا شد becoming day by day weaker. ⁵ MS. (A) اورا.

⁶ Firishta says that he died in 849 H. which is probably correct, see n. 7.

⁷ As he came to the throne in 837 he had reigned only some ten years, not fourteen as here stated. Both MSS. (A) and (B) however read ۸۴۹ھ.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* according to Elliott IV. 86, says ten years and some months. With regard to this see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 386 and note 1,

Come and cast one look upon their dust, and take warning.
For the dust is the resting-place of trusted emperors.

305. SULTĀN ‘ALĀU-D-DĪN IBN I MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN I MUBĀRAK
SHĀH¹ IBN I KHIZR KHĀN,

In accordance with the testamentary disposition of his father succeeded to the throne, and Malik Buhlūl with the other Amirs gave in their allegiance to him, and seeing that the indolence of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Din was even greater than that of his father, a still more violent ambition to secure the throne began to work upon the excited fancy of Buhlūl.

In the year 850 H. (1445 A.D.) Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Din made an excursion towards Baiāna; while on the road he heard a false rumour that the King of Jaunpūr was on his way to attack Dihli, and without attempting to ascertain its truth returned in hot haste to Dihli. In the year 851 H. (1447 A.D.) he went to

where it is said that Firishta “makes a less venial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years’ reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from “839 to 849” A. H. Briggs, pp. 332—339.” This is not Firishta’s error but is the fault of his translator. Firishta says clearly that Muhammad succeeded to the throne on the very day on which Mubārak Shāh was assassinated (Bo. text, p. 309) that is, “on the 9th Rajab 837” (Bo. text, p. 308), so that while his date as regards the death of Muhammad Shāh may be wrong, his calculation based upon the dates he gives is correct. I am not aware of any direct evidence that Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Din ascended the throne in 847 H. The *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, if Elliott’s translation (Elliott, IV, p. 86) is to be trusted, says, “Upon the death of Muhammad Shāh the amirs and nobles assembled, and raised his son to the throne under the style of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Din” and in a footnote on the same page referring to the conflict of testimony between Badāoni and Firishta as to the date of Muhammad Shāh’s death, he says: “Firishta seems correct in making it 849,” and with this opinion I am inclined to agree. The mistake appears to have arisen from accepting the date given by Briggs in his translation of Firishta, instead of confirming it from Firishta himself, who gives 17th Jamādi I 824 as the date of Khizr Khān’s death and Mubārak Shāh’s accession, and states (Bo. text 309) that Mubārak Shāh reigned thirteen years three months and sixteen days. This would bring us to 837 H. not to 839 H. Therefore, unless there is evidence to shew that ‘Alāu-d-Din came to the throne in 847 H. we are justified in accepting Firishta’s plain and coincident statement that Muhammad Shāh reigned twelve years and some months, dying in 849 H.

1 MS. (A) omits مبارک شاہ and writes فرید خان Farid Khān. See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 335, footnote.

Badāon and elected to take up his abode there, and after making preparations for remaining there¹ returned to his capital Dihli.

And in the year 852 H. (1448 A.D.) having made his two brothers-in-law *Shahna-i-Shahr* (City Constable) and *Mir-i-Kūr* (Superintendent of Roads) he returned to Badāon. A disturbance arose between those two brothers, and at last both were put to death by the people of Dihli. Husain Khān who was *Umdat-ul-Mulk* (a Privy Councillor), and loyal to the Sultān, but from time to time spoke the direct truth to the Sultān in connection with the administration of State affairs, had for this very reason, fallen out of favour with the Sultān, and had been deposed from his office. Hamid Khān, *Vazīr-i-mamlukat*, (vazir of the State) who had fled to Dihli fearing punishment at the hands of the Sultān, and dreading an attempt upon his life,² joined with Husain Khān in inviting Malik Buhlūl and in raising him to the throne. He accordingly took advantage of the absence of the Sultān to proceed to Sirhind³ and having assumed to himself the title of Sultān read the *Khutbah*, and coming a second time with⁴ his whole army seized upon Dihli. Leaving his viceroy there he proceeded towards Dibālpur, where he set about raising an army, and wrote a letter couched in hypocritical terms to Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din saying, "I am your obedient servant, and am undertaking all this marching backwards and forwards solely out of loyalty to your person." The Sultān in reply, wrote as follows : "The deceased King, Sultān Muhammād Shāh, called you by the name of Son. There is neither fruit nor profit for me in sovereignty ; living in solitary contentment at Badāon I resign the empire of Dihli⁵ to you. Sultān Buhlūl leaving Dibālpur ascended the throne of Dihli⁶

306.

¹ MS. (A) طرح عمارت انداخته. The text reads طرح اقامت انداخته having laid the foundations of a palace, but there seems no authority for such a statement.

² Firishta gives a full account of this, and says that the Sultān was instigated to this attempt by Quṭb Khān and Rāi Pertāb, the latter of whom had a blood-feud against Hamid Khān (see Firishta, Bombay text I. p. 315).

³ MS. (A).

⁴ His eldest son Khwāja Bayāzid. At this time, according to Firishta, the *Khutbah* used to be read in the joint names of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din and Sultān Buhlūl, who upon first marching against Dihli had written to 'Alāu-d-Din alleging as his excuse that he was marching to oppose Hamid Khān.

⁵ MS. (A) سلطنت دہلی.

⁶ MS. (A) جلوس نمود.

without fighting or opposition ; and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din by the orders of Sultān Buhlūl was invested with the sovereignty of Badāon and the districts appertaining to it, towards the river Ganges as far as Khairābād and the foot of the hills, and used to read the Khutbah in his own name in those districts, till at last after some time, in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) he bade farewell to this world.¹ The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verse.

This is the sum and total of the world's conduct.

It has never proved faithful to any man.

SULTĀN BUHLŪL [IBN I KĀLĀ]² LODI,

Who in the reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh had obtained the title of Khān-i-Khānān,³ in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) in concert with Hamid Khān Vazir (who, after the execution of Husain Khān at the hands of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, had gained possession of the family and relations of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din in Dihli, and had brought the key of the fortress and had given it to Sultān Buhlūl)

307. ascended the throne of sovereignty, and by degrees contrived to secure the imprisonment of Hamid Khān,⁴ and in the same year proceeded to Multān to set that province in order.⁵

And in the year 856 H. (1452 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī at the instigation of certain of the Amirs of the party of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, came with a large army and laid siege to Dihli,

¹ According to Firishta 'Alāu-d-Din died in Badāon in the year 883 H. (1478 A.D.) having reigned in Badāon some twenty-eight years.

Badāoni's statement is wrong in this particular. In 855 H. according to Firishta, 'Alāu-d-Din retired into obscurity, leaving the kingdom of Dihli to Buhlūl Lodi, and reigned in Badāon for twenty-eight years, dying in 883 H. (Bo. text 316.) See n. 4 page 405.

² MS. (B) omits the words in brackets.

³ MS. (A) writes خانی باندہ بود.

⁴ A long account of the way in which Hamid Khān was taken prisoner is given by Firishta.

⁵ Firishta gives an account of the circumstances attending the birth of Buhlūl Lodi, telling us that the mother of Buhlūl Lodi, when close upon her confinement of him, was killed by the falling of her house upon her ; she was taken out lifeless, and to save the child the mother was instantly submitted to the Cæsarean operation and the child removed ; as it shewed signs of life it was carefully tended and grew up. (Bo. text p. 317).

and after severe fighting gained possession of it,¹ and Fath Khan Harawi² who was one of the most trusted Amirs of Sultan Mahmud was killed. Sultan Mahmud³ not being able to bear up against this went to Jaunpur; and the following year came into the same neighbourhood, proceeding from Jaunpur to Itawa, and concluded peace upon the following terms, namely, that so much of the kingdom of Dihli as was under the sway of Mubarak Shah should belong to Sultan Buhlul, while that portion which was under the rule of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi should revert to Sultan Mahmud;⁴ and having promised that after the rainy season he would give Shamsabad to Sultan Buhlul,⁵ which was held by Junan Khan as the deputy of Sultan Mahmud, each of them went to his own country.

Sultan Buhlul at the expiration of the appointed time marched against Shamsabad, took possession of it, and gave it to Rai Kiran, ruler of Bhunganw. Sultan Mahmud being displeased at this, proceeded again⁶ to the borders of Shamsabad and fought with Sultan Buhlul.⁷ In the meantime Sultan Mahmud quitted this existence for the house of eternity, and Muhammad Shah, the son of Sultan Mahmud, was nominated to the kingdom of Jaunpur in the room of his father, and having arranged peace upon the terms formerly agreed upon between Sultan Mahmud and Sultan⁸

¹ MS. (A) has here a different reading (note 7) فتنادن. The text seems right agreeing with MS. (B).

² هروی Harawi, of Herat.

³ MS. (A) reads here ... و کشته شدن او سلطان. Sultan Mahmud was not able to bear the fall of Fath Khan and his being killed.

⁴ MS. (A) مکحوم. Muhammad. Firishta says that another term of the agreement was that Buhlul was to return the seven elephants taken in battle from Fath Khan, and should receive Shamsabad in place of Junan Khan (Bo. text p. 322).

⁵ MS. (A) omits ي. Firishta tells us that Junan Khan refused to quit Shamsabad when called upon to do so by Buhlul Lodi, who consequently marched against him and drove him out, giving Shamsabad into the charge of Rai Kiran, and conquering all that country. (Bo. text p. 322).

⁶ MS. (A) در مکحوم.

⁷ In this engagement Qujb Khan Lodi was taken prisoner in consequence of his horse stumbling and throwing him, and was sent by Mahmud to Jaunpur where he was imprisoned.

⁸ Firishta says that Bibi Rahozi, the mother of Muhammad Shah Sharqi

Buhlūl proceeded to Jaunpūr, and, inasmuch as Qutb Khān, the cousin of Sultān Buhlūl had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muhammad Shāh,¹ Sultān Buhlūl, in defiance of the existing treaty, again brought up his army against Muhammad Shāh, who also leaving Jaunpūr came to Shamsābād and took it from the Hindūs by force,² and on the borders of Rāpri confronted Sultān Buhlūl. Muhammad Shāh was defeated and retreated towards Qanauj. Sultān Buhlūl pursued him.³ And in the aforesaid year Sultān Husain Sharqī, ibn-i-Sultān Maḥmūd revolted against his brother Muhammad Shāh, and seized the throne of Jaunpūr with the assistance of the Amirs, and detailed⁴ a large army to proceed against Muhammad Shāh, whom they finally put to death on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Rāj Gar. Sultān Husain made peace with Sultān Buhlūl, and sending for Qutb Khān Lodi who was still in prison, from Jaunpūr, presented him with a horse and a robe of honour and sent him to Sultān Buhlūl⁵ and returned from Qanauj to Jaunpūr⁶.

intervened, and arranged peace upon these terms, that Muhammad Shāh should retain his father's kingdom, while Buhlūl should be in undisturbed possession of all that he already held.

¹ See preceding page n. 4.

² There is a rather important difference here in the account given by Firishta (Bo. text p. 328) who writes: "When Sultān Buhlūl arrived near Dihli Shams Khātūn, the sister of Qutb Khān Lodi sent him a message, saying, "So long as Qutb Khān remains in the prison of Muhammad Shāh Sharqī food and sleep is unlawful for thee O King." Accordingly Buhlūl broke the truce, and came to Dihli, whence he returned towards Jaunpūr. On his arrival at Shamsābād he took it out of the hands of Rāi Kiran, and gave it to Jūnān Khān who had arrived before him, and Muhammad Shāh Sharqī also had come out to meet him, consequently the two Kings encamped near Sarsuti facing one another at close quarters, and engaged each other early and late." From this it appears that Shamsābād was taken by Buhlūl from Rāi Kiran, whereas Badāoni makes it seem as though Muhammad's forces re-conquered it. Firishta's account is undoubtedly the correct one as subsequent events show.

³ MS. (A) تتعاقب او گرد. ⁴ MS. (B) گرد امید.

⁵ The account of the circumstances given by Firishta shew that Husain Khān started with his army under pretence of opposing Buhlūl but changed direction to Qanauj. When Buhlūl heard of this he had despatched a few of his Amirs to meet Husain Khān, and himself took prisoner Jalāl Khān, brother of Husain Khān who was also coming out after his brother, and kept him as a hostage for Qutb Khān, for whom he was eventually exchanged (Bo. text, p. 323).

⁶ MS. (A) از قنوج بجانب جو پیور. The text and MS. (B) are wrong here.

Sultān Buhlūl also despatched Jalāl Khān, the brother of Husain Khān, whom he held in confinement as hostage for Quṭb Khān, to Sultān Husain after conferring honours upon him. And after some years¹ Sultān Husain coming to the borders of Chandwār, fought a battle with Sultān Buhlūl, and having concluded a peace for three years again returned to his own country. At this juncture Ahmad Khān Jilwāni, the ruler of Baiāna read the *Khuṭbah* in the name² of Husain Khān; and Sultān Husain, upon the expiration of the period for which peace had been concluded, proceeded towards Dihli with 10,000 cavalry and a thousand elephants. They met near a place called Bhatwāra, and Sultān Husain having agreed to peace encamped at Itāwa. Sultān Buhlūl came to Dihli. The fact of these two kings being thus within a seven days' journey is not without its ridiculous side.

Verse.

Who has ever seen a scabbard which can contain two swords !
Who has ever seen the thrones of two Jamshids in one place !

And in this year Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, whose daughter [Malika-i-Jahān]³ was married to Sultān Husain, passed away in Badāon, as has been already related,⁴ and left his kingdom to Sultān Buhlūl and Sultān Husain. 309

Verse.

Even supposing that thou hast attained to that which thou desirest,

Even supposing that thou hast been all that thou shouldest be,
Has not everything which has attained perfection, suffered afterwards from loss ?

Does not the azure heaven taken away again all that it has bestowed ?

And Sultān Husain came from Itāwa to Badāon to perform the

¹ A peace had been arranged for a term of four years (*Firishta*).

² Both MSS. (A) (B) omit ملکہ.

³ The name is omitted in MS. (A).

⁴ See note 1 page 402. 'Alāu-d-Din really died in 883 H. according to *Firishta*. In the former place our author says he died in 855 H. but here he corrects the mistake.

duties of mourning for him,¹ and having taken those districts from the sons of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn, took possession of them himself, and thence went² to Sambal, and having taken prisoner Tātār Khān,³ the Governor of that place, sent him to Sāran,⁴ and with a large army and the number of elephants already mentioned, arrived at Dihli in the month of Zū Hijjah, in the year 880 H.⁵ and encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the ford of Kichā.⁶ Sultān Buhlūl coming from Sihrind summoned⁷ Ḥusain Khān, the son of Khān-i-Jahān from the vicinity⁸ of Mirath, and despatched him to oppose Sultān Husain,⁹ while he himself held Dihli against him. And on this occasion also, owing to the exertions of Qutb Khān, Sultān Husain agreed to peace, taking into his own possession the whole of the country on the further side of the Ganges;¹⁰ then relinquishing this side of the river to Sultān Buhlūl he returned. Sultān Buhlūl¹¹ seized his opportunity, and when Sultān Husain marched, crossed the river Jamna and captured some baggage and other property¹² which Sultān Husain, relying upon the truce, had left on the camping-ground: a certain proportion of the treasury also which was laden on elephants and horses, fell into the hands of Sultān Buhlūl, and as many as forty¹³

310. noted Amirs of Sultān Husain's force, were taken prisoners, among others for instance, Qāzī Samā'u-d-Dīn, entitled Qutlugh Khān the Vazir, who was the most learned of the doctors of his time.

¹ MS. (A) reads بُنْعَرِيْتُ اَوْ ba-ta'zīyat-i-ū which agrees with the words of Firīghta (Bo. text, p. 325) and is far preferable to the reading of the text and MS. (B) بُنْقَرِيْبُ اَوْ batqrib-i-ū, i.e., on his account.

² MS. (A). ³ Firīghta calls him Mubārak Khān.

⁴ Thus also both MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote variant بشاران ba Shārān.

⁵ There is a serious discrepancy here in the dates. Firīghta says in 883 H. (Bo. text, p. 325) and this must be correct.

⁶ MS. (A) reads گُزْرِ گنجینہ Guzr-i-Ganjīna, but the text is right. Firīghta reads کاچھا kachha.

⁷ MSS. (A) and (B) omit طلبیدہ.

⁸ MSS. (A) and (B) read جانب for (Text).

⁹ Firīghta says بضم بظیف میرک, to take Mirak.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads گرفته. That is to say eastward of the Ganges.

¹¹ MS. (A) omits و. ¹² MS. (A) اشیائی کی MS. (B) اشیائی را کے.

¹³ Firīghta says "thirty or forty."

Sultān Buhlūl made over Qutlugh Khān in chains to Qutb Khān Lodi, and himself giving chase went as far as Shamsābād¹ in the Doāb, which was held by Sultān Husain, and seizing it, appointed commissioners² of his own over³ that country; this occurrence took place in the year 884 H. (1479 A.D.)⁴ the chronogram for that year was *Nawid-i-Kharābi* (Tidings of ruin).⁵

And Sultān Husain seeing that he was being very closely pursued, determined to make a stand at Rāpri, and once more peace was agreed to between them upon the old conditions, namely, that each should rest contented with the countries of which he was in possession, and should retire. Upon the conclusion of this peace Sultān Husain remained at Rāpri, and Sultān Bahlūl at a place called Dhopāmaū'; and after a time Sultān Husain again collecting an army came up against Sultān Bahlūl, and a fierce engagement took place in the vicinity of Sonhār.⁶ Sultān Husain again suffered defeat, a great deal of treasure and valuables beyond computation falling into the hands of the Lodi party, and was a means of increasing their influence and power. Sultān Bahlūl left Dhopāmaū' for Dihli to mourn⁷ for Khān-i-Jahān who had died in Dihli, [and having conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān upon his son, again returned to attack Sultān Husain, and reaching Rāpri fought a battle in which he gained a victory];⁸ and when Sultān Husain took refuge in flight a number of his family and

¹ Firīshṭa enumerates Khanpal (Kanpila?) Baitālī, Shamsābād, Sakīt Mārhara and Jālesar, as the townships seized on this occasion by Buhlūl.

² شُقَّادَارَان Shiqqadarān. Officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces.

³ بَرَان MSS. (A) (B). The text reads بَدَان.

⁴ Firīshṭa includes this among the events of 883 H. See note 17.

⁵ Our author here shews that he is wrong, as the total of the letters given amounts to 883 not 884. Thus ۵۰ + ۶ + ۱۰ + ۴ + ۶۰۰ + ۲۰۰ + ۱ + ۲ + ۱۰ = 883.

⁶ This passage is differently worded in the text. In both MSS. (A) and (B) it runs thus:—

وَبَعْدَ از صلح سلطان حسین برایری و سلطان بهلول در موضع ده پامن قوار
گرفت و بعد از مدتی سلطان حسین باز جمعیت نموده بر سر سلطان بهلول آمد
و در سواد موضع سونهار محاربه نخست آغازد.

⁷ The text reads incorrectly بِتَغْرِيب instead of بِتَعْزِيز MS. (A).

⁸ MS. (A) omits the portion in brackets.

children were drowned in the Jamna. Sultān Husain continued his march towards Gwāliār, and was still on the way when the rebel tribes of Hatkānt,¹ who are a clan of the Bhadauris, attacked his camp; Rāi Girat Singh, the Governor of Gwāliār came to the assistance of the Sultān offering his services, and having presented

311. him with money and property, horses, camels, and elephants, with tents for himself and his troops, sent an army to accompany him, proceeding himself with the Sultān² as far as Kālpī; Sultān Buhlūl pursued him, and the two Kings³ met in the neighbourhood of Kālpī and a considerable time was spent in hostilities. In the meantime Rāi Tiluk⁴ Chand, the Governor of the country of Baksar,⁵ came and offered his services to Sultān Husain,⁶ and enabled him to cross the Ganges at a place which was fordable. Sultān Husain not being able to stand against him withdrew to Thatta,⁷ and the Rāja of Thatta came to receive him, and having presented him with several *laks* of *tankahs* in cash, and other valuables,⁸ together with several elephants, escorted him to Jaunpūr.

Sultān Buhlūl made an attempt to conquer Jaunpūr, accordingly

¹ MS. (A) omits the word متمودان leaving a hiatus, and writes هنکانت *Hatkānt* which is correct, see n. 2.

² Hatkānθ is said by Abūl Fażl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar a district S. E. of Agra. Its inhabitants are called Bhadāriahs. They were known as daring robbers and though so near the capital managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted. *Ain-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 488. Elliot. *Races of N. W. P.*, vol. I, p. 25.

³ We should probably read here مشارعہ *Mushā'at* for متابعہ *Mutab'i'at* see Firishta.

⁴ MS. (A) reads میان.

⁵ Both MSS. Also Firishta who calls him Rāi Tilok Chand, Governor of Khatra (? Katehr.)

⁶ Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges 34 miles S. E. of Unāo town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre of 1857 at Cawnpore (see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, I, 450) MS. (A) reads يکسر *Yaksar*.

⁷ Firishta says بادشاہ سلطان بھلول. Offered his services to Sultān Buhlūl; from our author's subsequent words it would appear that it was Sultān Buhlūl, and not Sultān Husain.

⁸ MSS. (A) and (B) read بھٹا *Bhatta* instead of بھنی *Patna*. Firishta has بھنی *Thatta*, and this seems to be the proper reading.

⁹ MS. (A) جنس.

Sultān Husain leaving Jaunpūr went by way of Bahraich towards Qanauj, and engaged¹ Sultān Buhlūl for some time on the banks of the Rahab, and met with the defeat which had become a second nature to him. On this occasion his whole retinue and regalia fell into the hands of the Lodis, while his chief wife Malika-i-Jahān, Bibi Khūnzā,² who was the daughter of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Din, and the grand daughter of Khizr Khān, was taken prisoner;³ Sultān Buhlūl treated that lady with the utmost respect and regard, and when he again attempted to conquer Jaunpūr, Bibi Khūnzā by some artifice effected her escape and joined her husband. Jaunpūr fell into the hands⁴ of Sultān Buhlūl. He gave it to Mubārak Khān Luhānī, and himself proceeded to Badāon. Sultān Husain took the opportunity to march against Jaunpūr in full force : the Amīrs of Sultān Buhlūl evacuated it, and went to Qutb Khān Lodī who was in Mahjauli,⁵ and approached Sultān Husain with expressions of fealty, and by pretending to take his part kept him at bay till reinforcements arrived from Sultān Buhlūl. Sultān Buhlūl sent his own son Mubārak Shāh to the assistance of these Amīrs, while he himself also set out⁶ for Jaunpūr, following his son ; Sultān Husain not being able to stand against him went to Bihār. In the meantime tidings of the death of Qutb Khān reached Sultān Buhlūl at the camp of Haldi,⁷ and having performed the requirements of mourning for him, he proceeded to Jaunpūr, and after placing his son Barbak Shāh upon the throne of the Sharqi dynasty,⁸ returned, and came to the Kālpī country, which he gave to A’zam Humāyūn, another nephew, who had the

312.

¹ MS. (B) reads مقابلة *muqābala*, i.e., met him.

² MS. (A) reads خورت را *Khutrā* MS. (B) خورترا *Khutrā*. Firishta reads خونزا *Khünza*.

³ MS. (A) گفتار گشت.

⁴ Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit در.

⁵ MS. (A) reads مجهولی *Majhaulī*. Firishta reads مسکوپی *Majhaulī*. A village in the Gorakhpur District on the banks of the Gandak. There are two villages forming one : Majhanlī, which is Hindū, on the north bank, and Sālimpur, which is Muhammadan, on the South. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* IX. 213.

⁶ MSS. (A) and (B) read داشت.

⁷ Firishta says : When Sultān Buhlūl arrived at the township of Haldi, he heard of the death of Qutb Khān.

⁸ Firishta says : “expelled Sultān Husain Sharqī, again conquered Jaunpūr, and placed his own son Barbak Shāh upon the throne of the Sharqi Kings.”

name of Bāyazid,¹ and having arrived at Dholpūr² levied several *mans* of gold as tribute from the Rāi of that place ; then passing by Bārī went to Ilāhpūr,³ one of the dependencies of the fortress of Rantaubhūr, and having laid waste that country came to Dihli and remained there. Some time after this he hastened to Hissār Firoza, where he remained a few days and then returned to Dihli. Once more he went to Gwāliār, where Rāja Mān the Governor of Gwāliār sent an offering of eighty laks of *tankas* of that period ; accordingly Buhlūl confirmed him at Gwāliār, and proceeded to Itāwa, and was making his way back to Dihli when he was taken ill in the neighbourhood of a township of the dependencies of Sakit.⁴ And in the year 894 H. (1488 A. D.) he died, the duration of his reign was thirty-eight years,⁵ eight months and eight days.⁶

Verse.

Whether it be Afrāsiyāb or his son Zāl,
He will meet with chastisement at the hand of Fate.

To a cup whose measure the wine-bearer has appointed

313. It is impossible to add a single drop, however much you may
strive.

نیبرہ خود خواجہ پسر دیگر اعظم همایون بن خواجه بایزید ۱ MS. (A) writes another son. Firishta says 'his grandson Khāja Ā'zam Humāyūn son of Khwāja Bāyazid.' (Bo. Text, p. 327). This is correct. Bāyazid was the eldest son of Buhlūl.

۲ Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit خود.

۳ The text and MS. (B) read Pālhanpūr. MS. (A) reads *ba* بالپنپور بجانب الله پور (p. 327) Firishta's text however reads clearly (p. 327) *ba jānib-i-Ilāhpūr*. Briggs (p. 560) says Ruttunpoor !

۴ Text and MS. (B) have سکپت Sakpat. MS. (A) reads سکیب Sakib. In Firishta we read (Bo. text 327) that "Buhlūl took Itāwa from Sakīt Singh and set out to return to Dihli but fell ill on the way." Later on we read that "he died near Bhadāuli one of the dependencies of Sakīt." Sakīt is in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, and it is here according to Hunter (*Imp. Gaz.* XII. 146), that Buhlūl Lodi died. Abūl Fażl states (*Aīn-i-Akbarī* text I. 532) that he died near the township of Saketh, but places Bhadāwah in the Sarkār of Sahār in the Āgra Sūbah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkār of Qanauj (see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) (II. 309 n. 3). Sakīt was probably the head-quarters of the Sakīt Singh whom Firishta mentions.

۵ MS. (A) reads بود after میان.

۶ Firishta says seven days.

Whether it be a king or a *khas*-seller¹
 Fate brings to his hearing the summons of death.
*The date of his death*²
 In eight hundred and ninety and four
 The world conquering *Khedive*, Buhlūl left the world;
 With his sword he seized provinces, but for all his bright
 sword and burnished dagger,
 He was not able to repel death.³

SULTĀN SIKANDAR IBN I SULTĀN BUHLŪL,⁴

Who was known by the name of Niẓām Khān, upon hearing the tidings of his father's decease, came in haste⁵ from Dihli to the township of Jalāli, entered the camp⁶ and despatched the corpse of his father to Dihli. On Friday, the seventeenth of the year above mentioned, he ascended the throne in the palace of Sultān Firūz, which is situated on the banks of the Black water, with the concurrence of Khān-i-Jahān ibn i Khān-i-Jahān, and Khān-i-Khānān Farmali,⁷ and all the Amirs, and was addressed by the title⁸ of Sultān Sikandar. It is said that at the time of leaving Dihli, he went to Shaikh Samā'u-d-Din Kanbū,⁹ the spiritual guide of Shaikh Jamāli,¹⁰ who was one of the greatest among the Ulamā Shaikhs of his time, on pretence of taking an

خس فروش¹ *Khas-farūsh*. *Khas* is a fragrant grass (*Andropogon muricatum*) from which screens are made and wetted with water for the purpose of cooling rooms by the air which blows through them: commonly known as "Khas Khas tatties" in India.

² MS. (A) reads قاریخ وفات. This is omitted in the text.

Prior to his death Sultān Buhlūl had made a partition of his dominions, assigning Jaunpūr to Shāhzāda Bārbak Shāh, and Karra Mānikpūr to Shāhzāda 'Alām Khān, Bahrāich to his sister's son Shaikh Muḥammad Farmali, who was known as Kālū Bhār, and Lakhnau and Kālpi to A'zam Humāyūn ibn i Khwāja Bāyzād Khān. (Firishta Bo. text 327).

³ These same verses are found in Firishta.

⁴ MS. (A) has no further words. MS. (B) adds لودی *Lodi*. The text adds ابن کالا *ibn i Kālā*.

⁵ Neither MS. (A) nor (B) has تمام *tamām* as in the text.

⁶ MS. (B) باردوی برسیده.

⁷ MS. (B) خالخانان، دہلی *Khān-i-Khānāni Dihli*, it omits فرملي *Farmalī*.

⁸ MS. (A) omits خطاب *Kitab*.

⁹ MS. (A) كینو *Kinū*.

¹⁰ MS. (A).

omen,¹ for this reason that he feared lest the Shaikh might favour the claims of the other brothers,² so making his customary daily walk a pretext, he enquired the meaning of the expression *As'adak Allāh*³ from the Shaikh.

314. When he answered, It means *may God Most High make you fortunate*, he besought him saying, Kindly let this expression fall three several times from your auspicious lips; the Shaikh did so,⁴ then he arose and said I have gained my request, then

1 **نَفَاعَ لِلْفَالِ** *taf'a'l*. Taking a **فَالِ fā'l** or omen from the words of a book. Sortilege, in the manner of the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, or the oracle of Proeneste. Among Muhammadans it is a not infrequent custom, before embarking upon any important undertaking, to consult the Qur'an, or the works of Hāfiẓ in this way. The word **فَالِ fā'l** properly means a good omen, as opposed to **طَيْوَةٌ tīyarat** a bad omen, this distinction is however not strictly observed. The prophet Muhammad directed his followers not to put faith in a bad omen, but rather to take a good one; on being asked the meaning of a good omen he said "a good word which any of you may hear: such as if a person in search of anything be addressed thus, O Finder!" (*Mishkātū-l-Maṣabīh* Mathew ii. 381) see also Lane s. v. **جُلُّ**; also Lane's Modern Egyptians 259, where a full account of one of the methods of sortilege by the *Zāīrgah* is given.

2 MS. (B) reads **بُرَادَر دِيَكُر** another brother. Firishta gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending the accession of Sikandar; he says that most of the Lodi Amirs favoured A'zam Humayun, and before Buhlūl's death practically forced him to summon Sikandar from Dihli, intending to make a prisoner of him. This plot came to the ears of 'Umr Khān Shirwānī who was a friend of Sikandar, and he consequently agreed with the mother of Sikandar, who was in the camp at the time, to warn Sikandar of his danger. Sikandar accordingly made excuses from day to day, and eventually delayed coming so long that Buhlūl died. The Amirs then held a consultation, most of themavouring Bārbak Shāh the eldest surviving son, but some leaning to A'zam Humayun: Zebā, the mother of Sikandar, spoke from behind a curtain in favour of her son, but was rudely repulsed by one 'Isā Khān a cousin of Buhlūl, who said, "the son of a gold worker's daughter is not fit to be king." Thereupon Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī rebuked him, and words ensued which led to a quarrel. Khān-i-Khānān took his party of Amirs with him, and removed Buhlūl's corpse to Jalālī, summoning Sikandar from Dihli where they placed him on the throne in the palace of Sultan Firuz on the banks of the Biāh, as Sultan Sikandar. He then sending his father's body to Dihli, marched against 'Isā Khān and defeated him, but pardoned him (Firishta Bo. text 338-339).

3 **أَسْعَدْكَ اللَّهُ Asa'dak allāh**, i.e., May God prosper thee. MS. (A) reads **صَرْفْ هَوَى سَاخْتَهْ مَعْنَى**.

4 MS. (A) omits the words **سَبَارْ وَ بَعْدَ** and reads **وَ بَعْدَ**.

he besought the Shaikh to assist him, and set out to go to the army, and after that his rule was firmly established,¹ he left Dihli, and marched towards² Rāpri and Itāwa to conquer the country, and spent seven months there. He also sent Isma'il Khān Lūhānī³ with overtures of peace to King Bārbak Shāh at⁴ Jaunpūr, while he proceeded in person against⁵ 'Isā Khān Governor of Patiāli;⁶ and⁷ 'Isā Khān confronted and fought with him and was wounded, and after tendering his submission succumbed to his wounds. Rāi Ganesh,⁸ the Rāja of Patiāli who was friendly to Bārbak Shāh, came in and had an interview with the Sultān who⁹ confirmed him in the Government of Patiāli.¹⁰ Bārbak Shāh coming from Jaunpūr to Qanauj, the parties met and an engagement took place between them.¹¹ Mubārak Khān Luhānī,¹² who was with the army of Bārbak Shāh, was taken prisoner in this battle,¹³ Bārbak Shāh fled to Badāon, Sultān Sikandar besieged¹⁴ that fortress, and Bārbak Shāh being reduced to extremities sought an interview with the Sultān, who reassured and encouraged him, and took him along with him to Jaunpūr, restoring him to his former position upon the throne of the Sharqī kings, except that he divided certain *purganas* of these territories¹⁵ among his own Amīrs, detailing armies for each place and appointing trusted officers of his own following to assist Bār-

۱ MS. (B) wrongly استقراء.

۲ MS. (B) جانب.

۳ The text and MS. (B) read نوخانی Nūkhānī, MS. (A) نوکھانی Nūkhānī.

۴ MS. (A) پتیالی. ۵ MS. (B) در جونپور خان (A) برعیسی خان.

۷ MS. (A) omits و.

۸ MS. (B) reads رای کنبس Rāi Kishan. MS. (A) reads رای کشن Rāi Kishan. MS. (A) reads رای گنیس Rāi Ganes. Firishta reads رای کیلن Rāi Kilan.

۹ MS. (A) omits مقرر گشت و دروجه او سلطان reading..

۱۰ MS. (B) پتیالی Patiāli.

۱۱ MS. (A) reads طرفین را در میان طرفین instead of طرفین را.

۱۲ Text نوخانی.

۱۳ Firishta (Bo. text 331) says that it was Kālā Bhār (Shaikh Muhammed Farmalī, nephew of Sultān Buhlūl and cousin of Sikandar and Bārbak) who was taken prisoner, and in return for his kind reception by Sikandar joined him against Bārbak Shāh, who lost heart and fled to Badāon.

۱۴ MS. (A) محاصرة کرد.

۱۵ In Bihār (Firishta).

bak Shâh.¹ Then he took Kalpi from A'zam Khân² Humâyûn the son of Khwâja Bâyazid. From thence he came to Jahtara,³ and from that place to Gwâliâr, sending Khwâja Muhammâd Farmâlî 315. with a special robe of honour on an embassy to⁴ Râja Mân,⁵ who in turn sent his brother's son to pay his respects to the Sultân and to offer his submission. This nephew of his accordingly accompanied the Sultân as far as Baiâna. Sultân Sharq⁶ the Governor of Baiâna, the son of Sultân Ahmâd Jilwâni the First, came and visited him, and was desirous of handing over the key of the fort⁷ to the agents of the Sultân; however he changed his mind, and on arrival at Baiâna strengthened the defences of the fort. The Sultân proceeded to Agra where Haibat Khân Jilwâni, a subordinate of Sultân Sharf⁸ fortified himself in the fort of Agra.⁹ The Sultân left certain of his Amirs in Agra and¹⁰ proceeded to Baiâna¹¹ and in the year 897 H. (1491 A. D.) Sultân Sharq¹² fell into straits and sued for quarter, surrendering the fortress of Baiâna to the Sultân; that province was then conferred upon Khân-i-Khânân Farmâlî. In the same year the tribe of Bachgotis¹³ in the Jaunpûr territory had assembled to the number

1 Firishta says, leaving trusted officers of his own following in his service, though Badâoni's words would convey the idea that these officers were left to control Bârbak Shâh's actions. MS. (A) omits بُر before گماشت and دا after معمدمنان. and کالپی.

2 MS. (A) omits خان giving it to Mahmûd Lodî (Firishta).

3 Briggs (p. 568) says Bhurayee, but the original text of Firishta says جہتو جاhtara. I fail to locate this.

4 MS. (A) نزد.

5 Governor of Gwâliâr (Firishta).

Briggs has Mân Singh. Firishta reads Mân merely.

6 Firishta reads thus سلطان شرف. Sultân Sharf. Badâoni (text and both MSS.) reads شرق Sharq.

7 MS. (B) reads قلعه فتح instead of قلعه فتح.

8 The text reads سلطان الشرق. Sultân sh-Sharq. MSS. (A) (B) read سلطان شرق. Sultân Sharq.

9 MSS. (A) (B) متخصص شد.

10 MSS. (A) (B) گماشت و.

11 Where he besieged Sultan Sharq who after a while capitulated (Firishta 331).

12 شرق Sharq (text and MSS.).

13 A tribe of Râjpûts said to be descended from the Mainpûrî Chauhâns

of a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry,¹ and were raising a disturbance. The Sultān proceeded thither and Bārbak Shāh came in and offered his allegiance. Leaving there, he proceeded to occupy himself with a hunting expedition to the borders of Awadh (Oudh), and again returned to Jaunpūr, and arrived at the fortress of Janhār,² and engaged in battle with the Amīrs of Sultān Husain Sharqī who held it, and having defeated them, without waiting to completely invest the fortress came to Patna;³ and having come to Āril,⁴ which is near Ilāhābās (otherwise called Prayāg),⁵ laid waste that district,⁶ and proceeding by way of Karra and Mānikpūr hastened to Dalmau,⁷ and from thence came⁸ to Shamsābād, and remaining there six months went to Sambal [whence he again returned to Shamsābād].⁹

And after the rainy season in the year 900 H. (1494 A. D.) he set out with the object of chastising the rebels of Patna, and great slaughter took place and many prisoners were taken; from thence he proceeded to Jaunpūr.¹⁰ In this expedition very many

316.

notorious for their turbulence, originally Muḥammadans, *see* Elliot, *Races of N.-W. P.*, I. 47.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) پیادہ و سوار.

² Text Janhār MS (A) reads حنار. (?) MS. (B) چنار. *Chinār* Firishta چنار *Chinār*.

³ Firishta says, came to Kāṭauba (?) which is one of the dependencies of Patna. MS. (A) reads فت.

⁴ A footnote variant is given in the text بارکل *ba Arkal*.

Firishta reads اریل Āril (or Aryal); he says جانب اریل رفت.

Arail is mentioned by Abūl Fuzl (*Aīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 425.) "he held Jhosī and Arail (Jalālābās) as jāgīr."

⁵ The text reads پیاک Payāk. MS. (A) reads Bayāk, MS. (B) Bapāk. Regarding the derivation of Prayāg the ancient name of Allahabad, *see* Cunningham (A. G. I. 391.)

⁶ خراب کرد رفت MS. (B).

⁷ Dalman' lay opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges, *see* Rennell's Map; *see also*, *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, (J.) II. 167 n 2. Firishta (Bo. text) reads Dalpūr, p. 332.

⁸ رسید MS. (B).

⁹ Not in MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote saying that these words occur in only one copy. They are however in exact accord with Firishta's statement, and are probably copied from his work.

¹⁰ MS. (A) مصطفی.

horses were lost, hardly one in ten remaining alive;¹ the zemindārs of Patna and others wrote and informed Sultān Husain Sharqī of the loss of the horses, and of the scarcity of supplies in Sultān Sikandar's army, and invited him (to advance). Sultān Husain collected an army, and marched from Behār with a hundred elephants against Sultān² Sikandar, who for his part crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantit³ and came to Chenār⁴ and from thence to Banāras. Sultān Husain had arrived within seventeen krohs of Banāras when Sultān Sikandar marched against him rapidly.⁵ In the midst of his march Sālbāhan the Rāja of Patna, who was a trusty zemindār, left Sultān Husain and joined Sultān Sikandar.

Sultān Husain drew up in line of battle, but suffered defeat and retired towards Patna.⁶ Sultān Sikandar left the camp, and pursued him⁷ with a hundred thousand light cavalry; while thus engaged he learned that Sultān Husain had gone to Bihār. After nine days Sultān Sikandar arrived,⁸ and joining his camp set out for Bihār. Sultān Husain, leaving his deputy⁹ in Bihār, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gānw one of the dependencies of Lakhnautī, and Bihār fell into the hands of Sikandar's troops.¹⁰ Thence the Sultān proceeded to Tīrhut and conquered it.

And in the year 901 H. (1495 A. D.) Khān-i-Jahān Lodi died, and Aḥmad Khān his eldest son¹¹ was styled A'zam Khān Humā-yūn. The Sultān returned from Tīrhut, and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Quṭbu-l-Mashāikhī-l-Izām,¹² Shaikh Sharifu-d-Din Munīrī,¹³ may God sanctify his resting-place, and came to

¹ MS. (A) نماند.

² MSS. (A) and (B).

³ The text and MS. (B) read مکدر گشت *mukaddar gasht*, i.e., became disturbed; but the proper reading is بگذر کنیت *baguzr-i-Katit*. MS. (A) or بگذر گنت *baguzr-i-Kantit* (*Firishta*). Kantat is on the S. W. bank of the Ganges, in the Sarkar of Allahabad, see *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 89 : 158.

⁴ Text جنہار Janhār.

⁵ Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit قام.

⁶ MS. (A) reads پنڈ Panna. Text reads پتھر Patta. MS. (B) reads گرفت.

⁷ MS. (B) نمود و دروازہ. ⁸ MS. (B) omits ۸۵۰۰.

⁹ Malik Kandhū (*Firishta*). ¹⁰ MS. (A) ۴۰۰.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads احمد پسر او بخطاب اعظم همایونی مخاطب شد.

¹² MSS. (A) (B) in Bihār (*Firishta*).

¹³ He was the son of Yahya-b-Isrā'il the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Ganj-i-Shakkār. His burial place is in Bihār, see *Ain-i-Akbari* (J.) III. 370.

Darveshpur. From thence he set out on an expedition against Sulṭān ‘Alāu-d-Din king of Bangāla, and in the vicinity of Bihār, the son of Sulṭān ‘Alāu-d-Din, whose name was Dāniāl, in obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sulṭān (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contenting himself with his own territories¹ and consenting to make peace. In this year great scarcity and dearth occurred in the camp of the Sulṭān; orders were promulgated² remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished. From thence he came to the township of Sāran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity,³ and came by way of Maḥlīgarh⁴ to Jaunpur, and having spent six months there proceeded to Panna.⁵ And in the year 904 H. (1498 A.D.) he invaded the territory of Panna,⁶ as far as Bāndhūgarh⁷ which is a famous fortress plundering and taking prisoners, but being unable to take the fortress on account of its strength, went to Jaunpur where he remained. In the meanwhile a quarrel had arisen among some of his Amirs during a game of chāugān,⁸ and at last it ended in an open fight,⁹ and the Sulṭān

¹ MS. (A) برو لايات.

² MS. (A) صادر گشتند.

³ MS. (B) تقسیم نموده مقرر کرد MS. (A) تقسیم کرده مقرر نمود.

⁴ Firishta reads مکھلی گڑ Machhlīgarh.

⁵ MS. (A) پانہ Panna; text and MS. (B) پاتنہ Patna. Firishta text بندہ Pathna. Briggs in his translation say Panna (p. 573), and this must be correct to judge from what follows.

⁶ MS. (A) reads ویلایت پانہ Wilāyat-i-Panna.

⁷ MS. (A) reads مادھو گڑ Mādhūgarh but Bāndhūgarh is the right reading. Regarding the position of this fortress we find Abul Fazl states (*Ain-i-Akbari* (J.) II, 157) that Bāndhū lies south of Allahabad. The translator appends a footnote (9) in which he identifies it with Banda. Banda, however, lies to the west and not to the south of Allahabad. Bāndhūgarh was one of the two chief fortresses of the province of Bāndhū (which corresponds nearly to the state of Rewa) and lies south of Rewa (Rewā) distant about 60 miles, and S. S.-E. from Panna, distant about 90 miles (Keith Johnson). In Rennell's Map (*Tieff* III.,) it is very plainly marked, though the distances and bearings differ slightly from the above, see Rennell's Map N.p. Nq. The other fortress lay south of Bāndhūgarh and was called Mandla Garh.

⁸ چوگان Chāugān. Called in Arabic سولاجان Saulajān. The modern name of this game is Polo. For a full account of the game, see *Ain-i-Akbari* (B.) I. 297-298.

⁹ Firishta gives a detailed description of the events, and states that within

becoming suspicious ¹ of the Amirs, gave orders that some armed and trusty guards ² should attend him every night, which was accordingly done. The majority of the disaffected and disappointed Amirs urged Fath Khān the son of Sultān Buhlūl to seize the empire. He in his simplicity communicated ³ this secret to his mother, and also to Shaikh Tāhir, and a party who were among the confidants of the Sultān, at the same time giving them ⁴ a memorandum containing the names of those confederate Amirs. The party above mentioned diverted him from that insane idea with friendly admonition. To prove their own innocence of complicity in that treasonable design, they took that memorandum to Sultān Sikandar,⁵ who devised some specious pretext for scattering in different directions all those Amirs ⁶ who had shewn partiality for the Prince ⁷ Fath Khān.

And in the year 905 H. (1499 A.D.) he proceeded to Sambal, and resided there for four years employed in affairs of State, and used to spend his time ⁸ either in luxurious living, or in hunting expeditions.

And in the year 906 H. (1500 A.D.) Aşghar the Governor of Dihli began to commit malpractices. The Sultān accordingly sent orders from Sambal to Khawāss Khān the Governor of Māchhiwāra,⁹ to seize Aşghar and send him (into his presence); but Aşghar anticipating this had gone humbly to Sambal where he suffered imprisonment; and Khawāss Khān received the Governorship of Dihli. In this year also ¹⁰ Khān-i-Khānān Farmali the Governor of Baiāna died, and the Government of that place was for some time entrusted to Ahmad and Suleiman the two sons (¹¹ grandsons) of Khān-i-Khānān.¹¹ After a time they

four days the fight was renewed, in consequence of which the Sultān began to believe it was due to some preconcerted plan against his own person.

¹ MSS. (A) بربشان بد مظنة شده. ² Both MSS. (A) (B) omit از.

³ MSS. (A) (B). ⁴ نموده و MSS. (B).

⁵ MS. (B) omits سکندر and reads نموده. MS. (A) agrees with the text.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) reads اصرار. ⁷ MS. (B) reads پادشاه.

⁸ Both MSS. omit او. MS. (A) reads بالعيش both MSS. read پشکار و سیر.

⁹ MS. (A) reads ماجھر واره. Firishta writes ماجھیره. ¹⁰ Māchhiwāra.

¹¹ MS. (B) و درین سال.

¹¹ The text here reads برمیاد و سلطان پسران خانخانان both MSS. have this same reading but Firishta reads با حمد و سلیمان پسران پسر خانخانان.

entered the Sultān's service at Sambal, and the Government of the fortress (of Baiāna) was made over to Khawāss Khān, while Šafdar Khān¹ was appointed to the charge of Āgra, which was one of the dependencies of Baiāna. Khawāss Khān with the assistance of 'Alam Khān² Governor of Miwāt, and Khāni Khānān Lūhāni, proceeded to attempt the capture of Dholpūr.³ The Rāi of that place came out to oppose them, and heavy fighting ensued in which many Muslims attained martyrdom. The Sultān leaving Sambal came with all haste to Dholpūr, and Rāi Manik Deo,⁴ Rāja of Dholpūr, not being able to hold out, evacuated the fort and went to Gwāliār. They plundered and pillaged⁵ the district around Dholpūr. The Sultān having remained a month in those parts left to reduce Gwāliār, and leaving Ādam Lodi there crossed the river Chambal, and encamped for two months on the banks of the river Mendaki.⁶

By reason of the⁷ badness of the climate of that place sickness 319. broke out among⁸ the population and a pestilence arose. The Rāja of Gwāliār also came and made overtures of peace,⁹ and delivered up Sa'id Khān, and Bābū Khān, and Rāi Ganesh,¹⁰ who had deserted from the army of the Sultān and had taken refuge in that fort, and also sent his eldest son¹¹ to do homage to the

¹ Briggs calls him Sudr Khān, but the original reads Šafdar Khān.

² MS. (A) reads خان عالم Khān-i-'Alam.

³ Native State in Rājputāna. The town of Dholpūr, capital of the State lies 84 miles south of Āgra and 37 miles north-west of Gwāliār, see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 273.

⁴ Firishṭa calls him دیو بنا یک Bināyek Deo.

⁵ MS. (B) reads نہبہ for نہب here and in several other places.

⁶ Firishṭa calls this river "the Asī otherwise known as Medakī," and says that in consequence of the badness of the water sickness broke out among the troops terminating in a pestilence. Mendakī means, frog-haunted.

There is no river which I can definitely identify as this river, but the Asūn in Keith Johnson (India) E. f. flowing west of Gwāliār, would answer to the Asī in position. Rennell's Map gives no name to this river.

⁷ MS. (A) omits و and also زیونی.

⁸ MS. (B) reads در میان.

⁹ MS. (B) reads مسلح musallaḥ (armed) for مسلح ba sultān.

¹⁰ Supply ل ج MS. (A).

¹¹ Vikramājīt (Firishṭa).

Sultān, who sent him back after bestowing upon him a horse and robe of honour, returning himself to Agra. At the time of his return he restored the fort of Dholpūr¹ also to Bināyik Deo,² and having spent³ the rainy season in Agra, after the rising of Canopus⁴ in the year 910 H. (1504 A.D.), marched to reduce the fortress of Mandrāyal,⁵ which he took without fighting from the Rāja of Mandrāyal, who sued for peace; he also destroyed all the idol-temples and churches⁶ of the place, and, as he returned, rebuilt anew the fortress of Dholpūr, then came to Agra and gave his Amirs permission to proceed to their several jaegirs.⁷ [And in this year Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,⁸ may God sanctify his holy resting place, who was one of the chief of the great walīs and had even laid claim to be the Mahdi, in answer to the call of Him who has the true claim to us all answered, Here am I, while returning from Makkah the sacred city towards Hindustān, at the town of Farah⁹ where he was buried. Qāzī Husain Zargar of Qandahār, God's mercy be on him, wkhm, as well as the Mir himself I had the honour of visiting, wrote the following chronogram:

¹ MS. (B) omits سلطان and reads باز for ب.

² MS. (B) reads دھولپور قلعہ and بنا یک دیو.

³ MSS. (A) (B) مگر اندر و.

⁴ In the month of Ramazān (*Firishta*).

⁵ Mandrāyal. This is not marked in Rennel's map, but Tieffenthaler (I. 174) mentions it under the name of *Mandalayer* or *Madrael*, and says that it lies upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chambal, and twelve miles S. S. E. of Caroli (Kerauli) see Keith Johnston's Atlas, India E. F. Mandler, see also *Ain-i-Akbari* (J) II. 190, Mandlāer.

⁶ بخانہ و کنایس آنجا So also *Firishta*.

⁷ The portion in square brackets is not in either MS. (A) or MS. (B).

⁸ Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad was the son of Mir Saiyyid Khan of Jaunpūr, and was the first to give definite form in India to the doctrine of the advent of the Mahdi, alleged to have been promised by the prophet Muhammad. He gained many adherents after he had declared that he was the promised Mahdi, among them was Sultan Mahmūd I. at whose request it was that he proceeded on the pilgrimage to Makkah from which he was returning at the time of his death, see *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bl) I. Biog. p. V.

The Shi'ahs believe that the Mahdi has already appeared, the Sunnis still look for his appearance. Hughes, *Dict of Islam*.

⁹ Farah in Biluchistan (*Ain-i-Akbari* (Bl) I. Biog. p. V).

He said, Go and enquire from the Shaikh.¹

Shaikh Mubārak also invented a chronogram in the words² Mazā Mahdi, The Mahdi has departed].³

On the third of the month of Ṣafar in the year 911 H. (6th July, 1505 A.D.) so violent an earthquake occurred over the whole of Hindūstān⁴ that the hills began to tremble, while strong and lofty buildings⁵ fell to atoms, and the earth in places was cleft and rents appeared,⁶ while they assert that villages and trees left their places, and men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived.⁷ We learn from the *Wāqi'at-i-Bābarī*,⁸ and other histories, that this earthquake was not confined to Hindūstān, but that on the same day in Persia also a similar earthquake occurred, and the word *Qāzī*,⁹ was invented as a chronogram to record the date of it.

Rubā'i.

In nine hundred and eleven the city of Agra became the goal of several successive earthquakes.

گفتا که برو ز شیخ کن استفسار¹ *Guftā ke birau zi Shaikh kun istifār*. The value of the letters of the word شیخ is $300 + 10 + 600 = 910$.

² مظا مهدی *Mazā Mahdi*. These words as written in the text only total 900, but if we write more accurately, مظی مهدی they will be 910.

³ A footnote to the text states that this portion (here included in square brackets) only occurs in one MS. *Firishta* also has no reference to this event.

⁴ *Firishta* only says in Agra.

⁵ چنانکه کوه ها به لرزه در آمد و عمارت های عالی (A).

⁶ MS. (A) reads دشوار بها *dushwārihā*. Difficulties and dangers.

⁷ MS. (B) قیامت واقع شد

⁸ Regarding this work, see Elliott IV, 218. The commentaries of Bāber, originally written in Türki were translated into Persian in Akbar's reign, see *Ain-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 105, and an English translation was made by Dr. Leyden and Mr. Erskine. At page 170 of that translation is found the account of the earthquake referred to by our author. Bāber says "there were thirty-three shocks that same day, and for the space of a month the earth shook two or three times every day and night." The date is not given, but the account follows closely upon that of the death of his mother, which he states occurred in the month of Muḥarram, and we may from the account reckon about 40 days afterwards so that it must have been early in the month of Ṣafar.

⁹ قاضی *Qāzī*. $100 + 1 + 800 + 10 = 911$.

And whereas her buildings were excessively lofty, that which had been their highest points became the lowest.¹

From the time of Adam to the present time no such earthquake has ever been known.

And in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus, he marched against the fortress of Üntgār,² and laid siege to it, and many of his men joyfully embraced martyrdom, after that he took the fort and gave the infidels as food to the sword ; those who escaped the sword fed the flames of the fire of *jūhar* with their wives and children. He then cast down the idol temples, and built there a lofty mosque.

In the year 913 H. (1507 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus he proceeded with the object of reducing the fortress of Narwar.³ Whilst en route he fell in with the elephants and cavalry and infantry of Jalāl Khān Lodi,⁴ whom he had sent on in advance to clear the way,⁵ and whom he had appointed to reduce Narwar. Becoming suspicious of him, he set about overthrowing him, and made some pretext for dispersing his forces, and taking him prisoner sent him to the fortress of Sakkar ;⁶ he then took Narwar, the garrison having capitulated. And in the year 914 H. (1508 A.D.) he constructed other forts round Narwar to increase its strength, and bestowing

¹ Firishta gives this *rubā'i* with slight variation omitting جو *chān* in the second line.

² Firishta reads اورت نگر *Uditnagar*. MS. (A) *Advantgar*. MS. (B) *Üntgār*. This fortress lay just South of Mandler (p. 420 n. 5) and is shown in the map as Deogarh, see *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I, 380 n 1. Firishta states that the Sultān regarded Uditnagar as the key to Gwāliār which he wished to reduce (p. 338).

³ Firishta Bo. text, p. 339, says this was after the rains of 913 H. in the year 914 H., but from the detail he gives of the various operations it is doubtful if he can be correct. Narwar was a dependency of Mālwa (Firishta). It lay about half way between Gwāliār and Dhār, see Tieff. I. 175 for a description and map of the fortress : see also *Ain-i-Akbari* (J.) II, 190, on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwāliār city, see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* X. 227.

⁴ Who upon the death of his father Maḥmūd Khān had become governor of Kālpī.

⁵ Firishta says Jalāl Khān was ordered to go on in advance and invest the fort of Narwar.

⁶ Firishta says Hanwantgarh.

a hundred and twenty horses¹ and fifteen elephants, with a robe of honour and a sum of money upon Prince Jalāl Khān, allowed him, together with Na'mat Khātūn,² wife³ of Quṭb Khān Lodi, who had come⁴ to have an interview with the Sultān, to proceed to Kalpi, and gave that district as a *jāegir* to Prince Jalāl Khān. And in the year 915 H. (1509 A.D.) he marched from Lahāyar,⁵ and came to Hatkān⁶, established posts in different places and proceeded to his capital Āgra. The date of this was (fixed by the following words) *Lahu alukmu wa ilaihi tarja'ūn.*⁷ That is to say, *His is the decree and to him do ye return.*

Muhammad Khān, the grandson of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa, fearing his grandfather, came for safety to the Sultān, and was allotted the *jāegir* of Chanderī, while Prince Jalāl Khān was directed to⁸ give him every assistance as an ally; and in this year orders were issued for the erection of palaces and rest-houses, and for the laying out of gardens⁹ at intervals along the whole route from Āgra to Dholpūr, so that when he came back from his hunting expeditions he might rest and refresh himself¹⁰ there. In this year Muhammad Khān of Nāgor, influenced by the fact that certain of his relations¹¹ had sought and obtained an interview with the Sultān, evinced great respect for the Sultān, reading the *Khuṭbah* in Nāgor in his name without raising any objection,¹² so that in this way a new territory¹³ came¹⁴ into the possession of the Sultān.

¹ MS. (A) راہس اسپ. MS. (B) مکر دند. MS. (B) کرد.

² The wife of Quṭb Khān Lodi, foster mother of Jalāl Khān (Firishta).

³ Text and MS. (A) کوچ Koch. MS. (B) کوچ Koh. ⁴ MS. (B) بوندند.

⁵ Gwāliār (Firishta). Lahār is placed in Rennell's map about 50 miles S.-E. of Gwāliār, see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* VIII. 400.

⁶ See p. 408 n. 1. MS. (A) هنکایت Hankāyat. MS. (B) Hatkān Firishta هلکایت Halkāyat.

⁷ The text has و ل. MSS. (A) (B) have و ل which is correct. The date is 915 H.

⁸ MS. (A) omits ی. ⁹ MS. (A) باغ. ¹⁰ MS. (B) فرمایند.

¹¹ Firishta explains this: he says that certain relations of Muhammad Khān, namely, 'Ali Khān and Abū Bakr who had conspired to kill him, had been overcome by him, and took refuge in the court of Sultān Sikandar and that Muhammad Khān fearing the consequences adopted the means described in order to conciliate the Sultān.

¹² Text جنگ و جدال. MS. (A) بی جنگ و جدال.

¹³ MS. (B) omits ولادتی.

¹⁴ MSS. (A) (B) موت.

In this year also Suleimān, the son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, was dismissed from the service of the Sultān, on the grounds that he had been appointed¹ to perform a service at Üntghar,² and in the direction of Sūpar, and had refused: the *pargana* of Indri Karnāl³ was given him as *Madad-i-ma'āsh* (rent-free land), with orders to go and remain there.

In this year⁴ Bahjat Khān of Mälwa transferred Chanderī to Sultān Sikander on account of the weakness⁵ of Sultān Mahmūd of Mälwa, and read the Khuṭbah in his name in those districts. Accordingly proclamations conveying tidings of this victory were written to all parts of the Kingdom; and Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din of Mälwa,⁶ was taken prisoner, and Chanderī was (nominally)⁷ placed under his authority, but Amirs were appointed to supervise him so that they might be aware of all his movements, control his actions, and administer⁸ his *jāegir*, then the Sultān proceeded on a hunting excursion towards Baiāna, and paid his respects to the various learned and holy men of those districts, who were at that time famous for their miracles and wonder-working,⁹ especially¹⁰ Saiyyid N'amatu-l-lāh and Shaikh 'Abdullāh Ḥusainī,¹¹ who was

¹ MS. (A) بود شدہ شدہ فرمودہ.

² Firishta says Hanwantgāph, Bo. text, p. 341, and tells us that Suleimān was summarily dismissed with permission to remove all that he could by day-break, and all of his property that remained was to be looted by the populace (غارت عام دھند).

³ Firishta says بیڑی Barerī. MS. (B) reads کرناں. For the meaning of *madad-i-ma'āsh* called also *sūyūrghāl*, see Āin-i-Akbarī (Bl) p. 268 مسیروفال. *Sūyūrghāl* is a Turkī word meaning gifts (of land). (Pavet de Courteille).

⁴ MS. (B) reads درین چند سال.

⁵ MS. (A) omits ضعف.

Firishta reads: Bahjat Khān, Governor of Chanderī, whose ancestors for generations had been the faithful subjects of the Sultāns of Mälwa, on account of the weakness of Sultān Mahmūd of Mälwa, and the decadence of his kingdom, sought an interview with Sultān Sikandar, and agreed to the Khuṭbah being read in his name in Chanderī, see Briggs, p. 588, and Bo. text, p. 341.

⁶ MS. (A) omits مالوی. MS. (B) writes محمد خان Muḥammad Khān, as also does Firishta. The text reads محمود خان Maḥmūd Khān.

⁷ Firishta reads ظاہرًا.

⁸ MS. (A) omits و MS. (B) reads در جایگیر.

⁹ See Lane s. v. كرامة also Hughes, Dict. of Islām art. Miracles. The full expression is خوارق العادة *Khwārīqul-'ādat*.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) خصوصاً.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B).

one of those famous for revelations and miracle-working,¹ with whom he used to consort frequently. Shāhzāda Daulat Khān, Governor of the fortress of Rantambhūr, in the service of Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, availing himself of the intermediary aid of 'Alī Khān of Nāgor, who was in charge of the province of Siwi Siyūpūr,² came and had an interview with the Sultān, and agreed to give up to him the key of the fortress. It so chanced that the 'Alī Khān who has been spoken of above, once more practised his hypocrisy, and came out from the fort to oppose him. The Sultān pretended not to notice this, and treated Daulat Khān as though he were his own son, bestowing upon him a special robe of honour, with several horses and elephants, and proceeded towards the fort of Thānkār,³ and from thence proceeding by way of the township of Bārī,⁴ he returned thence to Āgra. Here he was seized with an illness, and took the journey to the ⁵ next world on Sunday the seventeenth⁶ of Zāl Q'a'dah 923 H. (Jan. 1518 A.D.). The words *Jannātu-l-Firdaus nazalā*. (The gardens of Paradise came down) furnish the date⁷ of his death, the duration of his reign was twenty-eight years and five months.

Verse.

Sikandar, the emperor of the seven kingdoms continued not.
No one continues, seeing that Sikandar himself did not
continue.

Sultān Sikandar used to associate frequently with poets and 323. was himself also a man of taste, and would occasionally compose

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read كه از اهل کشف و کرامات بود and this reading is preferable to that of the text.

² The text reads سوی سوبار *Sūi Sūbar* with a footnote variant سیبوی *Sībi* سیپور *Sīpi* or *Sīpipur*. Firishta reads سیوپور *Siyūpūr*. (? Sibi) see *Ain-i-Akbari* (J.) II. 328 n 1.

³ Firishta writes تھانکر *Thānkār*.

⁴ In the Sarkār of Āgra. See Tieff I. 166.

⁵ MS. (A) reads بجتان آخرت.

⁶ Firishta says. Sunday, the seventh of Zūl Qa'dah, and adds that he died from suffocation, owing to the impaction of a morsel of food in the air passages, not of quinsy as Briggs translates it. See Bo. text 343, and Briggs I. 585.

⁷ MS. (B) reads تاریخ مشتمل. The letters جنات الفردوس make up the total 923.

verses after the ancient Hindustānī¹ models, under the pseudonym of Gulruk̤h, accordingly he felt great pleasure in the companionship of Shaikh Jamāl.² The following verses are the product of the genius of the Sultān, and are written with the utmost regard to poetical form.

Ode.³

That cypress whose robe is the jasmine, whose body the rose,
Is a spirit incarnate whose garment the body provides.

What profits the Khatani musk ? all the kingdoms of Chin
Are conquered, and bound in the chains of her clustering curls.

In the eye of her eyelashes' needle the thread of my soul
I'll fasten and swiftly repair every rent in her robe.
Could Gulruk̤h essay to discover the charms of her teeth,
He would say they are water-white pearls of the ocean of
speech.⁴

One of the poets of the reign of Sultān Sikandar was the Brahman [Dūnkār⁵] who, they say,⁶ in spite of being an infidel, used to give instruction in books of science.⁷ The following *matla*, (opening couplet) was spoken [and is a most auspicious *matla*⁸] by him in the metre of Mas'ūd Beg,

Had not thy glance been the dagger, my heart had not bled
to-day ;

Had not thy look been the serpent⁹ I never had lost my way.

Also among the great and learned men of the time of Sultān Sikandar were Shaikh 'Abdu-l-lāh Tulumbi¹⁰ in Dihli, and Shaikh 'Azizu-l-lāh Tulumbi¹¹ in Sambhal, both of whom came

1 MSS. (A) (B) هندوستانیہ.

2 MS. (A) (B) جمال الدین (Text جمال ازین) MS. (A) جمال ازین.

3 MSS. (A) (B) غزل (Text ایات).

4 The verses are here given in the order in which they come in MSS. (A) and (B). Both MSS. read تا چاک or گلرخ چو کند and MS. (A) reads تا چاک or گلرخ چو کند. Text.

5 MS. (A) دونکر (Text Dūnkār ?) 6 MS. (A) میکو پند (Text دونکر ?)

7 MSS. (A) (B) omit کتب علمی (Text رسمی) 8 MS. (A) reads مطلع مسعود (Text مطلع مسعود).

9 Abtar. A noxious serpent which no one sees without fleeing from it
see Lane s. v. بتور.

10 MS. (B) omits طلبانی.

11 MS. (A) بودہ اند (Text بودہ اند).

to Hindustān at the time of the ruin of Multān, and introduced the systematic study of the intellectual sciences into that country. Before their time, with the exception of the Sharh-i-Shamsiyah, and the Sharh-i-Sahāif¹ there were no books current in Hindustān which treated of logic and metaphysics. I heard also from my masters,² that more than forty expert and profoundly learned men have arisen from among the disciples of Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh, for example, Miyān Lādan, Jamāl Khān of Dihli, Miyān Shaikh of Gwāliār,³ Mirān Saiyyid Jalāl of Badāon, and others. They say also that Sultān Sikandar, during the instruction of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh, used to come⁴ and seat himself quietly in a corner unseen by the rest, fearing lest he should interrupt the lesson of the other students, and when the lesson was ended they used to exchange the customary salutation of *Salām 'alaikum*⁵ and mix freely with each other.

324.

And Shaikh 'Azizu-llah of Tulumba, who was a man of great probity and rectitude, had such an abundant genius and marvellous power of recollection,⁶ that no matter how difficult or minute the subject matter of a book which a student of intelligence might be reading, he would give his lesson in it without previously reading it; and that time after time when they came up for examination, and propounded the most inscrutable problems, the learned Shaikh would explain them on the instant while giving his lesson.

¹ The former of these two works was most probably the famous commentary by Qutbu-d-Din Mahmūd bin Muḥammad Rāzi, on the Shamsiyah, a famous treatise on Logic composed by Najmu-d-Dīn 'Umar bin 'Alī Qazwīnī, who died A. H. 693 (1293 A. D.), see Hājī Khālidah No. 7667. *El-Sahāif fi el-kalām, folia de metaphysica*. The Sharh-i-Sahāif must be the commentary mentioned by Hājī Khālidah and by him ascribed to Samarqandī. There was another commentary by Bihishtī. See H. K. 7718.

² MS. (A) میں اسے نہ سمجھ سکتا۔

³ MS. (A) has a hiatus between the first and last letters of this name.

⁴ Text and MS. (B) میں اسے نہ سمجھ سکتا۔ MS. (A) میں اسے نہ سمجھ سکتا۔ ⁵ MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ 'Recollection' does not quite convey the full meaning of the word in the original which is استحضار Istihzār, this means literally, *making present, summoning*. It seems to be used here for the power of calling up at will any impression. It is not memory, or rather retentiveness, but implies the power of recalling impressions by purely mental forces after the removal of the stimulus. MSS. (A) (B) read غریب داشتہ استحضاری.

One of his pupils was¹ Miyān Ḥātim Sanbali, who is commonly said to have read the *Commentary on the Miftāḥ*² more than thirty times in the course of his life, and the *Muṭawwal*³ more than forty times, from the first letter of the *Bism’illāh* to the last of the word *Tammat*.⁴

Another is Šaikhu-l-Hadiyah Jaunpūrī, the author of many worthy compositions and excellent books, who wrote a commentary extending over several volumes upon the *Hedāyah-i-Fiqh*,⁵ while there is no need of mentioning his commentary on the *Kāfiyah*:⁶ in addition to these he wrote notes upon the *Tafsīr-i-*

¹ MSS. (A) (B) مفتاح مفتاح.

² The text and MS. (B) agree in this reading. MS. (A) reads سهرين مفتاح which may possibly stand for شريين مفتاح *Sharhain-i-miftāḥ*, the two commentaries on the *Miftāḥ*.

Miftāḥ-l-ulūm (clavis doctrinarum), see Hāji Khalifah 12578. This book was written by Sirāju-d-Dīn Abū Yaqūb Yusuf bin Abī Muḥammad bin Alī as Sikkākī who died 626 A.H. (1228 A.D.)

The book was divided into three parts, of which the first treated of grammatical inflection, the second of syntax, and the third of arrangement and composition of sentences. (علمی المعانی والبيان) (*Ilmu-l-ma’āni wal bayān*. (Regarding ‘Ilmu-l-bayān, etc., see Garcin de Tassy *Rhetorique des langues de l’orient Musulmān*, pp. 1-5.)

A commentary on all three parts was written by Maṇlā Ḥusāmn-d-Dīn al Muwazzīnī, and this is probably the commentary alluded to in the text. Other commentaries were written on the third part, of which Hāji Khalifah mentions three as worthy of special notice.

³ *Muṭawwal* (commentarius longior). By this book is meant the commentary written by Sa’du-d-Dīn at-Taftazānī (who died 792 A. H.) on the book called *Talkhiṣu-l-Miftāḥ*. It was called by the name of *Muṭawwal* or long commentary because after its completion in A. H. 748 its author wrote a second commentary, an abbreviation of the first, and gave it the name of *Mukhtaṣar* or shorter commentary. (See H. K. II. p. 404).

⁴ All works written by Muslims commence with بِسْمِ اللَّهِ *Bism’illāh*. In the name of God. The word تُمَتَّ *tammat*, stands for تُمَتَّ *tammat*.*il kitāb*, the book is finished, and forms the last word, answering to our word ‘Finis.’ MSS. (A) and (B) write only بِسْمِ.

⁵ *Hidāyah-i-Fiqh.* (see Hāji Khalifah 14366.)

⁶ *Kāfiyah.* The famous grammar known by this name is *Al-Kāfiyat fi-l-nāḥw* (liber sufficiens) whose author was Šaikh Jamālu-d-Dīn abī ‘Umar Uṣmān bin ‘Umr, commonly known as *Ibnu-l-hājib*. (ob: 646 A. H.). For a full account of the work and its various commentaries see H. K. 9707.

*Madārik*¹ and other works, which are read up to the present day.² Sultān Sikandar also collected together learned men³ from all parts of the country to instruct him,⁴ placing on one side Shaikh 'Abd-u-llah, and Shaikh 'Aziz-u-llah, and on the other Shaikh-l-Nadiyah and his son Shaikh⁵ Bhakārī to discuss difficult points. Eventually it became clearly evident that the former pair of worthies were superior in oratory, while the two latter were the better writers. The death of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah occurred in the year 922 H.; the following chronogram was invented to commemorate it: *Ulāika lahum ud-darajātu-l-ulā.*⁶

325.

And among the poets of the time of Sikandar, was the aforesaid Shaikh Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihli, to whom Sultān Sikandar was in the habit of submitting verses which he had written, for his opinion.

Speaking generally, he had many excellent points, he was a man who had travelled much, and had been honoured with the fellowship of our master the saintly Jāmī,⁷ may God sanctify his resting place, and had gained many advantages from⁸ him and won his approbation,⁹ and was moreover in the habit of submitting¹⁰ his poems to that revered master. The following verses are by him :

Verse.

I wear a garment woven of the dust of thy street
And¹¹ that too rent to the skirt with my tears.

*Verse.*¹²

Love's speech is swift, whole centuries of words,
Friend speaks to friend swift as the eye can close.

¹ *Tafsīr-i-Madārik* Explanation of the sources from which are sought the ordinances of the law. See Lane s. v. مدرک

² MS. (A) omits این زمان.

³ MSS. (A) (B) write علماء.

⁴ MS. (A) در دروس خویش.

⁵ Both MSS. (A) (B) write شیخ.

⁶ The text reads wrongly here اولنک لهم درجات العلي. MSS. (A) (B) are correct. The quotation may be found in the Qur'ān (XX. 77). The value of the letters is 922.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit الله.

⁸ MS. (A) omits از.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) در یافته.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) در علائمت.

¹¹ MS. (B) omits و.

¹² MS. (A) omits this couplet.

The following ode also, ¹ which he translated and set to music in his native Hindī, is marvellously inspiring, and is well known.²

My heart's desire is fixed on thy abode
 Oh thou that art long absent from my sight ;
 By day and night the thought of thee alone
 My constant partner is, ask then thy thought
 Should'st thou desire, to bring thee news of me.

He also wrote a *Tazkirah* (Book of Memoirs) to recount the assemblies of some of the Shaikhs of Hindūstān, called the *Siyaru-l-Ārisīn* (Biographies of the Saints) which is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It commences from the venerable Khwāja³ Mu'inu-l-Ḥaqqa wau-d-Din Ajmīri, and finishes with his own spiritual guide Shaikh Samāu-d-Din⁴ Kanbawī of Dihli, in addition to which it contains other matter both⁵ prose and poetry. His *dīwān* is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.

SULTĀN IBRAHĪM BIN SULTĀN SIKANDAR LOVĪ,

Ascended the throne in Āgra in the year 923 H. with the concurrence of the Amīrs, and Shahzāda Jalāl Khān ibn-i-Sultān Sikandar⁶ [was appointed to the rule of Jaunpūr and was styled by the title of Sultān, while Khān-i-Jahān Lūhāni⁷ governor of Rāprī came to Āgra] and blamed the Amīrs greatly for associating (Jalāl Khān) in the government⁸ of the kingdom ; and after that he had pointed out to them the foolishness⁹ of this procedure orders were issued to the Amīrs of the eastern districts to seize Jalāl Khān and bring him to the Court. He however went from Jaunpūr to Kalpi and collected a large following, and after establishing the Khutbah and *sikkah* in his own name, assumed the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn. A'zam Hūmāyūn Shirwānī sided with him for a time, but eventually came and had an audience of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Sultān Ibrāhīm

¹ (A) omits اور هم.

² MS. (A) omits حضرت.

³ MS. (A) جمیری.

⁴ MS. (A) داد م.

⁶ From this point there is a very long omission in MS. (B).

⁸ The portion included in square brackets is repeated twice in MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) نوھانی Nūhānī.

⁸ MS. (A) reads بامرو.

⁹ MS. (A) فص.

sent to the fortress of Hānsi certain of his brothers who were imprisoned, for instance Shāhzāda Isma'il Khān, and Husain Khān, and others,¹ and appointed for each of them food and clothing and two² servants from the private establishment. Then he proceeded in person with the object of conquering³ the Eastern districts, and came to Bhūn Gānw, and having settled the disturbances in Mawās⁴ came to Qanauj. There he nominated a large number of Amirs to proceed against Jalāl Khān, who with thirty thousand cavalry and a certain number of elephants had gone off in the direction of Āgra. Malik Ādām Kākar was sent by the Sultān to defend Āgra, and certain other Amirs arrived to support him. They succeeded in persuading Jalāl Khān, by making pleasing overtures and using attractive arguments, to surrender his paraphernalia of royalty and kingly splendour to the Sultān, in order that they might prefer his application for pardon of his past offences and obtain for him the Kulpi district as a *jāegīr*. Jalāl Khān instantly agreed, and made over his royal canopy, his kettle-drums, *etcetera* to Malik Ādām with instructions to convey them to the Sultān in the neighbourhood of Itāwa.

327.

¹ It will be remembered that A'zam H̄imayūn was the eldest son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, Isma'il and Husain were respectively the fourth and fifth sons, Jalāl being the second son, and Ibrāhīm the third.

² Text reads دو دو MS. (A) more correctly reads دو.

³ MS. (A) بُشْكِير.

⁴ The text reads here : وَآن مَوَاسِهَا رَا پاک گردا : *wa ān Mawāshā rā pāk karda* while MS. (A) reads مَوَاسِهَا *Mawāsā* for مَوَاسِهَا *Mawāshā*. Neither reading is intelligible.

Firishta reads here :

جیچند زمیندار چرتولی من توایع پرگنہ کول کئے از مواس مشہور بود با عمر خان پسروں سکندرخان سور چنگ کردا او را بشہادت رسانید بنابر این ملک قاسم حاکم سنبلہل بر سریش فتھ آن مفسد را بقتل آورد و آن فتنہ ناگہانی را تسلکین دادہ در قنوج بمالزمت پادشاہ رسید -

Jai Chand, a Zemindār of Chartūlī, a dependency of the *pargana* of Kol which was better known as Mawās, had fought against 'Umr Khān the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr and had slain him. Accordingly Malik Qāsun Hākim of Santhal proceeded against him and put that rebel to death, and having quelled that sudden rebellion came and joined the king at Qanauj.

On the strength of Firishta's statement the above translation is given, and I would suggest that the text should read آن مفسدان مواس را.

The Sultān would not agree to his proposal of peace, and despatched a large army to oppose Jalāl Khān, who fled in consternation and took refuge¹ with the Rāja of Gwāliār, and the Amīrs of Sikandar's party, who had heretofore been a source of weakness to the administration of the empire, one and all owned allegiance to the Sultān. The Sultān experienced² a revulsion of feeling with regard to Miyān Bhoh, who was the chief of the Amīrs of Sikandar, and had been his *vazīr* and privy councillor, accordingly he cast him into chains and sent him to Malik Ādām; however, he treated his son with kindness and advanced him to the high offices formerly held by his father. Miyān Bhoh died in prison, and A'zam Humāyūn Shirwānī, the Governor of Karra, was sent with thirty thousand cavalry and three³ hundred elephants to attempt the reduction of Gwāliār. Jalāl Khān fled from Gwāliār and went to Mālwa to Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa. After the arrival of the Sultān's troops Rāi Vikramājīt the son of Rāi Mān Singh,⁴ who, after the decease⁵ of his father, held the government of Gwāliār, was not able to cope with them, and could not properly defend the fortress. The fortress of Bādalgarh, which lies below⁶ the fortress of Gwāliār,⁷ a very lofty structure, was taken from Rāi Mān Singh⁸ and fell into the hands of the Muslims,⁹ and a brazen animal,¹⁰ which was worshipped by the Hindūs also fell into their

¹ MS. (A) omits بود.

² MS. (A) بیو دا سادھا Firishta calls him بھورہ Bhūra.

³ The text reads سو سو سی sad three hundred. MS. (A) reads سی سو سی سی sad thirty hundred. Firishta (Bo. text p. 349.) reads also سو سو سی سی sad.

⁴ MS. (A) مان سنگھ.

⁵ MS. (A) در گذشتن کشتن Firishta says he died.

⁶ MS. (B) continues here.

⁷ This fortress of Bādalgarh is to be distinguished from another fort of the same name mentioned in subsequent page (text page 429) see *Ain-i-Akbari*, I. (B) p. 380 n. 1. Firishta says it had been built by Mān Singh and was a lofty fortified building (Bo. text p. 350).

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omit رای.

⁹ MS. (A) omits اهل.

¹⁰ The text reads صورتی روئین Šūrate rū'in a brazen image: but both MSS. (A) (B) read سُتُری روئین Sutūre rū'in a brazen animal. So also Firishta, who says that it was ultimately erected at the Baghdād gate of Dihlī, and goes on to say that "that cow remained at that gateway till the reign of Akbar" (p. 350).

hands, and was sent by them to Āgra, whence it was sent by Sultān Ibrahim to Dihli, and was put up over the city gate. This image was removed to Fathpūr in the year 992 H., ten years before the composition of this history,¹ where it was seen by the author of this work. It was converted into gongs, and bells, and implements of all kinds.

In those days Sultān Ibrāhim becoming distrustful of the old Amīrs, imprisoned the greater number of them,² and expelled (others) in different directions; and inasmuch as Jalāl Khān could not get on with Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, he fled from Mālwa and came to the country of Kara Kanka,³ where he fell into the hands of a tribe of the Gonds,⁴ who took him prisoner and sent him as a present⁵ to the Sultān who ordered him to be taken to Hānsī and imprisoned with his brothers. While on the way thither he drank of the draught of martyrdom.

The draught of sovereignty and glory is so sweet
 That for its sake kings will shed the blood of their brethren;
 Shed not the blood of the afflicted in heart for the sake of
 kingdom,
 For they will pour the selfsame draught into the cup for
 thee.⁶

After some time, in accordance with the orders of Sultān Ibrāhim, Ā'zam Humāyūn Shirwāni, together with his son Fath Khān, abandoned the siege of Gwāliār Fort which he was within an ace of taking, and came to Āgra, where both were made prisoners. Islām Khān the son of Ā'zam [Khān]⁷ Humāyūn, gathered together⁸ a following in Karra by means of his father's

¹ MS. (B) agreeing with the text. MS. (A) reads جمع این تاریخ.

² MS. (B) reads گردانیده.

³ Text and both MSS. (A) (B). Firīghta (Bo. text 351) reads براجہ کدبہ شناوٹ, fled to the Raja of Kadba (?). It would seem we should read Garha-Katanka which is the name of country bounded on the North by Panna, and on the south by the Dakhan, see Elliot VI. 30.

⁴ For an account of the Gonds, see Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, II 134 et seqq., see also Hunter Imp. Gaz., article Central Provinces.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read تھنہ نہ ساختہ قید.

⁶ Firīghta also has these same lines.

⁷ MS. (A).

⁸ MS. (A) رسانید.

wealth, and, having brought over to his side the Amirs of that district, fought a battle with Ahmad Khān¹ the governor of Karra, and defeated him. Sultān Ibrāhīm accordingly despatched Ahmad Khān, the brother of Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodi, in command of a vast army,² to oppose the Amirs who had fled from his camp and had joined Islām Khān. With him also he sent³ other Khāns of eminence, such as Khān-i-Khānān Farmali, and others of similar rank. Near the township of Bāngarmau, in the neighbourhood of Qanauj,⁴ Iqbal Khān, the chief cavalry commander under Ā'zam Humāyūn, with five thousand cavalry and some splendid elephants, broke out of ambuscade and attacked the forces of the Sultān, and after throwing them all into confusion⁵ withdrew (into ambush). The Sultān by way of precaution despatched⁶ a further force to their assistance, but the enemy, who had about forty thousand cavalry, well armed, and five hundred elephants, shewed a firm front against them, until Naṣir Khān Luhāni with other generals arrived from the direction of Bihār and engaged the enemy on both sides. A fierce conflict ensued between the two armies, such a conflict as baffles description, and after a severe struggle⁷ the rebels were defeated. Islām Khān was killed and Sa'id Khān Lodi was taken prisoner, thus the rebellion was quenched.

Verse.

Do not inflict ingratitude upon a benefactor and generous friend,

Like the cloud, which receives bounty from the ocean, and rains a storm of arrows upon its breast.⁸

As far as you are able, make the requital of favours your habit and custom,

Like the river, which gives to the clouds an ocean in return for one drop of its rain.

And withal that he had gained so important a victory, yet was not the heart of the Sultān favourably disposed towards the

¹ MS. (A) omits نام.

² MS. (A) reads سردار لشکر انبوہ کوہہ.

⁸ MS. (A) نامزد مساخته.

⁴ MS. (A) wrongly inserts و before اقبال.

⁵ Firishta says, "after killing some and wounding many."

⁶ MS. (A) فرستاده و.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) کوشش و کوشش.

⁸ This couplet is also given by Firishta.

Amirs : and they also being aware of this, raised in all directions the banners of antagonism. In the meanwhile, many of the eminent Amirs of royal descent, as for example Ā'zam Humāyūn Shirwāni, and Miyān Bhoī, the Vazir of Sultān Sikandar, departed from this world in the confinement of the prison-house.¹

This is that same journeying place, this interminable desert
 In which the army of Salm and Tūr was lost;²
 This is the selfsame stage, this world of ruin
 Which witnessed the palace of Afrāsiyāb.³

Miyān Husain⁴ Farmali was assassinated in Chanderī, at the instigation of the Sultān, by certain ruffianly Shaikh Zādas of that place, and Daryā Khān Lūhānī, governor of Bihār, and Khān-i-Jahān Lodi being alarmed,⁵ became disaffected. After a short time Daryā Khān died, and his son Bahādur Khān turned rebel and occupied the place of his father. The revolted Amirs made common cause with him, so that he collected a force of nearly a hundred thousand cavalry in the vicinity of Bihār, and gained possession of that country,⁶ assuming the title of Sultān Muhammād,⁷ establishing the *Khuṭbah* and *sikka* in his own name. His army penetrated as far as the country of Sambal, and brought it within the area of their control.⁸ The *Khuṭbah* was read in his name in Bihār and the territories adjacent, for some time. It so happened that the son of Daulat Khān Lodi, whose name was Khān-i-Khānān⁹ came from Lāhor to Āgra to visit the Sultān, but being suspicious of his intentions fled from his court, and went to his father. Daulat Khān, seeing no hope of obtaining release from the (wrath of the) Sultān, sent that same son of his¹⁰ to Kābul. He accordingly did homage to the supreme King, Zahīru-

330.

¹ MS. (A) reads در قید.

² MS. (A) reads مرحلہ. MS. (B) مرحامت. For the story of Salm and Tūr two of the sons of Faridūn, see *Shahnamā* (Atkinson) page 49 et seqq., also *Shahnamā* (Turner Macan) pp. 58 to 83.

³ MS. (A) reads دیده است.

⁴ MS. (A). ⁵ MS. (B) هراسان.

⁶ MS. (A) omits و. Firishta adds as far as Sambal.

⁷ Footnote variant محمد Mahmud. Firishta reads Muhammād.

⁸ MS. (A) ضبط و تصرف. MS. (B) تصرف و ضبط. Text ضبط و تصرف.

⁹ Firishta says غازی خان. ¹⁰ MS. (B) پسر خود را.

d-Din Bābar, and induced him to advance against Hindūstān. Eventually Khān-i-Khānān laid a complaint¹ against his father before the supreme King Bābar, and poisoned his mind against him, and led to discord between them, as will be related if the Most High God so will it. Khān-i-Khānān was living up to the date of the rebellion of Sher Shāh, but at last died in prison. Sultān Muḥammad departed to the world of permanence from Bihār, and the Amirs on all sides rebelled against Sultān Ibrāhim, and great damage was inflicted upon the kingdom. The pillars of the empire began to totter,² and the standard of the fortune of King Bābar floated high.

331. The following is a brief epitome of the matter: Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān his son, together with the other noble Amirs of Sultān Ibrāhim, sent ‘Alam Khān Lodi to Kābul, bearing despatches to Zahru-d-Din Bābar Pādīshāh, inviting him to attempt the conquest of Hindūstān. Accordingly Bābar Pādīshāh appointed a number of his own Amirs to accompany ‘Alam Khan, with orders to advance and conquer that country. Having conquered Siālkot and Lāhor with its dependencies, they represented the condition of affairs (to Bābar) and the following qī‘ah was written to commemorate the date of the conquest of Hindūstān.

Verse.

Zahru-d-Din Muḥammad Shāh Bābar,
In fortune Sikandar, in force a Bahrām,
By his fortune conquered the country of Hind,
The date of this was *Fath bādaulat*.³ (Victory by fortune).

Bābar Pādīshāh marching continuously, arrived at the banks of the river Indus, and drew up the whole force, composed of ten thousand [veteran] cavalry⁴ in that camp after passing the troops in review. In the interval, Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān had turned back with thirty thousand veteran⁵ cavalry composed of Afghāns and other tribes, and had occupied the town of Kalānūr, and prepared to engage Bābar's Amirs at

¹ MS. (B) writes شکایت after خود instead of before it as in the text.
MS. (A) reads معتاب for شکایت.

² MSS. (A) (B) افتاد.

³ قفتح بدولت *Fath bā daulat*. These letters give the date 930 H.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit مرد کاری.

⁵ MS. (B) omits سوار.

Lāhor, while Amīr Khusrū, who had strengthened the fortress of Siālkot, evacuated it as soon as Ghāzi Khān arrived, and took refuge in flight to the camp. Some days afterwards Bābar arrived at Siālkot where he encamped [and after laying waste the township of Siālkot founded Dholpur].¹ ‘Ālam Khān proceeded to Dihli by order of Bābar, and encountering Sultān Ibrāhim, made² a night attack upon the army of the Sultān; and Jalāl Khān with certain other Amirs arrived in the course of that night and joined ‘Ālam Khān. Sultān Ibrāhim did not stir from his tent till dawn. The followers³ of ‘Ālam Khān, fancying they had secured an easy victory, were scattered in all directions, only a small number remained⁴ with ‘Ālam Khān. Sultān Ibrāhim, urging an elephant forward, attacked the enemy's centre, who could not withstand⁵ his attack. The faithless ‘Ālam Khān passing through⁶ the Doāb came to Sihrind, and thence fled for refuge to the fortress of Gungūna,⁷ one of the dependencies of Malot,⁸ at the foot of the hills. Dilāwar Khān Luhāni separated from him, and joined the service of Bābar Padishāh, and became one of his faithful adherents. ‘Ālam Khān also after some time came and had an interview with Bābar, who, in accordance with his former custom, gave him an honourable reception, and as he was halting at the time of the interview he distinguished him with a robe of honour and other marks of favour; and when he pitched camp in the neighbourhood of Kalānūr, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and other Amirs⁹ came from Lāhor and joined him. Thence he proceeded to the fortress of Malot in which Ghāzi Khān [and Daulat Khān were, and besieged it, and Ghāzi Khān and Khān-i-Khānān]¹⁰ determined upon flight

¹ Not in either MS. (A) or (B) a footnote to the text states that this passage occurs in one MS. only.

² MSS. (A) (B) أورد و.

³ The text reads rightly عالم خانیان. MS. A reads عالم خان.

⁴ MS. (A) مانند.

⁵ MS. (B) ثابت پا.

⁶ MS. (B) omits دشنه.

⁷ The text and both MSS. read Gungūna. See Erskine's Bābar, p. 300. "The fort of Kinkūteh."

⁸ In Pind Dādan Khān taḥsil Jhilam, District Panjab, see Hunter Imp. Gas., IX. 263.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) امراء.

¹⁰ Not in text. cf. MSS. (A) (B) which read MS. (A)

و دونغان دران بوندہ رفتہ محاصرہ نمود

and left the fort. Daulat Khān hastened to tender his submission, and his faults were¹ pardoned as on former occasions; and on the day of public audience when they brought him into the presence with two swords tied round his neck, orders were given that he was not to be brought in in that (humiliating) manner. On the contrary, Bābar sent him a respectful summons, and bidding him be seated² gave him a place near himself.³

That is (true) generosity to shew kindness to the wrongdoer,
For the generous cannot but shew kindness to a friend.

However, he distributed his effects among the soldiery,⁴ and the fortress of Malot, which apparently means Malot itself, fell into the hands of Bābar Pādīshāh. Some few days after this occurrence

333. Daulat Khān, who had been imprisoned by Bābar, died in prison⁵ and Bābar proceeded to the Siwālik hills in pursuit of Ghāzi Khān, and encamped⁶ at the foot of the Dūn,⁷ which is a very high hill, Ghāzi Khān was not to be found. Bābar accordingly returned stage by stage to the frontiers of Sihrind, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Ghaghār;⁸ thence he came to the borders of⁹ Sāmāna and Sanām, and gave orders to Amīr Kittah Beg to¹⁰ proceed to within a short distance of the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who, after the defeat of 'Alam Khān, had stood fast¹¹ near Dihli,

مساورة نمودن و غازی خان و خانخان از ان قلعه فرار داده

گناهان او.

¹ MS. (A) reads جای دادن و فرمود نشستن.

² Compare the account of this given by Bābar himself, see Elliot IV. 246. Firishta's account (Bo. text p. 378) tallies with that given by our author.

⁴ In MS. (A) the word بسپاهیان precedes قسمت: in the text it follows it.

⁵ Firishta does not mention the death of Daulat Khān, and tells us that Bābar took possession of Ghāzi Khān's library of valuable books, of which he kept some for himself and gave the rest away.

⁶ MS. (A) نزول فرمود.

⁷ The text reads دامن کوہ نادون with a footnote variant هندون. MSS. (A) (B) read دامن کوہ دون, see Tuzak-i-Bābarī, Elliot IV. 247. "Marching thence and passing the small hills of Abkand by Milwat we reached Dūn. In the language of Hindustan they call a Jūlga (or dale) Dūn."

⁸ MS. (A) گھر.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) omit در بددرد.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits امکن.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) ممکن بود.

and bring intelligence of the position and strength of his army; and at this camp Baban the Afḡhān who had been in revolt came and had an interview (with Bābar). From this camp also Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā, together with Khwāja Kalān Beg and other notable Amirs, were despatched against Ḥamid Khān the *Khaṣṣ-i-Khalīl* (Chief of Cavalry) of Sultān Ibrāhim, who was advancing at the head of a force from Hīssār Firoza to give them battle. They proceeded by forced marches, and a severe engagement took place. Ḥamid Khān was defeated, many of his men being either killed or taken prisoners.¹ The *sarkār* of Hīssār Firoza with a revenue of two crores,² was given as a reward to the Shāhzāda, and Bābar Pādīshāh encamped on the bank of the Jamna, two marches from Shāhbād, and detailed Khwāja Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, and Sultān Junaid Mirzā³ Birlās to oppose Dā'ud Khān and a body of Amirs of the army of Sultān Ibrāhim, who had crossed the Jamna with five or six thousand cavalry. Accordingly they also crossed the Jamna and gave the Afḡhāns a second drubbing, killing them and taking them prisoners, while the remnant of the sword took refuge in the camp of Sultān Ibrāhim.

Marching thence, having drawn up his right and left wings and centre,⁴ King Bābar reviewed them in person. Eight hundred gun-carriages⁵ had been prepared in one day. Ustād 'Ali Quli the Artillerist, acting upon my orders, had followed the custom of the Turkish artillery, and bound together the gun-carriages with chains and raw-hide thongs, twisting them into the form of a whip-lash.⁶ And in the interval between each pair of gun-carriages six or seven shelter parapets⁸ were placed, so that on the day of

334.

¹ MS. (B) اسیور.

² MS. (A) دو کروڑ, see however *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (J.) 293. ³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ بُر انغار barāngāhār, right wing. جو انغار jawāngāhār, left wing, called also قول jawāngāl. عول ghāl or qāl, means the centre of an army. (See Pavet de Courteille Dict. Turk-oriental), see also Erskine's Bābar, p. 227.

⁵ Text writes طرابہ. MS. (A) writes this word طرابہ.

⁶ Ustād 'Ali Quli (Erskine's Bābar, p. 302).

⁷ اونچھی P. de C. does not give this word. (?) قمی the end of a whip, i. e., the lash. See Erskine's Bābar, p. 304.

⁸ The text reads توبڑہ پر خاک tūbra-i-purkhāk. MS. (A) omits the words purkhāk, while MS. (B) writes پر خاک تفتگ purkhāk-i-tufṭāṅ. All these readings appear to be incorrect. For توبڑہ tūbra, we should read توبڑہ

the battle the riflemen might be able to fire in safety from the shelter of the guns and parapets. He had determined¹ to march, and encamp with the city of Pānipath in the rear of his army, and to use the line of gun-carriages as a front line of defence for his troops,² while the cavalry and infantry should come into action from behind the gun-carriages with³ arrow and musketry fire, while the remainder of the cavalry should advance on both sides, and keep up a constant attack,⁴ and in case of necessity should retire to the cover afforded by the gun-carriages.⁵ Accordingly on Thursday the last day of Jumaidu-l-Ākhir⁶ 932 H., he encamped in the vicinity of the city of Pānipath, at a distance of six *krohs* from the camp of Sultān Ibrāhim, whose force was composed of a hundred thousand cavalry and a thousand elephants, while the army of Bābar Pādishāh⁷ comprised fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry on a rough estimate.⁸ The troops under Bābar used to make daily sallies from unexpected quarters, and attack the Afghān army, bringing in several heads: in spite of which Sultān Ibrāhim and his men did not dare to make a single attempt at any counter attack during all this time.⁹ At last one night Mahdi Khwāja, Muhammad Sultān Mirzā and certain other Āmirs, with five or six¹⁰ thousand men made a night attack¹¹ upon Sultān Ibrāhim's army, and after killing a large

tūra, with the meaning *palisades* or *abattis*, see Pavet de Courteille Dict. *Turko-oriental* s. v. تورہ قورا *tūra qura* pièces de bois et de fer qu'on relie ensemble avec des chaînes et des crochets, et derrière lesquelles s'abritent les soldats. See also Erskine's Bābar, p. 304 n. 2. See also Pers: Lat Lexicon s. v. قورا، also Elliott IV. 251. n. 4. This seems to be undoubtedly the correct reading, the word توبرة *tūbra* having been written by our author in mistake for تورہ, the words پر خاک having been subsequently added. Sacks full of gunpowder would form a not very comfortable shelter for riflemen.

بے تیرو و تفنگ ۱ MS. (B). پیش مپاہ ۲ MS. (A). قرار او ۳ MS. (B).

۴ The text reads بمدافع و مقادله with a footnote to say that this is the reading of all three MSS., but that probably the verbal noun of action should have been written. MS. (A) gives this verbal noun مدافعه. So that clearly this MS. was not one of the three from which the text was edited.

۵ MS. (B) omits عرابہ and writes بار تعقب.

۶ April 12, 1526. بادشاہ ۷ MS. (B). تخمینا ۸ MS. (B).

۹ MS. (A) writes ظاهر نشد for ظاهر. MS. (B) writes wrongly واقع. جراحتی ۱0 MS. (A) writes شش for جراحتی. شیخون ۱1 MS. (A).

۱0 MSS. (A) (B). پنج شش.

۱1 MS. (A).

number of them returned in safety. In spite of the consternation into which this threw them, the enemy were not put upon their guard,¹ and on Friday the eighth of the honoured month Rajab² in the aforesaid year, Sultān Ibrāhīm with a large army, strong as the brazen rampart of Sikandar,³ clad in iron armour came out to the fight.

Bābar Padishāh also, having arrayed his army with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and shewing a firm unbroken front, gave orders detailing from the left wing Amīr Qarā Qūrchi and Amīr Shaikh ‘Alī, with certain other Amīrs, and from the right wing, Wali Qizil and Bāba Qushqah, with the whole force of Muğhūls, to form two parties and attack the enemy in the rear, while the Amīrs of the right and left wings in a body, and from the picked troops,⁴ Amīr Muḥammad Gokultāsh, and Amīr Yūnas ‘Alī, and Amīr Shāh Mansūr Birlās, with other famous Amīrs, should lead the front attack: and since the Afghāns [were specially observant of the right wing, Amīr ‘Abdu-l-‘azīz, who was with the reserve, was ordered by king Bābar to reinforce the right wing],⁵ and when he got within bowshot of the enemy,⁶ the bodies of the enemies took to themselves wings, and the bird of the soul of many of them took flight from the cage of the body, while the wings of others⁷ were clipped by the shears of the two-edged sword.

Verse.

So vast was the river of blood which flowed on that battle field

That the feet of the warriors could not stand against its flood ;
The breeze which blew from that battle field at morning time
Brought to the nostrils the odour of the heart's blood.

The slain lay in heaps,⁸ while those who escaped death by the sword became the portion for kites and ravens. A period of two

¹ MS. (A) writes پر را گند شد MS. (B) agrees with the text.

² المُرَجَّب *Al-murajjab*. So called because in the Time of Ignorance it was held in special honour, inasmuch as war or fighting during this month was held to be unlawful, see Lane s.v. رجب.

³ MS. (A) omits اسکندر.

⁴ MS. (B) فوج.

⁵ Omitted from MS (B).

⁶ The text is wrong here: we should read در شیده تیر *dar shaiba-i-tir* on the authority of MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ MS (B) supplies بعضاً after پر و بال.

⁸ We should read واز کشته پشته شد.

*qarns*¹ has elapsed since this event up to the time of the composition of this *Muntakhab*, but up to the present, the noise of conflict and shouts of combatants proceeding from that field of battle reach the ears of travellers at night.

In the year 997 H. (1588 A.D.) the writer of these pages² was proceeding one day at early morning³ from the city of

336. Lāhor towards Fathpūr, and had to cross that plain, when these terrifying noises reached his ears, and the people who were with him imagined that some enemy was upon them. I also witnessed with my own eyes what I had heard related. Submitting this divine mystery to the Almighty we went on our way.

Sultān Ibrāhim together with a party of attendants was taken in an unknown desert and put to the sword, his head⁴ was brought into the presence of Bābar Pādishāh, and⁵ about five or six thousand who formed Sultān Ibrāhim's retinue were put to death in the one spot.

Verse.

It is plainly evident⁶ to thee that this dark world is a snare of calamity,

Thou knowest⁷ now that the world is full of guile, and desperately deceitful.

That man from fear of whom no one would enter the water

He himself is drowned in the ocean, an ocean without bounds.⁸ Bābar Pādishāh after gaining this⁹ signal victory departed thence, and reached Dihli¹⁰ on the same day and encamped there. He then caused the *Khuṭbah* to be read in his name,¹¹ despatching Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā and all the Amirs to Āgra, with orders to make forced marches, and to seize the treasure¹² belonging to Ibrāhim, which was of untold value, and divide it among the soldiery.¹³

¹ The قرن *qarn* is an uncertain period of time, here it probably means a space of forty years.

² MSS. (A) (B) اوراق را.

³ MS. (A) وقت سحری.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) سرمش را.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) supply و.

⁶ MS. (B) reads روز شب.

⁷ MS. (B) reads حیرتی.

⁸ Read here بنا پہننا for با پہننا. A footnote to the text states that تاپہننا is the reading of all three MSS.

⁹ MS. (A) بہ دہلی. ¹⁰ MS. (B) omits این چنین فتح.

¹¹ MS. (A) (B) خوبیہ کے. ¹² MS. (A) (B) نمودند.

Verse.

He who sacrifices his life upon the field of battle
 Sacrifice thy gold to him by way of generosity.
 However brave-hearted a man may be
 He cannot be eager to fight when he is without food.¹

This event took place in the year 932 H. (1525 A.D.), and the Hindūs invented this date *Shahid shudan-i-Ibrāhīm*² (the martyrdom of Ibrāhīm) to commemorate it. From that time the empire once more passed from the Afghān Lodi family, and rested on the descendants of Amir Timūr Sāhibqirān. The duration of the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm was nine years.

ZAHIRU-D-DIN MUHAMMAD BĀBAR PĀDISHĀH GRĀZI.

337.

After this ascended³ the throne⁴ of sovereignty, and by his justice and liberality adorned the world with fresh lustre and glory, and sent rewards to Samarqand, ‘Irāq, Khurāsān and Kāshgār. He also despatched offerings⁵ to the sacred cities of Makkah and Medinah, and to the holy places of pilgrimage, and sent off gold beyond price to all the inhabitants of Badakhshān and Kābul, to each its separate store, from the vast treasures of Hindūstān. He converted the world into a rose garden. The Amirs of Hindūstān, notwithstanding his conciliatory behaviour and efforts to improve⁶ their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him, but behaved like unruly savages,⁷ and took to fortifying themselves in their fortresses and estates,⁸ while Qāsim Sanbālī in Sambal, and Nizām Khān in Baiāna, and Hasan Khān Miwātī in Alwar, and Tātār Khān Sārang Khān⁹ in Gwāliār, took refuge in their respective fortresses. Itāwa was held by Qutb Khān, and Kalpī by ‘Alam Khān, while Qanauj and all the eastern districts were in the possession of the Afghāns, who, in the reign of Sultān Ibrahim also, had refused to own his sway,¹⁰ and¹¹ having raised the son of Bihār Khān to the throne, gave¹² him the title of Sultān Muhammād; his empire extended as far as

1 MS. (B) reads مُرگِی!.

2 شہید شدن ابراهیم = 932.

3 MSS. (A) (B) نمود.

4 سرپر.

5 MS. (A) نذور.

6 MS. (A) ترقیہ.

6 متوحش بودہ after متوحش.

8 MS. (A) omits و بقاع.

9 MS. (A) سارنگ خان.

10 MS. (A) نمیکرد.

11 MSS. (A) (B) supply ۹.

12 MS. (A) نهادند.

Bihār, and Nasīr Khān Lūhānī and Ma'rūf Farmali and other powerful Amirs gave in their allegiance to him, while a slave of Sultān Ibrāhim named Marghūb, having fortified the township of Mahāwan, which is situated at a distance of twenty *krohs* from Agra, on the far side of the river Jamna, refused to own him as king.

Accordingly troops were detailed by Bābar Pādishāh to conquer these countries, and Firoz Khān, and Sārang Khān,¹ and Shaikh Bāyazid, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmali, with other Afghāns coming and tendering their submission, were given *jāegirs*.² Shaikh Khūran who was one of the Hindustāni Amirs, and also one of their most accomplished men,³ being unrivalled in the art of music, came with his whole following and had an interview (with Bābar) in the Doāb.

The territory of Sambal was conferred as a *jāegir* upon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā. The Amirs seized Qāsim Sanbali and sent him to Bābar, while another body of men had been sent against Baiāna, and had besieged Nizām Khān, keeping him closely invested. In this year also Rānā Sānkā having wrested the fortress of Khandār,⁴ which is in the vicinity of Rantānbhūr, from Ḥasan son of Makhan, was in possession of it; and Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā,⁵ with a party of Amirs who had been appointed⁶ to capture and hold Dholpūr, were ordered to proceed against a body of Afghāns of the Lūhānī faction who were close on fifty thousand, and had advanced beyond Qanauj. Both Saiyyid Mahdi Khwāja, and Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, who had been ordered to capture Itāwa,⁷ joined the retinue of the Shāhzāda,⁸ who brought into subjection the whole of the eastern districts as far as Jaunpūr. In the meanwhile Rānā Sānkā and Ḥasan Khān Miwāti raised to the throne one of the sons of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, named Sultān Muḥammad, with the title of Pādshāh, and started on an expedition against the territories of Bābar with a large following and vast⁹ army.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) خانی.

² MSS. (A) (B) جایگیرها.

³ MSS. (A) (B) متعین.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) کندار.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) ا.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) معین.

⁷ MS. (B) writes مادا for مادا.

⁸ MS. (A) writes شاہ شاہ.

⁹ MS. (A) بیبايان.

Marching by way of Basāwar¹ they arrived in the neighbourhood of Faṭhpūr, otherwise known as Sikri.² Nizām Khān, the Governor of Baiāna made representations to the Court of Bābar and gained a certain degree of influence. Rafī'u-d-Dīn Ṣafwī, who was one of the most powerful Saiyyids of Balkh,³ and the chief⁴ of the traditionists, and who, having come to Hindūstān in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, had been given the title of *Ḥazrat-i-Muqaddas* (His Holiness), came and had audience of the Sultān and tendered his service. Tārtār Khān Sārang Khānī also, after that Rānā Sānkā seized the fortress of Khandhār, and the infidels had got the upper hand, first of all sent a representation to King (Bābar) saying, I intend to surrender the fortress of Gwāliār; but when Khwāja Raḥīm⁵ Dād and Shaikh Khūran and a further party also arrived, he was ashamed (of this weakness). This party then, by the guidance of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghāus, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority on the science of *da'watū-l-asmā*,⁶ entered the fort by some skilful stratagem and took it from Tārtār Khān whether he would or no, and sent him into the presence of Bābar Pādishāh. In just this same way also Muḥammad Zaitūn the Afgān gave up the fort of Dholpūr to⁷ the Amirs of Bābar, and coming in had an interview with the King. In the meanwhile, Rānā Sānkā⁸ had arrived on the confines of Baiāna and was doing damage to the country, and had, after a halt of a few days, reached Faṭhpūr; Bābar Pādishāh, with a small body of the soldiery which he had with him, left the capital of Āgra with the object of engaging him in battle. He also wrote⁹ a despatch to summon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā, ordering him to leave Jaunpūr in charge of certain eminent Amirs, and to come himself with all speed to take part in that war; the victorious Prince, having taken the country of Ḥarānd¹⁰ and

335

¹ MS. (A) پشاور.² See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 433.³ MSS. (A) (B) ابک.⁴ MS. (A) اعظم.⁵ MS. (B) جم.

⁶ Lit.: calling upon the names (of God). This is a term used to express a system of incantation which is held to be lawful by orthodox Muḥammadans. For a full account of it, see Hughes (Dict. of Islām) article *Da'wah*, p. 72. MS. (B) reads دعوات. The text has a misprint for رہمنوی رہمنوی.

⁷ MS. (A) ب.⁸ MSS. (A) (B) لیل.⁹ MS. (B) می نوشند.¹⁰ Footnote variant to the text reads حربہ.

Bihār from Nasir Khān¹ Luhānī, and having appointed Khwāja Amīr, Shāh Ḥasan and Amīr Junaid Birlās to the government of Jaunpūr, proceeded by way of Kalpī, and by adopting measures partly peaceful and partly warlike, brought over ‘Ālam Khān the governor of that place,² and made him one of his adherents. He lost no time in attaching himself to the king's service, and was granted many royal favours.

At this same time, that pattern for the great³ and noble, Khwāja Khāwind Naqshbandi arrived from Kābul, and the Amīrs sitting in council determined by a majority, that, seeing that the army of Rānā Sānkā is currently reported to exceed in multitude the ants and locusts, it appears advisable to strengthen the fortress of Āgra, and that, leaving it in charge of a garrison, the sovereign of Islām should proceed in his own excellent person towards the

- 340.** Panjāb, and wait for the development of unseen events. The king did not agree to the decision of this council, but girded up his loins to carry into effect his intention of a *jihād*, and setting his heart upon martyrdom, marched in the direction of the field of Fathpūr and made this project the aim and object of his ambition.⁴

Verses.

Since the soul must of necessity at last leave the body,
This is best, that, when the time comes, it should at least
depart with honour.

The end of the world is this, and nothing more
That after a man's death, his name should remain.

The Amīrs also, placing their hands upon the sacred word, (the Qur'ān), swore an oath to renew their compact and carry out their intention of making war upon the infidels, for the exaltation of the sublime creed,⁵ and the promulgation of the

¹ A footnote variant نصرت خان Nuṣrat Khān. So also MS. (B).

² MS. (B) reads حاکم بخارا Hākim-i-Bukhārā.

³ The text reads قدرة الاعظم so also MSS. (A) (B). A footnote to the text says that this reading is found in all three copies, but that اعظم is correct.

⁴ MS. (A) همت والا نهمت.

⁵ The كلام Kalimah. "There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God," see Qur'ān xlvi. 21 and xlvi. 29. See also Hughes (Dict. of Islām) art : *Kalimah*.

glorious law, deeming the field of battle to be a joyful assembly; and doing full justice¹ to the claims of manliness in such a way as the eye of time had never before witnessed, and after many strenuous efforts the standards of Islâm floated bravely on high, while the banners of infidelity were laid low. In the thick of the fight an arrow found its way to the forehead of Hasan Khân Miwâti, who was an infidel who used the Kalimah; they cast him into a well and took to flight, while he fell into the well of Hell, although a certain Miwâti,² a jogi³ in form and appearance, in the year 960 H., after the death of Salim Shâh Afghân Sûr, raised a rebellion in Miwât, and called himself⁴ Hasan Khân, and mentioned certain of the secret signs to the Miwâtis, still, a certain number acknowledged him. The composer of this *Muntakhab* (selection) also, in the year 965 H. (1557 A.D.) saw him⁵ in Āgra, but no signs of nobility or authority were visible in his features,⁶ and the late *Khân-i-Khânân* Bairam Khân used to say, that Hasan Khân Miwâti⁷ was a man who commanded a large following,⁸ and was of kingly appearance, and had a poetical temperament. His poems are well known; but this mannikin⁹ resembled¹⁰ an uncouth rustic, his appearance was extremely repulsive.¹¹ God forbid that this wretch, should be that Hasan Khân.

After some time certain of the Khânzâdas of Miwât moved by indignation and jealousy put him to death. A short time after this¹² victory, that gallant king was attacked by a severe illness, and after that he had reached the age of fifty years, he departed from this transitory world to the eternal realms in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.).

341.

THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF SHÂH BÂBAR.

This took place in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven. The words *Shash-i-Shawwâl*¹³ also form the date of his decease,

¹ MS. (B) reads دادند.² MS. (B) omits میوانی.³ MS. (A) reads چوکی. ⁴ MS. (B) میگرفت. Text and MS. (A) میگفت.⁵ MS. (B) بودند.⁶ Both MSS. (A) (B) omit هیچ.⁷ Both MSS. (A) (B) read میوانی for مذکور.⁸ MS. (A) reads صاحب حجتی.⁹ MSS. (A)(B) مودک.¹⁰ MS. (B) نماید.¹¹ Lit. like that of a changeling.¹² MSS. (A) (B) omit این.¹³ شش شوال = 937 (H).

while the date of his birth may be found from this couplet.

Since this revered monarch was born in the sixth of Muḥarram,

The year of his birth¹ also is *Shash-i-Muḥarram*.

The duration of his reign in Māwārā-annahr, Badakhshān, Kābul, and Kāshghar, as well as in Hindustān, was² thirty-eight years. He had succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twelve, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg wrote this couplet in his funeral ode :

Alas ! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee.

Alas ! and Alas ! that time should remain and thou should'st be gone.

Among the learned men of his time is Shaikh Zain Khānī,³ who translated in most elegant⁴ style, the *Wāqi'at-i-Bābarī*,⁵ which the deceased monarch wrote, and the following verses are by him :

Verses.

342. Thou hast rested with thy guardians and hast fled from me
What have I done ? or what hast thou heard or seen from
me ?

There was no necessity for injustice to enable thee to seize
my heart.

I would have yielded it had'st thou but desired it of me.

Verses.⁶

So straitened did my heart become for longing for those lips
of thine

Too narrow was the way by which my soul should quit its
earthly shrine.

¹ The text reads correctly تاریخ میل او but but تاریخ میل اور فوت *tārikh-i-faught*, the date of his death.

² The letters of the words شش محرم give the date 888 H. This would make him fifty years of age in 938 H. This couplet has a variant reading which is given in the footnote to the text.

³ MS. (A) omits بود.

⁸ MS. (A) reads ذین حواضت.

⁴ *Wāqi'at-i-Bābarī*. This, called also *Tūzak-i-Bābarī* is the work of which Erskine's translation is so well-known. I can find no other reference to the translation from the original Tūrkī here referred to by our author. See Elliot V. 218 *et seqq.*, also Erskine's Bābar (Introduction).

Footnote variant فصیح.

⁶ MS. (A) reads و ل.

My verses are both rational and traditional, and my desire is, that Maulānā Hasan, who comprises in himself all rational¹ and traditional science, may hear them.

Another is Maulānā Baqā'i who wrote a Maṣnāvi in the metre of the Makhzan-i-Asrār.² At the moment I do not remember a single poem of his.

Another³ is Maulānā Shihābu-d-Din the Enigmatist, whose general learning was overshadowed by his special skill in the composition of enigmas, and⁴ at the time when Darmash Khān⁵ was appointed⁶ by Shāh Isma'il Ṣafawī Husaini to the Governorship of Khurāsān, that prince of traditionists, Mir Jamālu-d-Dīn, the traditionist, one day while the preaching was going on, in dispelling the apparent contradiction between the sacred word *Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days,*⁷ and that true Ḥadīṣ (tradition) that *He created the world in seven days*,⁸ explained it in two ways; Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn⁹ refuted it, by adducing one after another several excellent arguments, and wrote a treatise on that subject, to which the learned divines of that time subscribed¹⁰ their signatures. The writer of these pages also on the same occasion wrote a few lines of prose and poetry, from which the following *rubā'i* is selected;¹¹

Quatrain.

343

This writing which has appeared like lawful magic,
Its poetry and prose are purer than the purest water.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read معمول.

² MS. (A) supplies اسرار. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I. p. 595 n 2, also Beale, p. 67.

³ MSS. (A) (B) و دیگری. See Beale, p. 243. Shihābu-d-Dīn died in the reign of Humāyūn 942 A. H. See next page.

⁴ MS. (A) در زمانی که.

⁵ MS. (A) درمش خان.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) منصوب شد.

⁷ Qur'ān VII. 52 X. 3.

⁸ See *Mīshkāt* xxiv. I. 3. "God created the earth on Saturday, and the hills on it on Sunday, and the trees on Monday, and unpleasant things on Tuesday, and he created the light on Wednesday, and scattered the beasts of the earth on Thursday, and created Adam after afternoon prayer on Friday, the last of the creation."

⁹ MS. (B) writes Shihāb only.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) write بخت کوہا اندھہ.

¹¹ The text reads فقیر اسست ازان جملہ فقیر اسست. MS. (A) omits the word and MS. (B) reads نقش possibly for نقش.

It is a gleam from the brightness of "the brilliant Star,¹
In describing whose dignity the tongue of meditation is struck
dumb.

The following enigma on the name Kāshif is also by him.

Quatrain.

With a view to deceive the heart of this broken-hearted one,
That idol with mouth like the rosebud is every moment²
displaying coquetry.

Upon the leaf of the rose she wrote that curling ringlet
And then displayed her moon-bright face from³ one corner.⁴

The death of the Maulavī took place at the time of the return of the Emperor Muhammad Humāyūn, whose abode is in Paradise, from his expedition to Gujrāt in the year 942 H., and Mir Khond⁵ Amir the historian invented the chronogram Shihābu-s-sāqib. And one of the wonderful⁶ inventions of that Emperor, whose shelter is the pardon of God, is the Khatt-i-Bābarī (the Bābarī script), in which writing he indited a copy of the Qur'ān, and sent it to the sacred city of Makka: his anthology of Persian and Tūrki poetry is well-known. He has also composed a book on the Hanifite Theology called *Mubaiyyin*,⁷ and Shaikh Zainu-d-Din⁸ wrote a commentary upon it which he entitled *Mubīn*. His treatises⁹ on Prosody are also in common use.

¹ Shihābu-d-Dīn was called Shihābu-s-sāqib; these words also give the date of his death, see post.

² MS. (A) reads از for میں. ³ MS. (A) reads دز for ذ.

⁴ The following is the explanation of this *Mu'mma* which is contained in the two last lines of the *Rubā'i*. That is to say: she took the word كَل and removed from it the *dāira* or curved portion of the ل *lām*, thus leaving ک; to this she added آن سر زلف, that is to say the last letter of the word زلف, the letter ف, thus having کاف...کاف. To this she added رکھی ماں *rukh-i-mah*, the first letter of the word شہر, which is in Arabic شهر. This will give the whole word کاشف.

⁵ MS. (A), see Beale, p. 150. ⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit غوابی.

⁷ The text reads مبین نام بفتح باء مثناة.

⁸ MS. (A), see Elliot and Dowson IV. 288, et seqq.

⁹ MS. (B) reads وسائل for وسائل, see Elliot and Dowson IV. 219.

Verse.

The heaven, whose sole skill is oppression,
Has this one object, to wring each moment the heart's blood ;
It gives not to the tulip the crown of royalty without laying
low under the foot of oppression the head of a crowned
monarch.

Naṣīru-d-Dīn [Wau-d-Dunyā]¹ Muḥammad Humāyūn
Pādshāh-i-Ghāzi.

344.

Marching by forced marches from Sanbal in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.), with the concurrence of Amir Khalifa who was the agent and prime minister² of the Government, ascended the throne. The following chronogram was invented to record the date.

Verse.

Muhammad Humayun Shāh of auspicious fortune
Who is the best of kings by virtue of his merit
The year in which he ascended the kingly throne
Was distinguished by the words "Khairu-l-Muluk."³

Moreover, inasmuch as at the time of his accession he made present of trays filled with gold, another chronogram was invented in the words *Kighti-i-Zar* (Tray of gold). After disposing of all matters of importance he led an army against the fortress of Kālinjar,⁴ and,⁵ after quelling the insurrection of Sultān 'Ālam ibn-i-Sultān Sikandar Lodi, who had raised a revolt in Jaunpūr, returned to Āgra and made a great feast, at which entertainment twelve thousand people were distinguished by the bestowal of robes of honour.

Verse.

A king will have the upper hand of his enemies
When his army is happy and contented ;
But if he withholds their just reward from his soldiery,
They in turn will withhold their hands from the sword.

In those days,⁶ Muhammad Zamān Mirzā ibn-i-Badi'u-z-Zamān Mirzā⁷ ibn-i-Sultān Husain Mirzā, who had hostile intentions

¹ MS. (A).² The text reads وَزِير سُلْطَنَتْ وَكِيل وَوزِير مَطْقَنْ. MS. (A) reads وزیر سلطنت.³ خیرالملوک Khairu-l-Muluk. Best of Kings. The letters of the words give the date 937 H., as do also the letters of the words کشتنی فر خیرالملوک *kashf-i-khalid* in the next line.⁴ MS. (B) writes کالیچار Kalichar and بود پھر kashiddeh boud.⁵ MSS. (A)(B) supply و دران ایام MS. (A) دران ایام MS. (B) میوزا !

was captured. Sending him to the fortress of Baiāna, orders were given for his eyes to be put out. The pupil of his eye remained uninjured however, and shortly after, he escaped from prison and fled for refuge to Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt. It is said that at the time when Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā joined Sultān Bahādur, the latter was engaged in besieging Chitor, and the weather was exceedingly hot. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā was seized with a pain at the heart,¹ for the cure of which the physicians declared *gulqand* (confection of roses)² to be indispensable. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā begged Sultān Bahādur to send him a piece of this *gulqand*. He accordingly summoned his *sharbatdār* (preparer of beverages), and enquired how much *gulqand* there had been brought with the camp; he replied that there must be more than twenty cart loads. The whole of this he sent to the camp of Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā,³ and apologetically explained that this amount had been estimated as the probable requirements of the army, if it were not sufficient he begged to be excused. It eventually transpired that the juice of the *gulqand* used to be extracted for his use, and that for this reason there were⁴ so many carts accompanying him. Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā, proceeded to Qanauj and laid the foundations of revolt, and when the king, now deceased, wrote and despatched to Sultān Bahādur letters summoning Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, Sultān Bahādur sent back a discourteous reply;⁵ he accordingly determined upon the conquest of Gujrāt. Bahādur, having collected an army to reduce the fortress of Chitor and oppose Rānā Sānkā, engaged him in battle, and besieged him. Tātūr Khān Lodi being despatched by him, came and gained possession of the fortress of Baiāna, extending his depredations as far as Āgra; and after a fierce

¹ MSS. (A) (B) درد دلی.

² گل قند *Gulqand*. Confection of rose-petals and honey, said to be a powerful cardiac stimulant and tonic, see *Makhzanu-l-adwiyah* s.v. ورد.

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) بالآخر.

⁵ MS. (A) reads بودی for بودی in the text.

⁶ For the text of this reply and an account of the circumstance, under which it was written, see Bayley's *History of Gujerāt*, pp. 377 to 380.

conflict¹ with Mirzā Handāl, in which he attacked with three thousand² men, was put to the sword with all his following. While Sultān Bahādur was besieging Chitor for the second time, Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh³ moved against him from Āgra; and in this same year Mirzā Kāmrān, proceeding by forced marches from Lāhor to Qandahār, defeated Sām Mirzā, the brother of Shāh⁴ Tāhmāsp, who was besieging Khwāja Kalān Bēg, and⁵ the following hemistich gives the date.

Zada Pādshāh Kāmrān Sām rā.⁶

(King Kāmrān defeated Sām)

Maulānā Bekasi⁷ also writes the following

Verse.

At that time when the crown and the golden goblet stands in **346.**
sight,

When amid the joy and feasting is seen the form of the
flagon and the chasing of the cup,

I enquired from wisdom, why hast thou cast down in our
midst the gold-scattering crown, like a crimson tulip?

She answered, the heaven, by way of assigning a date to this
encounter, has cast down the golden crown,⁸ in consequence
of the defeat of the army of Sām.

Muhammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, considering that it would be dis-
graceful to go up against Sultān Bahādur and engage his attention

¹ MS. (A) نموده.

² The text reads سی سو Sad 3000. MS. (B) reads شصت شانہ Shash Sad 600.

³ MS. (A) writes میرزا Mirzā. ⁴ MS. (A) omits گاہ. ⁵ MS. (A) و ۹۴۵.

⁶ گندھہ کاہروان سام را. These letters form the date 942. H.

⁷ Footnote variant شکیبی Shikibī.

⁸ افگنہ تاج زر ز شکست سپاہ سام. The letters of this line form the date 942 in the following way.

The literal meaning of the line may be taken thus:

Has cast away the crown of gold (Taj-i-Zar) from the defeat of the army
of Sām (Shikast-i-Sipāh-i-Sām). By *Tāj-i-Zar* is meant the letter *ز*, the
first letter of the word *ز*, the value of which is 7; this being cast out from
the value of *Shikast-i-Sipāh-i-Sām* gives $949 - 7 = 942$.

while he was engaged in the siege of Chitor,¹ halted at Sārang-pūr. Sultān Bahādur meanwhile forcibly reduced the fort of Chitor, after which he engaged in war with Pādshāh (Humāyūn) for a space of two months in the neighbourhood of Mandsūr, a dependency of Mālwa, but owing to the fact that no supplies of grain could reach the camp of Bahādur, man and beast died from starvation, and² Bahādur with five of his most trusty Amīrs left the royal tent by the rear door and fled towards Mandsūr.³ The following verse commemoates the date of this event :—

Humāyūn Shah-i-Ghāzi, who has thousands of slaves in his
palace like Jamshīd,
When he came victorious towards Gujrāt, returned in triumph,
the glory of the sons of Timūr.
Since Bahādur fell humbled and abject,
The date thereof was “The disgrace of Bahādur.”⁴

Muhammad Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued him, and the Mughūl soldiers came upon Bahādur one night while he was asleep,⁵ and were near taking him prisoner, but he made his escape with five or six horsemen towards Gujrāt. Sultān ‘Ālam Lodi, however, fell into their hands and they cut off his feet. The army of Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued Bahādur by rapid marches and laid waste Ahmadābād. Bahādur leaving Ahmadābād went to Kanbhāyat,⁶ and from there to the port of Dip,⁷ and at that time the fortress

347.

¹ See Bayley, *History of Guzrāt*, p. 382. ² MSS. (A) (B) supply **و** here.

³ MS. (A) reads مندو, so also footnote variant to text.

⁴ ذل بادر Zull-i-Bahādur. These letters form the date 942 H. We may also read Zill-i-Bahādur, in which case we translate “the submission of Bahādur.”

⁵ MS. (B) reads گرفتہ یافنہ which the text gives in a footnote variant. This appears from the context to be the true reading.

⁶ Cambay. The name Khambūt is said to be derived from *Khambha* or *Stambhatirth*, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 271. See also Tieffenthaler I. 370 *et seq.*

⁷ Tieff I. 395, writes *Diu*, appelée *Dip* dans la langue du pays, est une petite île située dans (près de) la presqu' île de Soreth où se trouve une ville et un château très fort, appartenant aux Portugais avec un petit territoire. La ville est séparée du château par un canal taillé dans la pierre. Un pont de bois joint l'un à l'autre. Elle a un port commode, duquel sort chaque année un vaisseau chargé de marchandises pour *Mosambique*. *Diu* est à 60 milles portugais de Surate vers l'Ouest.”

See also *Ain-i-Akbarī* I. 348, and II. 265, also Bayley, *Hist. of Gujrāt*, 319 n.

of Jānpānir¹ was also taken after a battle by the Pādshāh, and treasure beyond computation fell into his hands.

The year in which this happened may be learned from the following verse :—

Wisdom sought for the date of the victory of Shāh Humāyūn
and discovered this,
“It was the ninth of the month of Safar.”²

Then Bahādur, in concert with the Zamīndars of the country³ of Sorath, collected a force and proceeded towards Ahmādābād. Mirzā ‘Askari who, after the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh towards the East,⁴ remained at Ahmādābād with the intention of having the Khuṭbah read in his own name, in which project he had the support of Amir Hindū Bēg; however, he could not carry out his plan, and after slight opposition left for Jānpānir, the governor of which place, Tardi Bēg, having entrenched himself, sent letters to the court conveying the tidings of the revolt of Mirzā ‘Askari. But at the time when Humāyūn had left Mandir on his way to Āgra Mirzā ‘Askari met him on the road and gave in his submission, and Bahādur took Jānpānir from Tardi Bēg without the necessity of fighting.⁵ [And in this year Shaikh⁶ Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihli left this transitory world for the kingdom of eternity. A chronogram has been invented to commemorate this in the words Khusrū-i-Hind būda (he was the Khusrū of Hindustan)].⁷ In this year also Shāh Tahmāsp came up against Qandahār from ‘Irāq to take vengeance on Sām Mirzā,⁸ and⁹ Khwāja Kalān Beg leaving the city empty, and leaving the Diwānkhanā (Hall

¹ Or Chāmpānir. See Bayley's *History of Gujrāt*, pp. 390 *et seqq.*

² شہر صفر بود & Nuh-i-Shahr-i-Safar būd. These words give the date 942 H.

³ MS. (A) omits بور. ⁴ A footnote variant reads بورهان پور Burhānpūr.

⁵ The portion in square brackets is omitted in MS. (A) in this place.

⁶ MS (B).

⁷ خسرو هند بود. The letters of these words give the date 942 H. There is a footnote to the text calling attention to an alleged discrepancy in the dates of the chronograms, and asserting that بکار جی represents 932 and not 942. This is a mistake.

⁸ MS. (A) here inserts the date ۹۴۲ (942) in figures.

⁹ MS. (A) here inserts the paragraph relating to the death of Shaikh Jamālī, *supra n 6.*

of audience) locked up just as it was, adorned with its splendid carpets, its magnificent furniture, and all the appurtenances of the audience chamber, came out to invite Shāh Tahmāsp to alight at that pleasantly prepared¹ resting place, which he did, and² 348. gave Khwāja Kalān Bēg great praise for his conduct, saying, that is a good servant whom Kāmrān Mirzā possesses. Shāh Tahmāsp left Qandahār in charge of Badagh Khān, one of his own Amīrs, and returned to 'Irāq. Mirzā Kāmrān at this same juncture, proceeded by forced marches from Lāhor, and arriving at Qaudahār took possession of it. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, whom Bahādur had despatched after his defeat to inflict injury upon Hindustān, took advantage of the absence³ of Mirzā Kāmrān to invest Lāhor; but, when he heard tidings of the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh to Gujrāt, retraced his steps. At the expiry of one year from the accession⁴ of Humāyūn Pādshāh in Āgra, Shir Khān Afgān Sūr, in the absence of Humāyūn, collected a large force, and took possession⁵ of the country of Gour, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, and also the fortress of Chinār. Humāyūn Pādshāh encamped⁶ before the fort of Chinār, with the intention of opposing Shir Khān, on the fourteenth of the month of Ṣafar in the year 943 H., and besieged Jalāl Khān, son of Shir Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Islām Shāh. In a short time by the exertions of Rūmī Khān the Artillerist, (on whose name Sultān Bahādur had written and despatched the following enigma :—

[*Haif bāshad nām i ān sag bar zabān,
Mīkh dar jānash nih o nāmagh bikhwān]*⁷

It were a pity to take the name of that dog on one's lips
Place a stake (mīkh) in his life (jān) and read his name.

1 MSS. (A) (B) طیار ترہ. 2 MS. (A) supplies گ. 3 MS. (B) omits مان. چو.

4 MSS. (A) (B) read استقرار. 6 MS. (A) متصرف شد.

5 MS. (A) معسکر ساختہ.

7 This لئے mu'ammā or enigma requires explanation: The English version is naturally meaningless.

The words in the original, رومی خان Rūmī Khān, contain as will be seen the word میخ mīkh between the syllables Rū...ān. These form the word روان Rawān, one meaning of which is life, for which the synonym in Persian is چان jān. So the writer says: Place the word mīkh in his life (روان rawān,) and you have his name رومی ان Rū mīkh ān, i.e., Rūmī Khān.

he reduced¹ that fortress, but Jalāl Khān escaped by means of a boat, and joined Shīr Khān who was engaged in conflict² with Naṣib Shāh Governor of Bangāla. Humāyūn³ Pādshāh arrived, after that the Governor of Bangāla had been wounded in battle with Shīr Khān. Naṣib Shāh⁴ submitted himself to Humāyūn, and acted as his escort. Having entrusted the Government of Jaunpūr to Mir Hindū Bēg, with the rank of Amīru-l Umarā, and a golden throne, he proceeded by way of Garhi,⁵ a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihār and Bangāla, which Quṭb Khān the son of Shīr Khān and Khawāss Khān, the well-known servant of Shīr Khān, had fortified, and came into Bangāla. Shīr Khān not being able to withstand him, left by way of Chahār Khānd to the fortress of Rohtās, and fell upon the rear of Humāyūn's army, and gained possession of the fortress of Rohtās by crafty means, in the following manner. He alleged as a pretext that he had a large number of families⁶ with him, and having placed two thousand armed Afghāns in closed litters⁷ sent them towards the fort. The Rāja of Rohtās being fired with avaricious designs upon the wealth and families of the Afghāns threw open the gates of the fort. Then the Afghān soldiers who were concealed in the litters leapt⁸ out, and entering the fort,⁹ put them all to the sword.⁹

349.

فَقْعُ فِرْمَوْدَةٍ

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read مکاریہ. *muḥāraba*. The text reads wrongly ماصرہ. *muḥāṣara*.

² *Dele* را MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ The Persian text is rather obscure, this seems to be the meaning.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B), کرھی, see Elliot and Dowson IV. 367 n. 2.

⁶ The text reads بسای خود را درانجای, with two footnote variants بسی and بسی. The meaning is not clear, but from the *Tārikh-i Shīr Shāhi* this appears to be what is meant. See Elliott and Dowson IV. 357.

باقریب آنکہ بسای الخ instead of باقریب آنکہ. We should then translate: "And inasmuch as he had very many families with him obtained possession of the fort in the following manner."

⁷ The مکافہ *Mihaffa* is, as its name implies, a litter so *closed in* that the curtains surround on all sides the sitter upon it. See Lane s. v. حف.

⁸ MS. (A) reads در آمدہ و بر آمدہ.

⁹ Regarding the truth, etc. (See MS. Copy).

The climate of Bangāla proved so extremely suitable to Humāyūn, that he changed the name of Gaur to Jaunnatābād (The realm of Paradise), and having halted there for (two or)¹ three months returned. In the meanwhile Shīr Khān's affair was assuming large proportions, and his following was increasing. He wrote a letter to Humāyūn, saying, 'all these Afghāns are the servants and retainers of His Majesty the King, and beg to be granted jāegirs,² if the king will think about a jāegir for them, then it will be well, but if not, hunger will drive them to open revolt. Up to the present time I have kept them in check, but now they no longer obey me, and the proverb is well-known. *The hungry man will throw himself upon the sword.* For the rest whatever the king says is law.'

Humāyūn, when he grasped the contents of the letter, saw clearly what its object was, and seeing that the opportunity had passed by,³ and considering the bareness of equipment and inefficiency⁴ of his army, which had recently been doubled, many horses and camels having died, while the remainder were so jaded and emaciated that they were of no use whatever, he set about devising some remedial measures. Mīzā Hindāl, who had accompanied the king as far as Mongir, was despatched to Āgra to put down the rebellion⁵ of Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Shāh Mirzā, who had

350. fled and had done great mischief in the Dihli country, and were now returning. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, after that Sultān Bahādūr was drowned in the sea owing to the treachery of the Firangis,⁶ could not accomplish anything, and again sought refuge with Humāyūn.

* MSS. (A) (B) omit دو.

* MS. (A) omits لہ.

بعد از خرابی بصرة ۸. Ba'd az kharābi-i-Baṣra. After the ruin of Baṣra.

A proverbial expression equivalent to the English "shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen." For the story from which the proverb arises see *Sharḥ-i-Nahju-l-Balāgha* by 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd bin Abī-l-Hadīd al Mu'tazili. When Ali ibn Muḥammad Ṣāḥebu-z-Zauj besieged Baṣra in the year 255 H. Ahmad Abūl-Abbās, son of Al-Muwaqqi b-Illāh came up and opposed him, but not until Baṣra was ruined. Hence the proverb. See Arabum Proverbia. Freytag III, p. 129, No. 774.

بی سامانی و پیشمانی (B) می سامانی و پریشمانی MS. (A) reads

* MS. (A) omits و فساد.

* This happened at Dīn on the 3rd Ramaḍān A.H. 943. See Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, pp. 396, 397.

And in the year 945 H. Mirzā Hindāl, at the instigation of certain turbulent innovators,¹ put to death Shaikh Bahlūl, the elder brother of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ of Gwāliār, who was one of the chief exponents of the art of invocation and incantation,² and who enjoyed the full confidence and friendship of Humāyūn. The year in which this event occurred was commemorated by the chro-nogram *Faqad māta Shahīdan*.³ Verily he died a martyr's death.

Mirzā Hindāl in this year read the Khuṭbah in his own name in Āgra. Humāyūn despatched five thousand picked men to reinforce Jahlāngir Bēg the Mughūl, and making over the rule of that country to him, with permission to read the Khuṭbah should occasion arise, set out for Āgra, and, all unprepared as he was, reached Jausā,⁴ which is a village on the bank of the Ganges. The Amirs of Jaunpūr and Chinār came in and offered to tender their services. Šir Khān seized the head of the road, and being aware of the distress of the army, placed between it and his own army a canal,⁵ which joined the Ganges, and, owing to the rains, was quite full of water, and for three months encamped over against the King. It is said that during this period when they were confronting each

¹ MS. (A) reads مفتیان Muftiyān.

² MS. (A) reads دعوت اسماء و سحر da'wat-i-Asmā wa siḥr, "the invocation (of the attributes of God) and magic." *Da'wah* is said in the *Jawāhiru l-Khamṣa* to be used for several purposes, establishment of friendship or enmity, for the induction of sickness and death, or for the cure of disease, for the accomplishment of desires temporal or spiritual, and to secure victory in battle.

By *اسماء* *Asmā* is meant the names or attributes of the Deity; they are of two categories, the *Asmāu-l-jalāliyah* or "terrible attributes" and the *Asmāu-l-jamāliyah*, "amiable attributes." For a full account, see Hunges, *Dict. of Islām* articles DA'WAH and MAGIC.

³ فقاد مات شہیدا Fqaḍ māta shahīdan. These words give the date 945 H. MS. (B) appends the date in figures.

⁴ Footnote variant رہابی Jausah.

⁵ The text reads رمادی *ramāhe*, which has no meaning. A footnote variant is given زهابی *zahābe*, which means water oozing from the ground. This is the reading of MS. (B). MS. (A) reads رہائی *rahā'e*. We should read رهابی *rahābe*, in the sense of a canal or aqueduct. See Elliott and Dowson IV, 370n.

other, Humāyūn one day sent Mulla Muḥammad ‘Aziz,¹ who was an old friend of Šir Khān, as an ambassador.² Šir Khān was at that moment with his sleeves³ rolled up, and with a spade in his hand, in spite of the heat, was busy preparing the fort and entrenchments.

When Mulla Muḥammad came near he washed his hands, and having ordered a shāmiāna⁴ to be pitched, sat on the ground unceremoniously, and after hearing the King's message said, “Take this one message from me to the King and say : ‘ You yourself desire war, but your army does not, I on the other hand, do not desire war,⁵ but my army does : for the rest the decision is the King's.’ ” Then he sent Šaikh Khalil,⁶ one of the descendants of the venerable Šaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakkar, *may God sanctify his soul*, who was the spiritual guide of Šir Khān, to Humāyūn, and made overtures of peace to him, representing that he was willing to give up to Humāyūn's representatives the whole country with the exception of Bangāla, and would have the Khuṭbah and sikka established in Humāyūn's name. This agreement was ratified between them by an oath on the Divine Word, and Humāyūn's mind was at peace with regard to Šir Khān.

A bridge was ordered to be thrown across : but Šir Khān was plotting treachery and deceit.

Verse.

Make the camel leap from the room of the deceit of the world,
because out of craft,
In that room where they speak of peace the camel is clad in
armour.

I flee from the camel of the heavens and the room of the earth,
Because there are maddened camels surrounding that room.

The following morning he surprised and attacked the army of Humāyūn, without giving them time to draw up in line. After a short skirmish Humāyūn's army was defeated, and the Afghāns

¹ MS. (A) reads مُحَمَّد يَزْغَرِي Muḥammad Yarghāri. MS. (B) reads مُحَمَّد پُر عَزِيزٍ Muḥammad pur ‘Azīz.

² Read ایلچی گیری for ایلچی گری. MSS. (A) (B).

³ Omit وا MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ شامیانہ Shāmiāna, a kind of marquee consisting of a flat awning supported by four poles and having no side curtains.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit جنک. See Elliot and Dowson IV, 371 and note 2.

arriving first¹ at the head of the bridge broke it down, while their artillerists and archers seated in boats kept the army under a perfect hail of fire, drowning² them in the ocean of destruction. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā was overwhelmed by the tempest of death, and Humāyūn urged his horse into the water and was in dread of drowning, in fact was on the point of drowning, when a water carrier³ came to his aid and rescued him from that whirlpool of destruction. Then he turned towards Āgra. Shir Khān wrote⁴ 35: this verse upon that event:—

Thou givest sovereignty to Farid the son of Hasan,⁵
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fishes

Although the master (Ustād) has [this second verse]—⁶

One thou exaltest and givest him sovereignty,
Another thou castest down from his throne to the fishes.⁷

This event occurred in the year 946 H. and to commemorate it the following chronogram was written:

*Salāmat bawad Pādshāh kase.*⁸

And Shir Khān after the victory turned back, and came to Bangāla, and after fighting several engagements⁹ put to death Jahāngir Quli Bēg with all his following. In that country he read the *Khuṭbah* in his own name, and assumed the title of Shir Shāh,¹⁰ and in the following year proceeded with a vast army

1 پیشتر *pīghtar* (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read بیشتر *bīshṭar*, in great numbers.

2 می ساختند *Mī sākhānd*.

3 Named Nizām according to Firīghta, who says that as a reward Humāyūn permitted him to occupy the throne for half a day. Briggs II. 87.

4 MSS. (A) (B) كفت کے.

5 Shir Shāh was originally called Farid Khān, and his father's name was Hasan Khān.

6 MS. (A) omits these words. The text has a footnote saying that the above is the reading of two MSS., but that the correct reading is

اگرچہ مصرع ثانی این بیت استار دارد

No authority exists for such a reading.

The verses in question are by Firdausi.

7 Here the reading of MS. (A) is followed which reads

دگر را ذ شاهی بمامی دھی

8 MS. (B) adds the date in figures (946).

9 MSS. (A) (B) omit بشکال. See Elliot and Dowson, IV, pp. 376-378.

10 'Abbās Khān tells us he had assumed the title of *Hazrat-i-'Alī*.

intending to capture Āgra. Kāmrān Mirzā, prior to the affair of Jausā, after hearing of the victory of Shir Khān and the rebellion of Mirzā Hindāl against Humāyūn, returned from Qandahār to Lāhor, and leaving there came to Āgra, which he reached in the year 946 H. Mirzā Hindāl himself, before the arrival of Mirzā Kāmrān, in the absence of Humāyūn, laid siege to Dihli, in which Mir Fakhr 'Ali and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir had fortified themselves; but not meeting with any success joined hands with Mirzā Kāmrān. Mir Fakhr 'Ali also came in and had an interview with him, but Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir would not leave the fort. Eventually Mirzā Hindāl separating from Mirzā Kāmrān proceeded to Alwar. When Humāyūn heard these tidings, he became still more despondent,¹ till that eventful defeat took place:² after the defeat at Jausā³ he proceeded by forced marches, accompanied by a few horsemen, and arrived unawares at the tent of Mirzā Kāmrān in Āgra. The Mirzā also knew nothing of his coming; both brothers upon recognising each other burst into tears.⁴ Afterwards Hindāl Mirzā and Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and his sons, who had for a time shewn hostility, came in and offered their submission for certain considerations: Their faults were pardoned and they sat in consultation. Mirzā Kāmrān ostensibly had this intention, that, inasmuch as the army of the Panjab had gathered fresh force, Humāyūn should grant him leave to proceed against Shir Khān and endeavour to take vengeance on him, while the King should remain in ease and tranquillity at the Capital. When Humāyūn declined to accede to this proposal, the Mirzā put forward a claim to proceed to⁵ the Panjab, and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance. Accordingly Humāyūn acceded⁶ to all his requests, saving only his return; and Khwāja Kalān Bēg was exerting his efforts to procure the return of Mirzā Kāmrān to the Panjab: so that this argument was carried on for six months and nothing was settled.⁷ In the meantime Mirzā Kāmrān was taken ill with a complication

¹ MSS. (A) (B) بیشتر.

² MS. (B) حادث گشت.

³ Text چو سا Chausā.

⁴ MS. (A) گردند.

⁵ MS. (A) &c.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) اجابت نمودند.

⁷ Omit the words دار گیو! MSS. (A) (B).

of severe diseases,¹ and when the diagnosis was arrived at that the source of the disease was a poison, which had been poured into his life's cup by the hand of circumstance, he was led by the whisperings of interested advisers² to entertain suspicion against Humāyūn, and imagined that perhaps it was he who had administered³ poison to him. Ill as he was he returned to Lāhor, and in breach⁴ of his former agreement that he would leave the whole of his army at Āgra in the service of the king, took the whole of it⁵ with him, with the exception of two thousand men whom he left under the command of Sikandar. Mirzā Haidar the Mughul and Dughlāt⁶ Kashmīri also remained at Āgra, and were kindly treated. Shir Khān waxed bold at the success of these hypocrisies, and towards the close of the year⁷ aforesaid reached the bank of the Ganges, and despatching a⁸ force under his son Qutb Khān, sent him across [the Ganges]⁹ against Kalpi and Itāwa. Qāsim Ḫusain Sultān Usbeg, in concert with Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā and Iskandar Sultān, after a fight in the vicinity of Kālpi, put to death the son of Shir Khān with a large number¹⁰ of his following, sending their heads to Āgra.

354.

Humāyūn started to oppose Shir Khān with a large force composed of some hundred thousand cavalry, and crossing the river of Qananj encamped in face of his enemy for the space of one month. The army of Shir Khān did not comprise in all more than five thousand¹¹ cavalry. It was under such circumstances that Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and his son fled a second time from the king, and the reinforcements of Mirzā Kāmrān also took flight to Lāhor, and the Mughuls of the King's army were scattered in

اَمراض مُتَضادَةٌ *Amrāz-i-mutażāddah*. Lit.: Diseases of opposite tendencies, i. e., those diseases, the treatment of one of which tends to aggravate the other.

² بُعْنَفَةٌ هَای غَرَغَمُویان MSS. (A) (B).

³ بِخَلَافٍ بِخَلَافٍ ⁴ MS. (B) for اَنْدَادَةٌ اَنْدَادَةٌ.

⁵ وَتَقْمَهُ رَا الْخَ خَمْرَه رَا هَمْرَه خَوْد بَرْد Read here instead of ⁶ MSS. (A) (B). Text.

⁶ وَ دَغْلَاتٍ ⁷ MS. (A).

دو آخِر سال در خراسان د. در خراسان ⁷ MS. (B) reads wrongly for نَاهِي سَاخْنَهند.

⁸ مَنْكَنْگَ مَنْكَنْگَ ⁹ MSS. (A) (B) omit.

¹⁰ جَمْعُ كَثِيرٍ جَمْعُ كَثِيرٍ.

¹¹ پُنْجَاه هَزَار ¹¹ MS. (B) says *panjāh hazār*, fifty thousand.

all directions. The rains now came on, and inasmuch as the camp of Humāyūn's army was on low lying ground, he desired to march from there and encamp on the high ground. At this very time Shir Khān drew up his troops, and came out to give battle. This engagement took place on the day of the 'Āshūra, the 10th of Muḥarram 947 H., and a chronogram was found for it in the words Kharābi-i-mulk-i-Dillī.⁴ The greater number of the Mughul soldiers refused to fight⁵ and took to their heels, while a small body of them who engaged in fight, strove manfully in battle,⁶ but things had gone beyond control, and it was of no avail. The king rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover the king while crossing the river Ganges became separated from his horse, and by the help of Shamsu-d-Din Muhammad of Ghaznī (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince's most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindūstān with the title of A'zam Khān),⁷ escaped from the water and returned to Āgra; but seeing that⁸ the enemy's army was coming up in pursuit, he could not remain there,⁹ so made his way to the Panjāb with all speed.

At the commencement of Rabi'u-l-awwal of this year all the Sultāns and Amīrs of the Chaghatai tribe¹⁰ assembled for conference in Lāhor. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muḥammad Sultān and his sons fled from Lāhor to Multān, while Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir thought it advisable to proceed to Bhakkar and Tatta. Mirzā Kāmrān

¹ MSS. (A) (B) در همین حین.

² خواهی ملک دلی. These letters give the date 947 H.

³ Jang nā karda. MS. (A) omits ترتیب tartib.

⁴ مودانہ وار کو شش و کشش دادند.

⁵ Shamsu-d-Din Muhammad Atka Khān, son of Mir Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī. See Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, p. 321 (No. 15).

The word *Atka*, *Atikā*, or *Atākā* is a Turki word, signifying *precepteur instituteur, père de lait* (Pavet de Courteilles).

The wife of Shamsu-d-Din was appointed *anakah* or wet-nurse to Prince Akbar at Amurkot.

⁶ MS. (A) omits چھوٹ. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read انجھا قوار نتوانستند گرفت.

⁸ For a full account of the Line of Chaghatai, see Ney and Elias *Tūrik-i-Rashidi*, pp. 28 et seqq. MS. (B) writes چھٹا.

prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kābul. After long consultation Humāyūn sent Mirzā Haidar with a large party who had accepted service in Kashmīr, to that district. It was agreed¹ that Khwāja Kalān Bēg should follow Mirzā Haidar, and that Humāyūn himself also should proceed thither after the conquest of Kashmīr.

When Mirzā Haidar arrived at Naushahra² which is a well-known place, he entered that country with the concurrence of certain Kashmīris and conquered it: and on the 22nd of Rajab of this same year he gained possession of that country. Khwāja Kalān Bēg had gone to Siālkot. When tidings reached the king that Shīr Khān had crossed the river at Sulṭānpūr and had arrived within thirty *krohs* of Lāhor, Humāyūn, on the first of the month of Rajab in the aforesaid year, crossed the river of Lāhor, and Mirzā Kāmrān, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humāyūn as far as the neighbourhood of Bahira, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg made forced marches from Siālkot, and joined Humāyūn's camp. Mirzā Kāmrān together with Mirzā 'Askarī, separating³ from the king, proceeded in company with Khwāja Kalān Bēg towards Kābul, while Humāyūn proceeded towards Sind. Mirzā Hindāl, and Mirzā Yādgār Nāshir also, after accompanying him for a few stages, left him, and after a few days returned, by the counsel of⁴ Amir Abūl Baqā. On the banks of the Indus such great scarcity prevailed in the camp of Humāyūn, that one *sīr*⁵ of the smaller millet⁶ could sometimes not be bought even for an *ashrafi*.⁷ The greater part of the army perished owing to this scarcity, while others died from want of water, till at last Humāyūn with a small number passed on to the districts of Jaisalmir,⁸ and the country of Mārwār, where strange⁹ incidents

356.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) مقرر ساختند.

² Nowshera.

³ MSS. (A) (B) از۔

⁴ MS. (B) reads بھ محببت، in company with. ⁵ About two pounds.

⁶ *Ghalla-i-jawāri*. This is the Hindustānī, or rather, the Panjābī name. In Persian it is called ارزان *arzan*.

⁷ The proper average price of this grain being six *dām* per *man* of forty *sīrs*, the above represents an enhancement of price represented by the ratio 1 : 6,000.

⁸ MS. (A).

⁹ Omit غریب MSS. (A) (B).

occurred. After undergoing great hardships and distress, which it is the invariable custom of the Heavens to inflict, he betook himself to 'Irāq and having obtained reinforcements, Shāh Tahmāsp gained possession of Qandahār and Kābul, and collecting a great army re-conquered Hindūstān. This exploit will be described in its proper place if the Most High God will it so.

SHIR KHĀN IBN I HASAN SŪR

Whose name was Farīd and his title Shir Khān, ascended the throne of empire under the above title, which he assumed. The 357. chronogram *Kharābī-i-Mulk-i-Dilli*¹ was invented² to record that year.

Inasmuch as he, by favourable circumstances and his own cleverness and bravery, rose from the rank of Bēg³ to royal dignity, it is essential to give a brief account of his career. The father of Hasan Sūr, Ibrāhīm by name,⁴ in the time of Sultān Buhlūl, came to Hindūstān from⁵ Roh, by which is meant Afghānistān, entered the service of Sultān Buhlūl, and was stationed in the vicinity of Hissār Firūza and Nārnūl. After his death (his son) Hasan became a servant of Jamāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar, and was granted the *jāegir* of the *pargana* of Sahsarām and Khawāspūr, dependencies of the fortress of Eastern Rohtās.⁶ He had five hundred cavalry under his command. In consequence of the unkindness of his father, and the jealous enmity of his brothers,⁷ of whom there were seven, he left his

¹ These letters give the date 947 H. (1540 A.D.) MS. (B) adds the date in figures.

² MSS. (A) (B) with شد پافتند for شد as in the text.

³ The text reads از همکنی (MS. (B)) از بکنی (MS. (A)).

The first seems the only intelligible reading in the sense in which it is translated.

⁴ Omit ~~شاد~~ MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ The text and both MSS. read رواد راداہ it should be رواد Roh. See Firishta Bo. text, p. 412, also Elliott and Dowson IV, 308.

⁶ Rohtās Sharqi. Rohtāsgār in the Shāhābād district of Bengal. The other Rohtās is in the Panjab. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., XII, 78.

⁷ The text reads بوداران اعیانی *barādarān-i-a'yānī*. Uterine brothers. MS. (A) reads اخیانی *Akhyāni* brothers by the same mother, but a different father. From the context it is clear that Badāoni means all the sons of Hasan Khān by his four wives. (Steingass), see E and D IV, 310.

home and giving up the service of Jamāl Khān spent some time in Jaunpūr in the acquisition of science, and in perfecting himself¹ in knowledge, until he had read the *Kāfiyah*² with its commentary and other epitomes, besides acquiring by heart the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, *Sikandarnāma* and other works. He used to go the round of monasteries and colleges, associating with the learned doctors and *Shaikhs* of that country, and busied himself with the improvement of his character. After some time he was reconciled to his father, and was entrusted by him with the management of his *jāegīrs*. This he carried out with equity and impartiality, using clever devices³ for the punishment of rebels, and kept them in check.⁴ Later on circumstances again led to an estrangement between Farid and his father, and going to Āgra with his own brother,⁵ he elected to enter the service of Daulat Khān,⁶ one of the chief commanders⁷ of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and laid a complaint against his father and brothers⁸ before the Sultān.⁹ The Sultān however, was displeased at this and said, This is a disgraceful and inhuman state of things that a father should be displeased with his son and that the son should complain against him.¹⁰ Upon the death of Hasan, Daulat Khān made a representation to the Sultān, and obtained his desire in securing those *parganas* for Shir Khān. There he remained for some time,¹¹ and eventually was led by the enmity of his brothers to enter the service of Bihār Khān, the son of Daryā Khān Luhāni,¹² who had read the *Khuṭbah* and issued the *sikka* in his own name in Bihār, and had assumed the title of

358.

¹ There is a little variation in the reading here: MS. (B) reads:

تھصیل علم و کسب فضائل *fuzā'il*, excellencies. MS. (A) also reads

² *Al-Kāfiyah fil nahū*. A celebrated work on Arabic grammar by *Shaikh Jamāl-u-d-Dīn*, (*Ibnu-l-Hājib*); for an account of this work and its commentary, see H. K. No. 9707.

³ MS. (A) احیل لطفاً.

⁴ MS. (A) نمود ضبط.

⁵ *Nizām* Khān was the brother of Farid Khān by the same mother.

⁶ Daulat Khān the son of Budhū, was a commander of 12,000 horse and in great favour with Sultān Ibrāhīm (E. D. IV, 321).

⁷ MS. (A) omits بکار.

⁸ MS. (A) omits دیگر.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) supply و.

¹⁰ Read here ماسد باشد ناراضی ازو پدر.

¹¹ (MSS.) (AB) بسر برد و.

¹² MSS. (A) (B). نوحانی

Sultān Muḥammad. This was at the time when Sultān Ibrāhim had taken the field at Pānipath, and Bābar Pādshah had conquered Hindūstān and planted¹ the banner of sovereignty. Here he was well received, and as one day, when on a hunting expedition, he killed a tiger in the presence of Sultān Muḥammad, the title of Shir Khān was bestowed upon him by the Sultān, who also appointed him to be tutor² to his son Jalāl Khān. After some time Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Chaund, made an attempt to turn Sultān Muḥammad against Shir Khān, with the object of advancing the interest of his brothers, and having succeeded in getting an order from Sultān Muḥammad that the brothers were to have a share in the management of the *parganas*, sent Suleimān, son of Hasan Sūr who has been mentioned, accompanied by one of his servants named Shādī to Khawāspūr, and Bhaka the servant of Shir Khān who was known as the father of Khawāṣ Khān engaged in battle with Suleimān and was killed. The remainder fled, and came to Shir Khān at Sahsarām. Shir Khān had no longer the power to cope with Muḥammad Khān, nor the inclination to serve Sultān Muḥammad, he accordingly abandoned his position and jāegīr, and having no other resource betook himself to Sultān Junaid Birlās, who was holding the Government of Karra and Mānikpūr on behalf of Bābar Padshāh.

359. He remained in his service, and after presenting many valuable offerings, obtained a fully equipped army as reinforcement from Sultān Junaid, and fought with Muḥammad Khān, wrested from him the *parganas* of Chaund and other *parganas*, and took possession of them. Muḥammad Khān fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Rohtās. Shir Khān, having wreaked his vengeance on his brothers, made apologetic overtures to Muḥammad Khān, addressing him by the title of uncle; having thus earned his gratitude he handed over³ the *parganas* he held as jāegīr to him on the same footing as formerly, and leaving Nizām his full brother in charge

¹ MS. (A) reads اَخْتَنَد for فِرَاخْتَنَد.

² Atālīq, this word is Türkī. In its Arabicized it becomes اَطَالِيق, but the other is the correct orthography. Atā līgh literally signifies the relationship of an *atā* or father.

According to M. Pavet de Courteille it signifies "Paternité : nom d'une dignité dans le Turkestān et le Kharisur, chef de tribu : qui élève une personne."

³ MS. (A) writes گُدْرَابِیده. MS. (B) omits گُدْشَمَه.

of the *jāegīr*, went again to Sultān Junaid, whom he found just starting to pay his respects to Bābar Padshāh. Taking Shir Khān with him, Junaid enrolled him among the servants and well-wishers of the king's court. He accompanied Bābar on the expedition to Chanderi. In accordance with Mughūl habits and customs, and owing to the carelessness of the king in his management of the affairs of State, and the venality of the revenue-officers, and the utter disorder into which the affairs of the people had fallen, matters came to such a pass that if any person¹ had an object in view, he could quickly bring it to pass.² One day Bābar on the occasion of a banquet, observed him behave in a way which deserved the royal censure,³ and demanded the punishment of Shir Khān. Those who were present at the banquet related the particulars of his independence and arrogant assumption, not omitting to mention some of his double-dealings. Shir Khān accordingly became apprehensive of danger, and fled from the king's camp to his *parganas*, whence he wrote a letter couched in apologetic terms and sent it to Sultān Junaid, advancing as a pretext to cover his return,⁴ that since Muḥammad Khān was led by feelings of hostility against him to induce Sultān Muḥammad to send⁵ an army against Shir Khān's *parganas* because of his being in service with the Mughūls, and as he could not easily and quickly⁶ obtain leave of absence from Bābar, he had accordingly taken this liberty and had at all hazards determined to rejoin those who wished well to the Sultān. Thence he proceeded to Sultān Muḥammad, where he was honoured by increased confidence and by suitable rewards, and was once more installed as custodian of his younger son Jalāl Khān, whose whole affairs he took under his own management. After the death of Sultān Muḥammad, he obtained absolute control of the whole country of Bihār and its dependencies.

He entered into a compact of friendship with Makhdūm 'Ālam, the governor of Hājipūr, one of the Amīrs of the Wāli

360.

¹ MS. (A) supplie^s کسی.

² MSS. (A) (B) supply after کرد و می تواند after عیرت عیرت text.

³ MS. (A) reads عیرت for عیرت.

⁴ MS. (A) has بحلف with no dots.

⁵ Omit می before باید MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MS. (A) ترددی. The text is correct.

of Bangāla, who despatched an Amir named Quṭb Khān to undertake the overthrow of Makhdūm 'Ālam. Shir Khān marched to the aid of Makhdūm 'Ālam, and¹ after a fierce battle put Quṭb Khān to death, taking as spoil elephants and treasure and many followers. Jalāl Khān and his tribe, who are Lūhānis,² in spite of Shir Khān, made over Bihār to the ruler of Bangāla and elected to serve under him, and leaving Shir Khān to his fate, took care to secure their own safety.

The Bangālis in the first instance sent Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of the Quṭb Khān above mentioned, against Shir Khān to wreak vengeance upon him. Shir Khān used daily to fight with them from within the fort, but since the Bangālis received large reinforcements, and no way of retreat remained open to him, he yielded to necessity and fought a battle with them in the open³ in which he gained the day. Ibrāhīm Khān also seeing what had occurred went and joined his father, and Shir Khān seized the whole of the camp of the Bangālis⁴ with their elephants and artillery, acquiring thereby great renown, so that he established a lasting and undivided control over the country of Bihār and raised himself to the dignity of a Sultān. He next wrested the fortress of Chinār together with its vast treasures from the sons of [Jamāl Khān Sārang-Khāni⁵]⁶ Tāj Khān, one of the Amirs of

361. Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, who some years before had regained possession of it, and took in marriage his wealthy and beautiful wife who had vast stores of treasure. This fact also enhanced his grandeur and dignity, so that the desire for sovereignty daily gained more ascendancy over his mind, till at last certain powerful Amirs of the Afghān Lodi faction summoned from Chitor Sultān Mahmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, who, after raising Hasan Khān Miwāti and Rānā Sānkā to royal power, had induced him to fight with Bābar Pādshāh, and subsequently to his defeat⁷ had remained in the fortress of Chitor, and seated him upon the throne in Patna.⁸ He accordingly came with a vast army and invaded the country of Bihār, and wresting it from Shir Khān took possession of it. Shir Khān was perforce compelled to

¹ MS. (A) supplies و.

نوهانیان (B)

² MS. (B) reads جنگ صعب, but the textual reading جنگ صاف is correct.

⁴ MS. (A) بکالہ.

⁵ MS. (B) ساراھانی.

⁶ Not in MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) بعد از شکست.

⁸ MS. (A) omits در ولایت پتنہ.

submit, and entered his service, and taking leave came to Sahsarām. Sultān Mahmūd passing by Sahsarām, after writing and making over to Shir Khān an agreement relating to Bihār,¹ thereby raising his hopes, despatched him to attempt the conquest of Jaunpūr and to engage in war with the Amirs of Humāyūn Pādshāh. He thus brought the whole of that province as far as Lakhnau into his own² power. The Amirs of Humāyūn Pādshāh could not stand against (Shir Khān), and proceeding to Kālinjar³ gave in their allegiance to him. Humāyūn marched to oppose Sultān Mahmūd, and Baban and Bāyazid,⁴ who were with him.⁵ When the two armies met Shir Khān, who had stood aloof from Sultān Mahmūd for some days, again joined his force, and sent a message to Mīr Hindū Bēg Qūchin, Commander-in-chief of the Mughūl army, saying that on the day of the battle he would make a flank movement and stand on one side. You and the Afghāns, said he, well know how utterly I abhor and detest the command of Sultān Mahmūd and Baban⁶ and Bāyazid.

362.

Verse.

If I committed a fault, I have at all events made my road clear.

Eventually he did as he had arranged, and Sultān Mahmūd and Baban⁷ being defeated retired to the country of Patna, and made no further attempts to fight, till in the year 949 H. (1542 A. D.) in the country of Orissa⁸ he encamped on the frontiers of the desert of non-existence, and having gone to the appointed goal remained at rest. Humāyūn Pādshāh [after this victory]⁹ sent Mīr Hindū Bēg as his agent to Shir Khān with a demand to him to yield up the fort of Chinār. He, however, made some lame excuse, so the king ordered several noted Amirs to precede him

¹ This agreement was to the effect that should Shir Khān render effectual assistance to Sultān Muḥammad Lodī in recovering Jaunpūr, the country of Bihār should be restored to him as a reward for his services. (Firishta).

² MSS. (A) (B) omit خود.

³ MS. (B) کالیچر.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read و بین و با بزید. Firishta says Baban and Bāyazid.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read گل همراه او بودند متوجه گشتند. The text is incorrect.

⁶ MS. (A) بین و.

⁷ MS. (A).

⁸ The text reads wrongly اور دیسے.

⁹ Not in MSS. (A) (B) which write also میر ہندو بیگ.

and lay siege to that fortress, himself also¹ preparing to follow them. In the meanwhile Şir Khân wrote a petition in which he pointed out his own sincerity and the favour shewn him by Baban, and recounted the deserving nature of his former services, more specially his opposition to Baban and Bâyazîd. This petition he sent by the hand of Quṭb Khân, his eldest son, together with a large force, to Humâyûn Pâdshâh. He sent also with Quṭb Khân, 'Isâ Khân Hajjâb, who was his *vakil* with the powers of a *vazîr*, and he fleeing from Gujrât joined his father in Bangâla. When Humâyûn Pâdshâh altered his course towards Gujrât, Şir Khân himself had risen to great dignity and power, so that he engaged in open battle with Humâyûn on two occasions, and gained the day, as has already been mentioned. Şir Shâh in the early part of the year of his accession laid waste the ancient city of Qannauj, and moving it from its original site re-established it on the banks of the river Ganges; it is now known as Şirgarh. In the same manner he destroyed the fortress of Shamsâbâd and removed it to another place, calling it by the name of Rusûlpûr. Now, however, at the date of writing, it has been repopulated in its old position. And when he arrived at old Dihli, which was founded by Sultân 'Alâud-Din, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Dinpanâh, which Muhammâd Humâyûn Pâdshâh constructed, and² Firozâbâd, an extensive city, and built round³ that fort a rampart of stone and mortar, having an extent of three *krohs*. On his arrival at Sultânpur by continuous marches, the brothers of Humâyûn Pâdshâh and the Chaghatai Amîrs quarrelled, and each took his own way as has been described, and Şir Shâh himself,⁴ not giving them time to reassemble, came up in pursuit. In this year he issued a public proclamation that from the country of Bangâla as far as western Rohtâs, which is a four months' journey, and also from Āgra to Mandû,⁵ at every *kroh* a *sarâi* (rest-house) and a mosque, and a well built of burned bricks was to be established and a *Muazzin*⁶ and an *Imâm*.⁷ A Musulmân

¹ MS. (A) reads خود مه.

² MS. (A) supplies و.

³ MS. (A) reads here قلعه را.

⁴ MS. (A) supplies خود.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) مندو.

⁶ The officer whose duty it is to call the *Azân* or call to prayer before each of the stated times of prayer. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islâm*, *Azân*.

⁷ The priest who leads the prayers.

and a Hindū were also appointed to superintend the supply of water for each. A refreshment house was also kept stocked for the use of strangers and poor wayfarers. On both sides of the road also, large and lofty trees were planted in avenues, so that all travellers might go along in the shade of them. Traces of these still remain in most places up to the present time, though fifty-two years have passed since then. In his reign justice was so widespread that if, for example, an old man holding a golden tray in his hand had lain down to sleep whenever he felt inclined, no thief or ruffian would have dared to take it away from him.

Thanks be to God that the writer of this *Muntakhab* was born in the reign of so just a king; to use the words of the Prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,¹ I was born in the reign of the just king, on the seventeenth of Rabi'u-s-sānī² in the year 947 H. (1540 A.D.) but, in spite of this, would that the name of that hour and that day had been erased from the chronicles of years and months, so that I had not been obliged to leave the private chamber of non-existence, where I dwelt with the inhabitants of the world of dreams and fancies, and to place my foot into this world of imaginary existence, and to suffer³ so many scars of various misfortunes, all of which are branded with the stamp, *He loses this world and the next*, the context is well-known.

364.

Verse.

My body bears a robe, surpassing splendid
My hopes for this world and the next are ended.

Rubā'i.

I came yesterday, and have accomplished nothing,
To-day my efforts have availed me nothing,
To-morrow I depart, having learned no single secret;
Better had been non-existence than this vain superfluity.

And when one looks into the matter carefully one becomes aware that seeing that the Lord, the repository of the seal of the prophetic office, *upon him and his family may the peace and blessing of God rest*, says: ⁴ “Would that the Lord of Muḥammad had not

¹ MSS. (A) (B).

² 21st August, 1540.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read نبایستی کشید for نباید کشید.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit می writing simple فرماید.

created Muḥammad," it is not in the power of a weak-minded mortal (like myself) to draw a single breath in this valley (of desolation), and one fears lest such an attempt should lead to audacity in the way of religion, and lest its fruit should be everlasting destruction. I entreat pardon from God of all that is an abomination to Him.

What power has the clay that it should say to the potter
Why dost thou make me and why dost thou break me.¹

After that Shir Shāh reached the hill-country of Bālūnāt. He built there the fortress of Rohtās as a protection for the army of Hindūstān against the Mughūl forces. Then he appointed Khawāss Khān to undertake the pursuit, and returned. While on the march he heard that a commander named Khizr Khān Sarak had become infatuated with rebellious notions and was behaving as though he were a Sultān. Shir Shāh² accordingly bent his course thither, and Khizr Khān hastening to encounter him was taken prisoner. Shir Shāh took possession of that country and conferred it by way of jāegīr upon several of his Amirs, and appointed to the superintendence of the fort of Rohtās,³ Qāzi Fazīlat the Qāzi of the army, who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāzi Fazīhat.⁴

In the year 948 H. he came⁵ to Āgra, and in the year 949 H. proceeded to Gwāliār with the intention of conquering Mālwa.⁶ Abūl Qāsim Beg, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn Pādshāh who had entrenched himself in that fortress, came in and had an interview

¹ Cf. Isaiah xlv. 9; Romans ix. 21. So also Omar Khayyām

از آب و گلسم سرشنسته من چکنـم
وین پشم و قصب تو سرشنسته من چکنـم
هر نیـک و بندی که آید از ما بوجود
توب بر سر من نوشـه من چکنـم

Thou formedst me of clay. What help have I!
Thou didst this garment weave. What help have I!
Whate'er for good or ill from me proceeds
Is thy prescription, Thine! What help have I!

² MS. (A).

³ Omit شرقی MS. (A).

⁴ فضیلت Fazīlat means excellence. فضیحت Fazīhat means ignominy.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B). بگرمه آمد.

⁶ Omit قلعه MSS (A) (B).

with him, giving up the keys of the fort. Mallū Khān the governor of Mālwa, who¹ was one of the slaves of the Khilji Sultāns, and held absolute and unlimited power in that province, offered his services to Shir Shāh, and was honoured by splendid rewards. Shir Shāh also had tents pitched for him close to his own tent, and prepared a hundred and one horses and other apparatus of pomp and dignity in his honour. In the meantime a suspicion arose in Mallū Khān's mind, and one night he tore his tent and escaped alone after the accustomed manner of slaves, and fled. Shir Khān wrote the following:—

Verse.

You see how the chicken-hearted slave Mallū has treated me
It is a saying of Muṣṭafā "There can be no good in a slave."

Shir Khān then nominated Hājī Khān Sultāni to the subjugation of the province of Mālwa, and Sazāwal Khān² to administer the affairs of the district of Sawās;³ Mallū Khān fought with Hājī Khān and Sazāwal Khān, and suffered a defeat from which he never recovered.

Every weakling who fights with one stronger than he,
Gets such a fall that he can never again rise.

And Khān-i-Khānān Sarwānī,⁴ who was the⁵ permanent Governor of the fort of Ranthanbūr, yielded up that fortress to Shir Shāh and came with his family to the township of Basāwar. It is said that some one introduced some poison into his cup. His tomb is in the suburbs of that township, in a pleasant spot, and is well-known at this time:

Quatrain.

Death, thou hast desolated hundreds of homes,
In the kingdom of existence thou makest life thy spoil.
No jewel beyond price has come into the world,
But thou has borne it away and hidden it beneath the dust.

In this year Shir Shāh⁶ led an army against the fortress of Rāi Sen and besieged it, because Pūranmal the son of Silhadi, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, had attacked the city of Chanderī, which

¹ Supply **ك** MSS. (A) (B).

² MS. (A) supplies **ل**.

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MS. (A) سروانی.

⁵ Omit **ك** before حاكم MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MS. (A).

is one of the chief cities of Hindūstān, and had put its inhabitants to death, and was keeping two thousand¹ women, Hindus and Muslims, in his own *harīm*. The following couplet was found to record the date of this siege :

Qīyām-i-bārgāh bāshad mubārak.

May the stability of the court be fortunate.²

After prolonging the siege for some time *Shīr Shāh* entered into a compact, and succeeded in dislodging Pūranmal³ by the intervention of *Shāhzāda 'Adil Khān* and *Qutb Khān Nāib*,⁴ and assigned him a place in his own camp, bestowing upon him a hundred horses, with a robe of honour and a sum of gold; and eventually by the advice of *Mir Saiyyid Rafi'u-d-Din Safawi* of Ij,⁵ which was given the title of *Muqaddasa* (Sacred) by Sikandar Lodi, broke his word, and caused Pūranmal together with his family and children to be trampled to death by elephants. Not a single man of those turbulent and rebellious Hindus, who were

367. near ten thousand souls, escaped in that battle. Their women and men either⁶ became food for the edge (*jauhar*) of the sword or fed the flames of the fire called *jāhar*, a well-known word in the Hindi language. This chronicle, from that day forward, remained as a record upon the pages of Time, *may God be merciful to its author*. This event occurred in the year 950 H., and⁷ after some time he girded up his loins for a holy war to uproot the pestilent infidels of the country of Mārwār, and led a vast⁸ army against Rāi Maldeo⁹

¹ MS. (A) omits دو.

² قیام بارگاہ باشد مبارک. The letters give the date 949 H. MS. (B) gives this date in figures.

³ MS. (A) reads دبیریم Deorimal and omits ازنجا.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit پائین.

⁵ Died at Agra in 954 or 957, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (B). I, 523.

The text reads erroneously ایلچی *Ilichī'-e*. MS. (A) reads انجی *Injī*, and MS. (B) reads ایچی *Ichī*. We should read انجی *Injī*, in the sense given in the translation. Ij is stated by Yāqūt to be a city rich in gardens and other advantages. The Persians he says pronounce it ایک *I'k* (*Mu'jamu-l Buldān*, I, p. 415).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) بی.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) و.

⁸ Lit. exceeding in its numbers the ants and locusts.

⁹ MS. (B) omits رای.

the leader of the Rāis of Hindūstān who held sway over the country of Nāgor and Jaunpūr, and was a powerful opponent of the Muslims; and inasmuch as one of the maxims of Shir Shāh, from which he never departed,¹ was to throw up an entrenched position round his army, no matter how few the enemy might be, as soon as Mäldeo arrived in the vicinity of Ājmīr with fifty thousand picked cavalry trained and experienced in war, intent upon slaying or being slain, and confronted Shir Shāh, he, finding it impossible to make trenches and ramparts because of the sandy soil, held a conference with his experienced and veteran Amirs. No one of them however could devise a way to effect that object. Suddenly Maḥmūd Khān, the son of ‘Ādil Khān,² who was grandson to Shir Shāh, notwithstanding his youth said, “Let Shāh ‘Alam order the *bañjāras* (grain sellers) of the army to fill sacks with sand and arrange them round³ the army.” This idea⁴ highly commended itself to Shir Shāh, and he immediately placed his turban upon the lad’s head, and bestowed upon him in perpetuity the treaty territories.

In the end Heaven did not favour his designs, and Islām Shāh⁵ after reaching kingly power, made this unfortunate boy the very first of his family, heirs to the kingdom, to have his name blotted out from the page of existence, in accordance with the saying *Al mulku ‘aqīm*⁶ (The kingdom has no heir), and that treatment which he meted out to them, vindictive Time measured again to his posterity.

Verse.

If thou hast done evil remain not secure from calamity,
For the nature of things brings about requital.

In short Shir Shāh, who⁷ would not give the head of one of his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afghāns were⁸ far dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve

¹ MS. (A) omits خلف.

² MS. (A) reads پسر عادل خان MS. (B) بن عادل خان.

³ MS. (A) reads for برد و گرد.

⁴ MS. (A) reads بسیار این رای او omitting.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) rend سلیمان شاہ ⁶ الملک عقیم.

⁷ MS (A) omits جوں. ⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read بود.

his army in calamity with the ignorant, boar-natured, currish ¹ Hindūs. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Mäldeo's army, to himself, couched in enigmatical language,² the substance of them being that there would be no need for the king in person to superintend the fighting, when the armies were drawn up for battle, because they themselves would take Mäldeo alive and deliver him up, upon the condition that such and such places should be given them as a reward. Having done this he so arranged that those letters fell into Mäldeo's hands, with the result that Mäldeo became utterly suspicious of all his generals,³ and, in the dead of night⁴ fled alone without looking behind him; and, notwithstanding that his generals denied their complicity with oath upon oath, saying that they never could have been guilty of such dastardly conduct,⁵ and that this was all the handiwork of Shir Shāh in his desire to raise dissensions⁶ between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Mäldeo's mind. Kanhaiyā,⁷ who was his minister and agent, abused Mäldeo in violent terms, and taking four thousand resolute men devoted to death, or even more than this number, came down upon the army of Shir Shāh, with the intention of surprising them by night, but missed his way, and after marching the whole night, when morning broke became aware that he had left the camp far in rear.⁸ After striving to the utmost of their powers, when they had abandoned all hope of life, at the very moment when the army of Shir Shāh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shir Shāh or by the superior good fortune of Islām, the infidels in a body dismounted from their horses, and renewing their vows of singleness of purpose and

مسکوار ¹ سکار with a footnote variant found in MS. (B).

² MS. (B) omits نوشت امرای خوبیش MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ شبشب MSS. (A) (B). ⁵ MS. (A) omits واقع نشده و.

⁶ Lit. to cast the stone of discord in our midst. MSS. (A) (B) read ما در میان دوستیان. M.S. (A) reads و این حیله for و این جمله (Text).

⁷ This name is given on the authority of Firishta (Bo. text, p. 427). Our text and both MSS. (A) (B) read گویا Goyā which does not appear to be possibly correct. Brigg's II, p. 122, calls him Koonbha. Kanhaiyā is a proper name among Hindūs, and is one of the names of Krishna.

⁸ Firishta merely says they missed their way and reached the enemy's camp in daylight. (Bo. text, loc cit).

mutual assistance, binding¹ their sashes together and joining hand to hand, attacked the army of the Afghāns with their short spears, which they call *Barchha*,² and with their swords. Shir Shāh had given orders saying that if any man ventured to fight with the sword with this swinish horde, his blood would be on his own head. He accordingly ordered the elephant troops to advance and³ trample them down. In rear of the elephants, the artillery and archers gave them a taste of the bowstring, and admitting them to the banquet of death, gave them the hospitality of the land of extinction. The bright surface of the world's page was polished, and freed from the dark lines of the land of infidels, and not one of the infidels got off with his life, nor was a single Muslim lost in that encounter.⁴ A poet of Basāwar, whose *takhallus* is Faizi,⁵ wrote this verse on that subject.

Suddenly check to the king happened to Māldeo
It would have been checkmate had not the piece
Kanyā⁶ protected him as 'Irā.⁷

It is said that after this victory Shir Shāh on several occasions used to say, "I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindūstān⁸ for a handful of millet." Returning thence and making over the fortress of Rantambhūr to his son 'Adil Khān, he gave him leave for a few days to visit the fort, and put the garrison in order, when he was to follow his father. The writer has heard from a trustworthy source, that one day while on that expedition Mir Saiyyid Rafi'u-d-Din, the renowned and unique traditionist now pardoned and absolved, who has been already mentioned, said to Shir Shāh, "All my ancestors were⁹ authors of authoritative compositions and used to give instructions in the two sacred

¹ The text reads فوٹہ در فوٹہ یافتند but we should read بافتند *bāfta*.

² *Barchha*. A Hindi word meaning a small spear.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read پایمال کردنہ

⁴ MS. (B) writes needlessly یک کس ضایع نشد.

⁵ See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I 490, for a full account of the poet Faizi.

⁶ I read here گنیا for پایمال, see n. 7, page 478.

⁷ نفری for بعری MSS. (A) (B) 'Urī 'Irā is that piece at chess which is interposed between the king and a Rook to protect the king from check by the Rook, see J. R. S. A. xiii p. 49, (*Bland*, on the Persian game of chess).

⁸ MS. (A) supplies ل.

⁹ MS. (A) بوده اند و.

370. cities.¹ I alone of all my family have become so helpless and powerless that in search of the gold and fame of Hindūstān I am blindly wandering. I beseech your Majesty to grant me permission to depart, so that at the end of my days I may be able to relight the lamp of those venerable ancestors of mine.

Seeing that I was not worthy to succeed those mighty intellects who have gone before me,
My hands have spoiled many books, my ignorance has wasted
many parchments.²

Shir Shāh answered, I should have no objections to make on this score, were it not that I have kept you with me for a special object, which is this that I intend in a short time by the help of God, *He is blessed and exalted*,³ to clear the heart-delighting plain of Hindūstān of the thorns of infidelity, and shortly to reduce the few forts which remain, with very little difficulty, and passing along the seashore to fight with⁴ those Qizilbāshes who oppose the progress of the company of pilgrims⁵ to the holy temple (of Makkah) and have given rise to bigoted interference with the established religion and the orthodox followers of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,⁶ and to send you thence with a mission bearing letters to the Sultān of Rūm, in order that, having knitted the bonds of religious brotherhood between us, you may bear to him a request on my behalf to be entrusted with the service of one of the two sacred temples, *may God increase their dignity*. Then I coming up from one direction [and the *Khwandgār*⁷ from the other], may clear out the Qizilbāsh from between us, because⁸ as soon as the Sultān of Rūm attacks him, he will move with all rapidity in this direction, and when the Sultān of Rūm withdraws his forces, he will

1 Makkah and Madinah. دفاتر ^و Dafātir.

2 بعون ایزدی تبارک و تعالیٰ. MSS. (A) (B) read.

4 MSS. (A) (B) ب.

5 MS. (B) reads حجاج و جوار. Regarding the Hajj or pilgrimage to Makkah, see Hughes Dict. of Islam, art. Hajj.

6 A footnote variant للهم انزله المقدى المقرب بالقيمة is evidently the interpolation of some devout copyist.

7 MS. (B) omits the words in square brackets.

8 MS. (A) گچ.

again return to the place he came from, whereas if we surround him from both directions with this army and the large following we have in Hindūstān, together with that powerful force and its artillery,¹ his resisting power will be *nil*;² and on carefully considering over this matter I can think of no person more fitted to carry³ this message than yourself, and simply in view of the attainment of this object⁴ I cannot entertain the idea of your leave.

It must not be forgotten that it is by no means improbable that this same good intention may be the cause of the salvation of that faithful king from the fire (of hell) although he fell into the fire,⁵ in the Day of Reckoning, for the Almighty, *may He be glorified and exalted*, is satisfied with little and very bountiful, and the story of ‘Amr ibnū Lais⁶ [who for all his vast army and equipment, which gave him the pre-eminence over all kings of Irāq, in the four quarters of the globe, was always regretful because he had not been present at the slaughter of Imām Husain, *may God Most High be pleased with him*, so that he might have smitten and destroyed the⁷ followers of Yazid,⁸ and of his having a vision in which he was walking in the gardens of Paradise] is well known, say, *every man acts after his own manner*,⁹ that is after his own desire.

Verse.

My brother thou art all desire, naught else ;
 All the rest of thee is but bone and fibre.
 If a rose is thy desire, thou art a rose garden,
 If a furnace is thy desire, thou art its fuel.¹⁰

¹ آتش باری MS. (A).

² We should probably read here معدوم for معلوم.

³ MS. (A) reads او for ادی.

⁴ MS. (A) reads غرض.

⁵ See next page for the account of Shīr Shāh's accident at the siege of Kālinjar.

⁶ See Ibn Khalliqān (De Slane) IV. pp. 301 *et seqq.*

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit پلید.

⁸ Yazid, the son of Mu'awiyah, the second Khalifah of the house of Ummaiyah. He is celebrated in Muslim history as the opponent of Husain who was killed at Karbalā A.H. 61, see Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*.

⁹ See Qur'ān XVII, 86.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads دھم for دھمہ. MS. (B) reads دھمہ.

And in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.) Shir Shāh invested the fortress of Kālinjar, which is one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindūstān, and with great energy and skill in a short time prepared galleries, and used to make daily attacks upon the bastions;¹ and by the time that the galleries had advanced near to the walls of the fort, and the mines were ready, attacking on all four sides he made the condition of the garrison very precarious. Shir Shāh from the position where he was standing, gave orders to hurl grenades filled with gunpowder

- 372.** into the fort. This they did, and by chance one of those grenades struck the wall of the fort, and recoiling with great force exploded. Its fragments fell among the other grenades, which exploded, burning Shir Shāh severely from head to foot. And inasmuch as he was badly scorched,² and Shaikh Khalil the son of his spiritual guide, and the learned Maulānā Nāzimū-d-Dīn³ also were fellow-sufferers with Shir Shāh in this explosion,⁴ Shir Shāh as he ran using his hands to cover his nakedness,⁵ took refuge in a tent which they had pitched for him in (front of) a bastion,⁶ where he lay unconscious. Whenever he recovered consciousness a little⁷ he shouted to his men encouraging them⁸ to seize the fort, and if any one came to see him he signified to him to go and fight, so that in his absence the Amirs⁹ in command in the trenches worked harder than if he had been present, and

¹ The text reads here مورچہ with a footnote variant مورچہ. MS. (B) reads ملخارہ ها. MS. (A) however has a totally different reading مرحلاً for which I can see no meaning, but we should probably read “bastions” which would be consonant with both the text and MSS. (A) and (B). This supposition is the more probable as some lines further on we have MS. (B) reading مرحلاً, MS. (A) مرجل, and the text مورچل. See note 6.

² يلمع Yulma. The meaning of this word is given in Fazlu-l-lāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary as *Chīze ki māye ān kanda bāshad*, that which has lost its hair.

³ MS. (A) reads مولانا ناظم.

⁴ MS. (B) reads درین موزش و شوش.

⁵ Both MSS. (A) (B) read هودو دست پس و پیش گرفته. This is a common expression to denote utter wretchedness and poverty.

⁶ The text reads مرجل. MS. (A) مرجل, see ante n. 1.

⁷ MS. (A) می آید. ⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read here فریاد زده مودم والخ.

⁹ MS. (A) مراجل.

behaved with the utmost gallantry, and coming to close quarters with the garrison, brought matters to a fight with knife and dagger and did full justice to the demands of endeavour and manliness. The writer heard a story from a most trustworthy source, that on that eventful day of assault, in which the deeds of every individual assailant were conspicuous, and the standards and faces could be easily distinguished one from another,¹ I saw, said he, a soldier armed *cap-a-pie*, who had not previously been seen nor was ever after seen, clothed from head to foot in black, wearing a plume² of the same colour upon his head,³ and urging and encouraging our men in the battle. Then he entered one of the galleries and made his way into the fort. I searched for him everywhere after the battle, but in vain, I could find no trace of him.⁴ The men in the other trenches also gave the same account, saying, we saw several horsemen wearing these clothes who kept advancing in front of us till they entered the fort and vanished :

Verse.

If thou hadst not been on the side of religious law, Heaven 373.
itself would have girt its loins,

If thou hadst⁵ been on the side of the faith, the Gemini
would have ungirt their sword.

A report became current that, in that battle, certain men from the invisible world had come to the aid of the Muslims. And Shir Shāh suffering and distressed as he was, from time to time enquired for tidings of victory. The air was terribly hot, and although they sprinkled him constantly with sandal and rose-water, it was utterly useless⁶ to relieve the scorching heat whose intensity increased hour by hour.

وَ عَلَمَاتٍ وَ صُورَتِهَا إِذْ يَكُ دِيَگَر مُمْتَاز بُود . The text reads مُسَوْرَتٍ - صُورَتِهَا MS. (B) reads مُسَوْرَتٍ . The reading of the text is adopted.

² Fazlūllāh Khān gives a word بِالاو *Yālāū* in the meaning of alam, a standard or ensign.

³ MSS. (A) (B) agree with the footnote variant يلو بهمان و نگ, omitting the words صلب و عمامه found in the text.

⁴ MS. (A) جستیدم نیافرینم.

⁵ In the first line MSS. (A) (B) read نفر for نز (Text). In the second line MS. (A) reads نفر for نز (Text).

⁶ The text reads فایدَه از التهاب اجل نداشت . MS. (B) reads آن for اجل but the correct reading appears to be اصل نداشت MS. (A).

Shāh, and the son of Mulla Ahmād Junāid,¹ who is well known,²
 375. found this verse of the sacred word:³ "And already we have written in the Psalms, after the admonition that 'the earth shall my righteous servants inherit,'"⁴ to give the date of his accession. He wrote a despatch to his elder brother 'Ādil Khān and sent it to him in Ranthanbūr, of which the following is the substance. "Although the succession was really your right, still as you were at so great a distance there was a danger, nay a certainty of the occurrence of disturbances here before you could arrive. Accordingly with a view to keep down insurrections, I will take charge of the army for a few days as your deputy, and after you arrive I shall have no alternative but to submit to and obey you." Leaving Kālinjar he made for⁵ Āgra and in the vicinity of the township of Kūra Khātampūr,⁶ Khawāṣṣ Khān arrived from Sihrind which was his jāegīr, and yielded a forced allegiance, because he was more inclined to favour the accession of 'Ādil Khān as compared with Islem Shāh; a splendid banquet was held and he was anew placed on the throne. Afterwards when fresh despatches from Islem Shāh reached 'Ādil Khān, he referred the question of his coming to the following four persons upon whose advice and opinion as to its expediency he made his action dependent: Quṭb Khān Nāib, 'Isā Khān Niyāzī, Khawāṣṣ Khān, and Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,⁷ all of whom were great Amirs, men of eminence belonging to his family. Islem Shāh sent this body of men to him bearing an agreement by which he undertook to allow 'Ādil Khān to depart to his jāegīr after the first interview, and to deliver to his control any place in Hindūstān which he might select. 'Ādil Khān acting upon the advice of these Amirs proceeded from the neighbourhood of Ranthanbūr to Fathpūr,

1 MSS. (A) (B) جند Jund.

2 MS. (B) omits مشهور.

3 Supply ب MS. (A). See Qur'ān xxi, 105.

4 Psalm xxxvii, 29. 'The righteous shall inherit the land and dwell therein for ever.'

The date is given by the words من بعد الذكر i.e., that which follows the ذكر. The value of the ذكر being 951, that which follows is 952 H.

5 MSS. (A) (B) عازم آگرہ شد.

6 Kora (Corah) Town in Fathpūr district, N.-W. P., on the old Mughul Road from Agra to Allahabad. See Tieff, Vol. I, p. 235 and map, Vol. III. See also Hunter, Imp. Gaz. viii, p. 295.

7 MSS. (A) (B) جلو Jalū.

otherwise called Sikri, and Islem Shâh¹ left Āgra and came to Shikârpûr,² where the royal palace is at present, to receive him; and when they met they first fulfilled the duties of condolence, and evinced great cordiality, and after a short time set out together for Āgra. Islem Shâh had plotted treachery against 'Ādil Khân, and had consequently made a stipulation that not more than two or three persons should be left in the fort with 'Ādil Khân. This however was not carried out, and a large body of followers accompanied him; accordingly Islem Shâh was constrained, in order to avoid suspicion, to treat 'Ādil Khân with extraordinary³ fawning and flattery, saying "I have taken care of these unruly⁴ Afghans so far by artful means,⁵ now I make them over to you."

376.

Verse.

Subject the intoxicated and riotous one to the warning glance
of the cup-bearer.⁶

Having placed him upon the throne he himself assumed an attitude of submission and obedience, and from motives of worldly wisdom was most punctilious in the observance of courtesy.⁷ Although 'Ādil Khân was in the flower of his youth, and of great bodily strength (many well-known tales of his strength are told), nevertheless, since he was fond of ease, and was well aware of the craft and subtlety of Islem Shâh and his⁸ ways of dealing, would not agree to that procedure, rose to his feet, and seating Islem Shâh on the throne again with all honour and ceremony,⁹ swore allegiance to him, and offered him congratulations upon his accession, with the customary offerings¹⁰ and oblations. Islem Shâh, in accordance with the compact which had been made,¹¹ sent 'Isa Khân and Khawâṣṣ Khân to accompany 'Ādil Khân, and having confirmed Baiāna to him as a jâegîr, permitted him to proceed thither. Two months later he appointed Ghâzî Mahallî, who was one of his confidential attendants, to go and arrest 'Ādil Khân.

¹ Omit ب ش MS. (B).

² MS. (A) سنکارپور Sankârpûr.

³ MS. (A) reads فوق الحق.

⁴ MS. (A) بی سر.

⁵ MS. (A) ما سر خوشیم.

⁶ From Hâfiż. See ode commencing بلطائف الحیل Dîwâni-Hâfiż, Newa Kishore Press, p. 303.

⁷ ملازمت MS. (A) reads ملازمت.

⁸ MS. (B) supplies او.

⁹ Read ب مراسم تعظیم MS. (A) (B). ¹⁰ MS. (A) و نثار کرد و اینوار واقع شده.

¹¹ MS. (B) omits بوٹ.

'Adil Khān, however, heard of this, and fled from Baiāna taking refuge with Khawāṣṣ Khān in Miwāt. Khawāṣṣ Khān then summoned Ghāzī Maḥallī, and bound him with that same golden chain which he had brought for 'Ādil Khān, and having gained over to his side all¹ the Amirs, set out for Āgra with a large army. Qatb Khān and Isā Khān also, who were two of the chief nobles of the State,² with whose concurrence the compact³ had been made, were annoyed at this breach of faith on the part of Islem Shāh,⁴ and with great management summoned 'Ādil Khān at a time agreed upon, namely at day break after the Shab-i-barāt,⁵ so that they might own allegiance to him. It so chanced that 'Ādil Khān and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having arrived at Sikri on the Shab-i-barāt,⁶ spent that night as a vigil in the service of Shaikh Salim Chishtī, in voluntary prayers⁷ and benedictions, so that their departure for Āgra was delayed long past the time agreed upon, and it was breakfast time⁸ when they reached the outskirts of Āgra. Islem Shāh who was alarmed,⁹ spoke very courteously to Qatb Khān and the rest of the Amirs, and permitted them to go and present themselves before 'Ādil Khān. His¹⁰ object was to get rid of his opponents, and that very instant to start alone¹¹

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read اصراء عاصمة.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit اصراء و.

³ MS. (A) قول وقرار.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read وسیده instead of بواسطه الخ.

⁵ The fifteenth day of Shabān. A day of great rejoicing among Muhammadans. Muhammad ordered his followers to keep vigil during this night, to repeat a hundred prayers and keep the next day as a fast day. See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*.

Briggs in his translation of Firishta says, "as it was the night of the Koorban festival," and in a footnote says, "this fast is kept in commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham." The translator however is at fault here, as the original says وچون شب برآ بود (Bo. Text, p. 431) and inasmuch as it was the Shab-i-barāt.

⁶ MS. (A) in error شب برآ آب.

⁷ نوافل وادعیه. Nawāfiẓ wa ad'iyah. Nawāfiẓ are voluntary prayers which may be omitted without sin, as distinguished from Farz which are prayers enjoined by God, and from Sunnah, prayers founded on the practice of the Prophet.

See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, art. Prayer.

⁸ مضربي کشته چاشنگاهی. Chāshṭgāhe. MSS. (A) (B).

⁹ MS. (A) omits او and also ا after مخالفان.

¹⁰ Insert تنا after ساعت. MSS. (A) (B) instead of as in the text.

for the fortress of Chunār, seize the treasure which was there, and after collecting the necessary equipment for an army to return and again engage in war. 'Isā Khān Hajjāb warned him of the folly and absurdity of this project, and prevented him from sending his Amirs to his enemy and from starting for Chunār. Eventually Islem Shāh, accompanied by a party of his own bodyguard, and two or three thousand old and trusty retainers, left Āgra with all haste and came out in force to fight, first recalling those Amirs¹ whom he had sent,² saying "I am by no means confident that 'Ādil Khān will not deal treacherously with you; you had better return quickly and rejoin me, because the question between³ him and me can only be settled by the sword."

Verse.

In this case messengers and despatches can avail nothing,
The two-edged sword will make this matter clear.⁴

The Amirs, however, who were friendly to 'Ādil Khān, on seeing Islem Shāh take the field, refused⁵ to return to his side and entered the ranks of the more powerful army; a severe battle ensued before Āgra, and 'Ādil Khān was defeated⁶ and fled alone toward Bhatta.⁷ Khawāṣṣ Khān and 'Isā Khān Niyāzī, who had a strong regard and unbounded loyalty for each other, took the road to Miwāt and the township of Firūzpur, engaged the force which had been sent in pursuit of them, and overcame it; but eventually, not having power to resist the army of Islem Shāh, proceeded to the hills to the north of Hindūstān, which⁸ are called (the) Kumāon (hills), and took refuge with the Rājās of that district. Qutb Khān Nāib, having been appointed to attack them, kept continually ravaging the country at the foot of the hills. In the meantime Islem Shāh proceeded to Chunhār, and on his return, when he reached the township of Kūrah Khātampūr, while engaged in playing *changān* with Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,⁹ who was one of the married Amirs of the Afghāns, and had been¹⁰ an adherent

378.

¹ MS. (A) امراء. ² Omit فرستاد و MS. (B). ³ MS. (B) omits میان.

⁴ This order of the hemistiches is given in MS. (A).

⁵ MS. (A) بلازماندہ.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) شکست افتاده.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit رفت و.

⁸ MS. (A) omits را.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) جلو.

¹⁰ MS. (A) بود.

of 'Adil Khān, and a great object of suspicion to Islem Shāh, by some treacherous device persuaded him to come to his camp, and cast him into chains together with his brother Khudādād, making them over to an Afghān who had a blood feud with them, and having put them to death under the cloke of vengeance, proceeded to Āgra, [and from thence to Gwāliār which he had made his capital],¹ and setting himself to slay and eradicate a party who were favourable to 'Adil Khān, girded up his loins in enmity against them, and swept them one by one from the board of the world like so many pieces in the game of draughts or chess. Qutb Khān also took fright, and fled from the foot of the Kumāon hills to Lahore, taking refuge with Haibat Khān, to whom Shir Shāh had given the title of A'zam Humāyūn. Haibat Khān in obedience to a summons from Islem Shāh, sent Qutb Khān in chains to him. Islem Shāh sent him together with Shāhibāz Khān Lūhāni,² who was brother-in-law to Shir Shāh,³ and Barmazid Kor who was the *Dajjāl*⁴ of that sect, and the Hajjāj⁵ of his age, and thirteen or fourteen other Amirs⁶ and Amirs' sons, to the fortress of Gwāliār, where most of them quitted the body in imprisonment.⁷

[Among them was Maḥmūd Khān, son of 'Adil Khān, who in his seventh year had counselled Shir Shāh to throw up a rampart of sand, in consequence of which Shir Shāh had made him his heir-apparent, as has been related. Another was Kawāl Khān Ghakkār who will be mentioned shortly].⁸

And in this year Salim Shāh summoned A'zam Humāyūn from

¹ Not in MSS. (A) (B).

² بموجب طلب :

³ MS. (B).

⁴ Firishta says شاهزاده بود و بر مزید کور و چند کس دیگر که شوهر خواهر سلیم شاه بود و بر مزید کور و چند کس دیگر who was sister's husband to Salim Shah, with Barmazid Kor and some others. Bo. Text, 482.

Briggs translates this, "the king's brother-in-law, who was deprived of his sight," mistaking *Barmazid Kor*. (Briggs II, 182.)

⁵ دجال *Dajjāl*. The *Masīhu-d-dajjāl* or lying Christ, the last of the impostors whose appearance was predicted by Muḥammad.

⁶ See ante, p. 12 n. 1.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit نامی .

⁸ The text reads بداری تفنگ . by gunpowder. MSS. (A) (B) omit these words.

⁹ This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a foot-note to the text states that it is found in one MS.

Lāhor, but he advanced some excuse¹ for not coming in person, and sent Sa'id Khān his brother, who was renowned for courage and sound judgment.² Islem Shāh received him with the utmost show of favour, and made much of him, advancing him to the highest place of intimacy, but inwardly cherished the intention of putting an end to him; at last one day, having summoned him to a private interview within the palace, he shewed him the heads of the Amīrs who had been immured alive in the walls, for instance Zain Khān Niyāzī³ and the others, saying: Do you recognize these persons, who they are? He mentioned the names of some whom he recognized. Previously to this he had thrown⁴ the abovementioned Amīrs, men of ability, into a chamber in Gwāliār, and setting fire to it with gunpowder had burned them all except Kawāl Khān Ghakkār, who remained under the protection of the All-cherisher safe in a corner of the room.⁵ [It is said that the following was the reason of his escaping; the sister of Kawāl Khān, who had been united by marriage to Islem Shāh, became aware of the conference and sent word to her brother, saying: This very night they intend to blow up the prisoners with gunpowder. She also sent from inside (the palace) four quilts stuffed with cotton, and several skins of water. Kawāl Khān poured quantities of water upon the quilts, and under pretence of taking a bath betook himself into a corner, apart from his friends, and rolling himself up in the quilts had gone to sleep when they set fire to the room, and all were burned to ashes, but he alone remained alive beneath the quilt. In the morning Islem Shāh came to inspect that prison house, and seeing Kawāl Khān alive said: It is right for me to release you seeing that fire had no power over you].⁶ Then Islem Shāh having made him⁷ take an oath that he would never again oppose him, released him, and appointed him to assist the Governor of the Panjab to conquer the country of the Ghakkārs [where he arrived with all honour].⁸ In short Sa'id Khān, who had been a witness of this sudden death, gave orders in obedience

¹ MS. (A) مذر.

² مقات نفانت MS. (B) reads نفانت قات.

³ MS. (A) omits نیازی.

⁴ MS. (A) omits آن.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read simply خانہ گوشہ در.

⁶ This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a foot-note to the text states that it is found in one MS.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit و.

⁸ Not in MSS. (A) (B).

380.

to which post horses were tied up along the road to Lāhor, so that he travelled the distance between Āgra and Lāhor within three nights. Day by day the scale turned more and more in favour of the Niyāzī faction, and Ā'zam Humāyūn read the *Khuṭbah* in his own name in Lāhor. Islem Shāh returned from that same camp and came to Āgra, and summoning a vast army from all sides marched for the Panjab. Sazawal Khān came from Mālwa to join this movement, and was received very graciously, and after bringing forward certain important matters took leave, while Islem Shāh, after halting for a few days in Dilīlī and ordering his army, set out

381. for Lāhor.¹ Ā'zam Humāyūn and Khawāss Khān, and 'Isā Khān² Niyāzī as well, (who had come down from the hill country to join him), came from the Panjab with armies strong as the hills to receive Islem Shāh. In the early part of the³ winter time a fierce battle was fought in front of⁴ the township of Ambāla, and on the evening preceding the day on which the battle was to be fought, Ā'zam Khān had asked Khawāss Khān: After the victory who will be selected as the successor to the throne? He answered: It may be that it will be 'Ādil Khān who is the eldest son of Shir Shāh⁵ and is really fit to rule. It appears that the Niyāzī faction said,⁶ The kingdom is not by inheritance, but *He who conquers, takes the booty.*⁷ It is a foregone conclusion, what sense is there in this that we should strike with the sword and the kingdom should come to others.

Khawāss Khān, who was heart and soul attached to the cause of Shir Shāh, was displeased at this claim of theirs, consequently when the battle began to rage, he refused to fight,⁸ and standing aloof left the battle field together with 'Isā Khān Niyāzī. The Niyāzī faction fought right manfully, without yielding a foot of ground, and were near carrying away the centre⁹ of Islem Shāh's

¹ MS. (A) reads و.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit عیسیٰ خان a footnote to the text states that the words are in one MS.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read only در ایم زمستان In the winter time.

⁴ MS. (A). در ظاهرو

⁵ MS. (A) supplies باشد.

⁶ نیازیان گفته باشند.

⁷ من غائب سأبَرَ man qhalaba salaba.

⁸ The text reads جنگ ها کردہ but this is manifestly wrong, and the reading should be جنگ نا کرده as in MS. (A) (B).

⁹ MS. (A) omits قاب.

army, but in the end¹ pluck told,² and their efforts were of no avail.

Verse.

Thy wound which utters presage of thy death
When it feels thy salt closes its lips.

And Sa'íd Khān, the elder brother of Ā'zam Humāyūn, attended by a body of men fully armed and equipped, disguised in such a way that no one would know him, came in under the pretext of offering congratulations, with the intention of putting an end to Islem Shāh, and with that object asked repeatedly, where is the Pādshāh that I may offer him my congratulations on his victory. An elephant driver of one of those elephants which had surrounded Islem Shāh recognised the voice of Sa'íd Khān, and struck a blow at him with his spear, but he³ made his way in safety through the crowd of elephants, great as it was,⁴ and foiled in his purpose made his escape; the Niyāzī faction fled and came to Dhankot,⁵ which is near Roh,⁶ and the remainder were plundered by the Kawārs, while some were drowned in the nullahs of Ambāla. Islem Shāh pursued as far as Western Rohtās, and despatched Khwāja Wais⁷ Sirwānī with a large army to oppose the Niyāzīs, and returned towards Āgra. Leaving Āgra he went⁸ to Gwāliār, and made it his capital.⁹ When Khawāss Khān and 'Isā Khān Niyāzī, who had made common cause, left the battle field, 'Isā Khān went to the hill country,¹⁰ [while Khawāss Khān with five or six hundred cavalry¹¹ fled to Lāhor]; [and (Islām Khān)¹² Islem Shāh appointed Shams Khān

382.

¹ MS. (B) reads آخر for غایتش.

² نمک کار خود کرد. The word 'pluck' seems the best equivalent for the Persian *nimak* which means literally *salt*, and secondarily *spirit, courage*. It may also mean however that Islem Shāh's men were 'true to their Salt.'

³ The text reads و here which quite loses the sense. Read او MS. (B).

⁴ Omit حلقہ نیلان MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ MS. (A) دھنکوب Dhankob.

⁶ MS. (A) رداہ Radah.

⁷ MS. (A) اوس ایس Awais.

⁸ MS. (A) اگ را پای تخت ساخت و رفت MS. (B) رفتة.

⁹ MS. (A) (B).

¹⁰ We should follow the text here. MS. (A) omits the words خان بداصن and goes on بے داصن کوہ در آمدند عیسیٰ and goes on عیسیٰ omitting the passage in square brackets which follows.

¹¹ MS. (B) کس.

¹² اسلام شاہ MS. (A).

Lūhānī as Governor of Lāhor; and at a time when Shams Khān had come out for some undertaking¹ to a distance of thirty *krohs* from Lāhor, Khawāṣṣ Khān,² with three³ or four hundred cavalry, each individual man of whom could have withstood an army, advanced with the idea of taking Lāhor, and encamped⁴ in the grove of Kāmrān Mirza. The inhabitants of Lāhor shutting themselves up in the fort held the city till the arrival of Shams Khān, and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having cut down the lofty trees⁵ of Safidār and Chinār⁶ of that grove, had set about making *Sātūr*⁷ and ladders, when⁸ his cavalry brought news that Rāī Husain Jilwāni and other Amirs of Salim Shāh's party with an army of thirty thousand cavalry had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lāhor. Khawāṣṣ Khān, after a conference with Isā Khān, abandoned the siege, and went out some five or six *krohs* to meet (his enemy), and with five hundred veteran cavalry well tried in war hurled himself against that wall of steel. Rāī Husain said to his men, leave the way open so⁹ that this black calamity may pass through our midst. Accordingly¹⁰ he made a breach in the line of Salim Shāh's army, and attacked them again from the rear and threw them into confusion. At this juncture he received a wound in the knee which bore him from his horse to the ground, but his opponents had not sufficient enterprise to come up to him and take him prisoner, and he was openly borne off the field upon a *charpoy*.¹¹

¹ MS. (A) بیہت معممی.

² MS. (A) فرود سردار. ³ MS. (A) سیصد. ⁴ MS. (A) فرود آمدند.

⁵ MS. (A) درختهای.

⁶ The *Safedār*, سفیدار is the white Poplar or Abele. The *Chinār* has been already mentioned.

⁷ MS. (A) ساطور. This word is not given in any of the dictionaries. The only word I can conjecture it may possibly be meant for is the Turki *Sātū*, which means the roof of a house (P. de C.) in which case it would have a meaning of a shelter under which to approach the walls, like the Roman *Vine*, which consisted of a roof resting upon posts eight feet in height, made sufficiently light to admit of its being carried by the soldiers. The roof was formed of planks and wicker work.

⁸ MS. (A) کے سواران. ⁹ MS. (A) reads رلا دھند.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads از میان بدروود و.

¹¹ I have retained this word in its English dress as being one so familiar to all who know India. The *chahār pāī* چھار پائی is simply an oblong wooden frame on four legs (as its name implies) fitted with a bottom of string, matting

Rāī Husain forbade his men to give pursuit, and Khawāss Khān went off in safety towards Nagarkot¹ whence he proceeded to the foot of the Kumāon hills. The final issue of his affairs will be related shortly² in its own place if God, *He is exalted*, so will it. The Niyāzi faction set their hearts upon the government of Kashmir, but by the craft of the Kashmīris were enticed into byeways, and eventually reached their rest in the corner of destruction, as will be mentioned, if God, *He is exalted*, so will it.

And in the year 954 H. (1547 A.D.) an Afghān named Uṣmān, whose hand Sazāwal Khān had cut off for some reason, one day laid an ambush in Āgra, and at the entrance to a road aimed a blow at Sazāwal Khān and wounded him. Sazāwal Khān went to the camp, and represented that this attack had been made at the instance of Salim Shāh, he then took his way to Mālwa. Islem Shāh pursued him as far as Bānswāla, but seeing that Sazāwal Khān was hidden among the Zamīndārs of Sarūr,³ Salim Shāh left 'Isa Khān Sūr with twenty thousand cavalry in Ujjain, and reached the capital. In the early part of his reign Islem Shāh detailed five thousand cavalry for the chief *sarkārs* of Hindūstān. Among them Mubāriz Khān, the son of Nizām Khān⁴ Sūr, who was the cousin and wife's brother of Islem Shāh, and eventually received the title of Muḥammad 'Adili, was appointed as a commander of twenty thousand to the vicinity of Ajāwan in the Sarkār of Sanbal, in order that Khawāss Khān and the other Amirs might not be able to raise disturbances in that province, and he appointed as his deputy Pābandh Khazak.⁵ He had also given orders at the beginning of his reign, that between every two resthouses built by Shir Shāh, which were at intervals of one *kroh*, another rest-house of the same pattern should be built, with a temple, and a dwelling-place, and a conduit for water, and that a buttery and kitchen containing food both cooked and uncooked, for the use of travellers,⁶ both Hindū and Musulmān, should be

384.

or a broad tape called *niwār*, in common use as a bedstead, and everywhere known as a *chārpoy*. See Yule and Burnell, Glossary, s. v.

¹ The portion included in double square brackets is omitted from MS. (B)

² MS. (A) مذکور کوہہ خواهد شد (B) سروود سارود Sarūd.

³ MS. (A) writes نظام خان سور.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read خزک Khazak as in footnote variant. The text reads خبرک Khabrak.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) supply مسافر.

always open. Among other commands of his was this, that the *madad-i-ma'ash*¹ and *aimah* grants of the whole of the protected² provinces of Hindūstān which *Shir Shāh* had given, and the rest-houses which he had furnished, and the pleasure-gardens he had laid out,³ should remain just as they were, and should not be altered in the slightest degree. Another order was, that all the *Pātars*⁴ should be taken by force from those Amirs who kept *Akhāras* (these are well known in Hindūstān). He also seized⁵ the elephants in the same manner, and did not leave in the possession of any one any but a wretched female elephant fit only for carrying baggage, and gave⁶ orders that the red tent was confined solely to his own use. Another order was this, that he brought the whole country under his own personal control,⁷ and in accordance with the regulations and custom of the *dāghī* system⁸ which *Shir Shāh* had instituted, the soldiery were paid in cash. A further step was to send written orders to all the *Sarkārs* containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion, and all political and civil questions,⁹ entering into the minutest essential detail,¹⁰ and dealing with all regulations which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes, and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction.

385.

All these points were written in these documents whether agreeable to the religious law or not,¹¹ so that there was no necessity to refer any such matters¹² to the *Qāzī* or *Muftī*, nor was it proper to do so.¹³

¹ See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann) I, 268, 272, regarding the tenures of land called respectively *madad-i-ma'ash* and *aimah*.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit **مَالِك**.

³ MSS. (A) (B) omit **سَاحَة بُونَد**. ⁴ Dancing girls, see ante, p. 250 (Text) n. 4.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit **گُرْفَت**.

⁶ MS. (A) **کَوْد**.

⁷ MSS. (A) omit **خَاصَّة خُود سَاخت**.

⁸ See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann) I, 242. Under the *dāghī* system every Amir began as a commander of twenty, and when he brought his full complement of twenty horses to be branded (خ د *dāgh* signifies a brand), he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, and so on.

⁹ MS. (A) omits the words **مَهَامَات و مَهَامَات**. MS. (B) omits **مَهَامَات**.

¹⁰ نَقِير و قَطْبِير ضَرْوَى *Naqir o qitmīr-i-zarūri*. *Naqir* means the small groove on the date stone, *qitmīr* is the thin pellicle which covers the datestone.

¹¹ MS. (A) **بَايِسْتَى کَوْد**. ¹² MS. (A) **خَواه مَوْافَق نَه**. ¹³ MS. (A) **ابْوَاب**.

Also the Amirs of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand, used every Friday to pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles,¹ and bring the shoes of Salim Shāh together with a quiver which he had given to the *sardārs*² in front of the throne; and first of all the commander of the troops, and after him the *Munsif*, that is to say, the Chief Commissioner (*Amin*) followed by the others in due precedence, with bowed heads and every expression of respect would take their seats in their appointed places. Then a Secretary would come and read aloud that order, chapter and verse, which occupied eighty sheets of paper more or less. Any question which presented any difficulty was referred by them in conclave to the various provisions and rulings of that document, by which it was finally decided, and if it should so happen that any Amir acted in contravention of that order, the Secretary used to write a report of that action and despatch it to the Court, and the disobedient Amir would forthwith be visited with punishment together with his family and relations. This procedure remained in force to the end of the reign of Islem Shāh. The writer of this *Muntakhab*, in the year 955 H. (1548 A.D.), when he was of tender age, went to the country of Bajwāra, one of the dependencies of Baiāna, with the army of Farid Tāran, Commander of five thousand, in the company of his maternal grandfather, *on him be the mercy of God*, and witnessed these customs and rules of practice. And in the year 954 H. or in 955 H., God knows which, Khwāja Wais Sirwāni, who had been commissioned to proceed against A'zam Humāyūn³ [fought a battle with the Niyāzis in the

¹ This is a conjecture. I have failed to find the word سرغہ *Surgha* in any dictionary. It sounds like a Turkī word. There is a word in the Turkī language سوغمة *Sūghma* or سوقمة *Sūqma* (Fażlu-lلāh Khān) meaning pilier colonne (P de C) and it is quite possible that in copying the word, has been written for ^و and the ^و omitted by oversight. We should then have سرغہ *Surgha* as in the text and MSS. The meaning is reasonable: eight-poled shāmiānas being very commonly used.

² MS. (A) has a different reading to the text here. It reads بركشی *Burkashī* کہ بسردار دادہ بود upon a tray which he had given to the *Surdār*, instead of با ترکشی *ba Turkashī* کہ بسردار دادہ بود.

³ MS. (B) omits the words from نامزد to همایون, the copyist having mistaken his place after the first occurrence of the name A'zam Humāyūn.

vicinity of Dhankot,¹ and was defeated. A'zam Humāyūn] having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sihrind. Islem Shāh sent a large army against the rebels, and at last they fought another battle in the same country, and on this occasion also the

- 386.** Niyāzis suffered defeat, and some of their women were captured and sent to Gwāliār. Islem Shāh dishonoured them, and made over to the harlots in his camp the banners and tents and all the tokens of dignity of the Niyāzis who had fallen into his hands, and naming one Sa'id Khān, and another Ā'zam² Humāyūn, and a third Shahbāz Khān, in this way he distributed titles. Moreover he gave them drums which they used to play at their doors at the time of the *naubat*,³ and the prostitutes used to give themselves airs⁴ and used to say *Sag-i-falakam*.⁵ This class used to come every Thursday evening, in accordance with the custom of the harlots of Hindūstān, to pay their respects to Islem Shāh, and the heralds and chamberlains used to call out with a loud voice, O King cast a gracious glance hither, for a certain Khān Niyāzi, and Bahmān Khān are here to invoke blessings on thee. This used to annoy the Afghāns who were all of one tribe and of one mind, so that an intense disgust for him had sprung up in their hearts. Some assert that his conferring the titles of the Niyāzis and giving the ensigns and drums was on the first occasion.⁶ God knows the truth. And Ā'zam Humāyūn, who on the second occasion was defeated, was not able to gird himself again to war, and the Niyāzi party being scattered asunder grew daily weaker, and at first took refuge with the Ghakkars in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, making the hill country adjoining the Kashmīr territory their asylum. Islem Shāh, in order to remove the cause of the mischief, marched with a large army, and reaching the Panjāb took up a strong position in the northern hill range, and by way of guarding his head-quarter post built five forts: *viz.*, Mānkot and Rāshidkot and the others. For a space of

- 387.**

¹ MS. (A) دھنکوب Dhankob.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

³ نوبت *Naubat*. Music which is played daily by the band appointed for the purpose at stated hours. See Āin-i-Akhāri (B) I. 51.

⁴ طبل علا Footnote variant, also MSS. (A) (B) Text reads طبل علا Tabl-i-ulā (*nawākhtan*). To beat the drum of self-conceit.

⁵ سگ فلکم *Sag-i-Falakam*. "I am the dog of the sky," a parodied expression taken from the astronomical *Shir-i-saiak*, the constellation Leo.

⁶ On the occasion of their first defeat.

two years he kept the Afghāns¹ employed in carrying stone and lime, and had such a hatred of the whole tribe that he heaped² the dust of infamy and oppression on their heads. At this time he did not give them even the smallest coin³ by way of recompence. A party of them, however, who had obtained exemption from this labour,⁴ he detailed to oppose the Ghakkars, and they engaged in continuous warfare with them.

The Ghakkars in appearance like the tribe of 'Ād,⁵ daily fought with the Afghāns, and by night entered their camp like thieves, and used to carry off whomsoever they might find, woman or man, freed man or slave, and keep them in bonds with the utmost rigour, and sell them. The Afghāns⁶ dragged them in the dirt, and gave them the nickname of Ruswāī (disgraced), but no one had the power to represent this state of things to Islem Shāh till at last one day Shāh Muḥammad Farmali,⁷ who was one of the most noted Amīrs for wit and good-humour in Hindūstān, and was also a specially favoured and forward boon companion said, "My Lord the King! Last night I saw in a dream three bags descend from heaven, in one of which was dust, in another gold, and in the third⁸ paper. The dust fell upon the head of a soldier, the gold went to the house of the Hindū *daftari*,⁹ and the paper remained in the royal treasury." Islem Shāh was pleased with this speech, and promised that after his return to Gwāliār he would make his accountants draw up an account of the soldiers' pay, and pay them in gold. As it happened that order was never carried out, for in those same days death seized him by the collar.

Verse.

Attend to my wants to-day for that draught is of no avail
Which is given to Sohrāb after his death.

In the end, the affairs of the Niyāzis came to this, that when 388.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit دیو نزد.

² MS. (A) ریختن.

³ MS. (A) یک فلس و جیتنل نداد (A) *Yak fals o jītal na dād*. The text reads فلاؤس *fūlūs*. The *jītal* is an imaginary division of the *dām*, used only for purposes of calculation. Its fictitious value is only the thousandth part of a rupee. *Aīn-i-Akbari* (B) I. 31.

⁴ Read نامزد کردا MS. (A). MS. (B) نامزد گرد تا The text is wrong.

⁵ خط بینی کشیدند (B) (A) *Kashidند*.

⁶ See Sale's Koran, p. 4.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) *Kashidند*.

⁷ MS A. قرتاملی.

⁸ MS. (A) *Dardigari*.

⁹ A scribe, clerk.

their strength¹ was broken, and they came into Kashmīr, the Kashmīris, who are² born traitors and deceivers, first of all invited the Niyāzīs from Rājūri after inflaming them with spurious ambition for kingdom, and in the end their guides leading them astray³ brought the tribes of Kashmīr to oppose them, and at a hint from Islem Shāh held the head of the pass against them. The women even of the Niyāzīs in defence of their honour girded on quivers, (among them were the mother and wife of Ā'zam Humāyūn),⁴ and fighting with the Kashmīris were attacked by a hail of stones which literally covered them, and not a soul escaped. It is said that in the reign of Shir Shāh a body of the Afghāns of the tribe of Sanbal invited the Niyāzīs to Dhankot under treaty, and put two thousand of them to death in obedience to the orders of Shir Shāh, putting their wives and children to the sword. Five years later the same thing happened to them,⁵ and in this house of retribution they received the reward of their deeds, hand for hand. And⁶ in these narrow passes they put all three brothers to the sword, sending their heads as an offering to Salim Shāh. They also sent for him a girl from there. A part of this story has been elegantly told in the *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr*,⁷ the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern; and at the time when Islem Shāh, had sent troops against the Ghakkars and the Jānoha party who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat, he himself was occupied in building the fortress of Māngāṛh;⁸ and Kāmrān Mirzā, after fighting many battles with⁹ Muhammad Humāyūn Padshāh, fled from Kābul and took refuge with Salim Shāh, in the hopes that he would give him reinforcements which would enable him to capture Kābul, in the (vain) expectation that the water which had flowed away would return¹⁰ to its source. When Islem Shāh heard this tidings, he selected from his army the notorious Humūn¹¹ Baqqāl, who in those

¹ Footnote variant صورت اند مدد. ² MS. (A) (B) مدد. ³ MSS. (A) (B) خم پس.

⁴ Omit ~~کے~~ MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ مہان آش در کاسہ ایشان بود. ⁶ *Hamān āsh dar Kāsa-i-hān bād.* Lit. The same broth was in their cup.

⁷ MS. (A) supplies و.

⁷ *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr*, see p. 8, n. 3.

⁸ Text مال گڑھ. MSS. (A) (B) مان گڑھ Māngāṛh.

⁹ بی MS. (A).

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits باز.

¹¹ Footnote variant هیمون Haimūn. The text reads هیموی Haimūe.

days, in virtue of his capacity for extorting taxes, had been promoted from being overseer of the market to a post of confidence, and sent him with another body of Afghāns to the neighbourhood of Rohtās to meet Mirzā, and although Islem Shāh in his own mind thought this a reason for increased confidence in Mirzā, being led to this by the want of confidence¹ he had in the Afghāns as a tribe, and the entire trust he reposed in Humūn, still Mirzā himself made light of this, and² recognising that there were dregs in the very first draught of the cup was unwilling to come in person.

Verse.

Now indeed thou repentest but thy repentance profiteth thee nothing.

Nevertheless, in spite of this Mirzā still believed that possibly Islem Shāh would overlook everything, and would treat him with honour and respect when the time of meeting arrived. However, on the day of public audience, he himself entered with arrogant assurance, and sitting on the seat of a Faraūn or a Shaddād,³ gave orders to Sarmast Khān⁴ the Afghān, a Dā'ud Za'i,⁵ who held the office of *Bārbak*,⁶ in accordance with which he directed Mirzā to perform the customary salutations like the servants of the ordinary public. He accordingly performed the *Kornish*,⁷ and those diabolical men⁸ out of sheer inhumanity seized Mirzā roughly by the nape of the neck, and shouted aloud several times saying, Your Majesty!⁹ Be pleased to cast a glance hither, for Kāmrān the Muqaddam-zāda of Kabul invokes blessings. Islem Shāh after ignoring him for some considerable time, cast a haughty glance in the direction of Mirzā,¹⁰ and uttered a hypocritical "Welcome." He then ordered a tent and canopy to be erected

390.

¹ Footnote variant and MS. (A) اعتمیدی....

² MS. (A) واز قبیل اول خم و دردی.

³ Shaddād the son of 'Ād, see ante, p. 261 n. 6.

⁴ MS. (A) omits خان.

⁵ MS. (A) omits داؤد زئی.

⁶ باریک *Bārbak*. The chief attendant of the *darbār* or public audience.

⁷ کورنیش *Kornish*. A mode of salutation in which the palm of the right hand is placed on the forehead, and the head bowed. It signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility. See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I. 158.

⁸ MS. (A) دیو مردم. ⁹ MS. (A) پادشاها. ¹⁰ MS. (A) (B') جانب میرزا گردو.

for Mirzā near to his own tent, and bestowed upon him a horse and a robe of honour, and a slave girl and a eunuch so that they might spy into his affairs. He used also to summon the Mirzā from time to time, and hold converse with him regarding poetry, but their intercourse was always disagreeable, and the Mirzā was worried by those incessant ceremonial visits and shew of politeness, till he grew sick of his life, and was watching a favourable opportunity to make his escape. Moreover the Afghāns used to make jibes¹ at him in the Hindi tongue, and when he appeared in *darbār* used to say² *Moro mī āyad*³ (Here comes the peacock). The Mirzā enquired from one of the attendants, in the presence of Islem Shāh, "What do they mean by *Moro*?" He answered, "It is the name they give⁴ to a man of great dignity." The Mirzā replied,⁵ "At that rate Salim Shāh is a first rate *Moro* and *Shir Shāh* was a still finer." Salim Shāh consequently gave orders that no one was ever to use that word again,⁶ nor to indulge in pleasantries at the Mirzā's expense. At last one day Islem Shāh called upon the Mirzā for a verse of poetry, when the Mirzā recited this *maṭla'* off hand:

*Gardish-i-gardān-i-gardān gardanānṛā gard kard
Bar sar-i-sāhib-tamīzān nāqīṣān rā mard kurd.*⁷

The revolutions of the circling heaven have brought low the mighty,
And have made worthless men to lord it over men of intelligence.

Islem Shāh fully caught the meaning of this verse, and gave secret orders to his attendants to keep the Mirzā under open arrest. The Mirzā, however, by the help of the *zamīndārs*,⁸ made an arrangement with one of the hill Rājas, and persuaded him, by holding out inducements of various kinds, to station post-

¹ MS. (A) (B) مزمل.

² MS. (A) ۸۵.

³ مورी *Moro* is the Prākrit form of the modern Hindī मोर *Mor*, a peacock.
MS. (B) reads مور و مرغ یعنی. *Moro*, that is to say, a bird.

MS. (A) reads مور و یعنی مرغ, so also footnote variant to text.

⁴ MS. (A) omits میکویند.

⁶ MS. (B) omits گفت.

⁵ MS. (B) reads نگویند بگویند.

⁷ Read اهل تمیزان for ماحب تمیزان MSS. (A) (B). ⁸ MS. (B) زمینداری.

horses along the banks of the river Chināb. One night he emerged from his tent with a woman's *chādar*¹ drawn over his head. The guards imagined that it was one of the women of his *harim* and offered no interference.

391.

The Mirzā crossed the river with his horse and saddle and succeeded in reaching the Rāja. From there he proceeded alone clothed in a *burqa'*,² and taking a *jilaudār*³ with him, was escort'd⁴ by some of the Rājas' subjects till he arrived in the vicinity of the village of Ghari Khū,⁵ on the bank of the river Behat, and rested there one night. Inasmuch as that village is near Sultānpur the residence of Sultān Ādam Ghakkar, at a distance of three krohs from the fortress of Rohtās, some one went to Sultān Ādam and informed him that a Mughūl woman was encamped at such and such a place, attended only by one *jilaudār* and that her intention was to proceed on the following morning. Sultān Ādam sent messengers to make enquiries, and then proceeded⁶ in person, and had an interview with the Mirzā, who by persistent entreaty prevailed upon him to give a promise that he would send him in safety to a place of refuge. Sultān Ādam accordingly wrote a letter to Muhammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, who had recently arrived in that neighbourhood, begging him to spare the Mirzā's life.⁷

The Pādshāh wrote an order in accordance with this request⁸ of his, and sent it to him; but eventually, two years later, he again seized the Mirzā, and⁹ after blinding him with a lancet

1 چادر *chādar*. A garment worn by women over the head and body.

2 برقع *Burqa'*. Here the author probably means the garment covering the head and body completely, and having only a small latticed opening for the mouth, and similar openings for the eyes, worn by Afghān women when out of doors. See Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, for a description of the *burqa'* proper, which is a kind of veil.

3 جلودار *Jilaudār*. An attendant whose duty it is to run beside the horse. Abul-Fazl says some of them will run from 50 to 100 *kroh* (100 to 200 miles!) a day. See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I. 138.

4 Text بیدرقی. With a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. However MS (A) reads بدرقی correctly.

5 MS. (A) MS. (B) reads گھری جو *Ghari Jū*. 6 MSS. (A) (B) و مسح. *Masq*.

7 Read with MS. (A) سیرزا (Text). 8 MSS. (A) (B) مسحول. *Masqul*.

9 MS. (A) supplies .

(*nīshṭar*) sent him to the holy city of Makkah. The word *nīshṭar* records the date of this occurrence.¹ These incidents have only been briefly alluded to here, because they are related² fully in the *Akbar Nāma* and the (*Tārikh-i-*)*Nīzāmī*.³ Among the events which took place during the reign of Islem Shāh was the affair of Shāh Muḥammad of Dihli, of which the following is a brief account. Shāh Muḥammad, in the reign of Shér Shāh, had come from the country of ‘Irāq⁴ to Hindūstān, and had given himself out⁵ to be a Saiyyid. There was some hesitation among the people as to this claim; however, he used to live in accordance with the customs⁶ of the Shaikhs and holy men, and was acquainted with the science of invocation of the mighty names,⁷ and was not without an admixture of deceit.⁸

392.

Verse.

What is expected of Shaikhs is the performance of miracles and prayer-stations.

Whereas what we really see in them are ecstatic⁹ and incoherent ravings.

In spite of all, Shir Shāh gave him credit for being a *wāli*, and Islem Shāh¹⁰ also had reposed great confidence in him from the time he was a prince, and used to go and do reverence to him, and as is the custom of kings, used to take omens¹¹ concerning (his accession to) the kingdom, and from the excessively high opinion he had of him used to lift (the Saiyyid's) shoes. The story goes that one day they had brought a basket¹² of melons as a present to Shāh Muḥammad and just then¹³ Islem Shāh arrived. The Saiyyid pointed to Islem Shāh and said, I present

¹ نیشتر. The letters of this word *nīshṭar* give the date 960 H.

² See Elliot and Dowson V. 147 and 235. ³ MSS. (A) (B) read مسطور.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B). ⁵ میکفت we should read میگرفت.

⁶ The text reads wrongly بردوش *bar dosh* MSS. (A)(B) read *ba rawish*.

⁷ See ante, p. 445 n. 6. ⁸ خالی از شبیدی نبود.

⁹ MS. (A) reads *safhiyāt*, superficialities.

¹⁰ MS. (A) supplies و MS. (B) reads شاه و شیر.

¹¹ تفاؤل *tafsī'ul* MS. (B) reads تقال.

¹² MS. (B) reads سید *saiyyid* for سبد *sabab*.

¹³ در همان اثنا.

you with this basket confident in its being as a royal umbrella to you,¹ rise, and place it on your head and be gone. Islem Shāh without hesitation lifted the basket accepted it as a lucky omen and took his departure.

How good it is to take a *lucky omen*,
Not to strike one's *cheek* (in grief) but to give mate with the
rook.²

But eventually this matter became a source of annoyance to him³ as is generally the case. At all events, when Islem Shāh succeeded to the kingdom, during his reign two Saiyyids of good birth, men of ascetic habit, clean-living, dignified, and agreeable, one of whom was named Amir Abū⁴ Tālib who was the inferior, and the other named Mir Shamsu-d-Din who was his superior and brother's son to him, arrived from the country of Irāq at the camp of Islem Shāh in the Panjāb, and came to Dihlī, where they took up their abode in one of the quarters of the city, and were resorted to by all classes. Amir Abū Tālib was so marvellously skilled in the abstruse science of medicine, that the majority of the sick who came under his treatment obtained cures, and used to bring him presents and offerings in return, to say nothing of perquisites.⁵ A report was spread that he was in possession of the ring of 'Ali,⁶ *may God be satisfied with him*, one of the properties of which was that no one who was suspected (of being of bastard origin) could stand in presence of that ring, and retain the power of seeing it. God knows the truth. Relying upon his former intimacy with Shāh Muḥammad, he desired to give his daughter in marriage to the nephew of Mir Abū Tālib, but he was by no means inclined to agree to this

393.

¹ MS. (A) supplies تو after پادشاهی.

² Chi nīkū bawad *fāl-i-farrukh* zadan

Na bar *ruk̤h* zadan, balki *shah ruk̤h* zadan

There is a play here on the words *ruk̤h* and *farrukh*, illustrating the figure known as **مرکب** مركب. The word *ruk̤h* means the *cheek*, and also the *castle* or "rook" at chess.

³ MS. (A) puts اورا after ینمعني.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ MS. (B) reads فتوحات.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) supply على. The ring of Solomon which was given to 'Ali by Muḥammad, was possessed of magical properties.

proposal, and folk began to entertain increased suspicion against him, and both small and great talked openly about him. Shāh Muḥammad summoned these two holy men into his own private dwelling for safe custody, and took great pains to entertain them. One night, not long afterwards, an armed band entered his¹ house by the upper story and martyred both father and son who were engaged in their night's devotions. They then left the house, and in the morning the governor of the city came and enquired of Shāh Muḥammad how this had occurred. He absolutely denied any knowledge of the circumstances, and stated that he had no idea who the murderers were; then he prepared a report of the affair under the Great Seal, and sent it together with a despatch to Islem Shāh at his camp. Islem Shāh thereupon sent to Dihli Makhdūmu-l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu-llāh of Sultānpūr,² who was Shaikhul-Islām and Sadru-s-sudūr, to investigate this matter, and also despatched circular letters summoning the Chief 'Ulamā of the time, for example Miyān Hātim Sanbali, Miyān Jamāl Khān Mufti, and others. This conflict lasted two months after this time, and after great argument and enquiry it was with tolerable certainty conjectured³ that the murderers were agents of Shāh Muḥammad.⁴ This result was reported to

394. Islem Shāh, but before any reply could be received Shāh Muḥammad, who had sunk from so high dignity to the depths of disgrace, could not endure the anxiety, underwent venesection and took sour milk in addition, and endured voluntarily humiliating penance. Report also says even more than this, but, every one knew perfectly well that all these austerities and self-inflections, were the outcome of hypocrisy and deceit, and not inspired by religious motives.

Thou hast forsaken the world for the sake of the world.

Quatrain.

This long time thou hast made thy tongue like a sword,
So that thou givest the attributes of a lion to one who is but
a dog.

Thou turnest upside down the storhouse of falsehood
In order to satisfy thy own hungry belly.

¹ MS. (A) omits وَلِي. ² See Aīn-i-Akbarī (Blockmann) I, Biography VII.

³ MS. (B) reads وَمَنْ يُفْسِدُ.

⁴ MS. (B) وَمَنْ يُعَذِّبُ.

This event took place in this year 956 H. Another important incident was the affair of Shaikh 'Alā'i Mahdi of Baiāna,¹ which closely resembles the affair of Sidi Maula,² which took place during the reign of Sultān Jalālu-d-Din Firōz Shāh, in fact the proverb, *One shoe is like its fellow*,³ is exactly applicable here.

The following is a brief exposition of this affair: The father of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Alā'i was called Ḥasan, and was one of the great Shaikhs of the country of Bangāla, and on his arrival from Bangāla on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy city of Makka with his younger brother Shaikh Naṣru-llah, who was one of the most eminent of the 'Ulamā, came from there to Hindūstān and took up his abode in the province of Baiāna. The words *Jā'a nasru-llāhi wal fath*,⁴ were found to give the date of that event. The elder brother gave his attention to *irshād*⁵ and *hidāyat*, and the younger⁶ to *fatiwā*⁷ and instruction in religious knowledge.⁸

Shaikh 'Alā'i, who was the most orthodox of the sons of the Shaikh, the tablet of whose forehead was from early boyhood distinguished by the marks of nobility and uprightness, and the evidences of a youth to be spent in the worship of God and in following the ordinances of the prophet of God, *may the peace and blessing of God rest upon him*, in the service of his venerable father devoted himself to the acquirement of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and to the improvement of his character, disposition, and behaviour, and in a short time⁹ having read all the routine works by the aid of his natural quickness of apprehension and clear intellect, engaged in tuition and instruction.

395.

¹ See Āin-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, Biography V, *seqq.*

² See Beale (Oriental Biog. Dict.), p. 240.

³ حذو القدة بالقذة. They also say, *i.e.*, one feather of the arrow is like another. See Freytag Prov. Arab I. 345. As we say "As like as two peas."

⁴ جاء نصر الله والفتح. The letters give the date 935 H. The words mean,

The victory of God and conquest has come to pass.

⁵ ارشاد Irshād, Orthodoxy. هدایت Hidāyat, Guidance, direction.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) both omit خود but the text seems probably correct.

⁷ فتوى fatiwa. Religious or judicial rulings.

⁸ MS. (A) omits the words علوم دین. ⁹ MSS. (A) (B) فوست.

Verse.

Continual learning is requisite with application and exertion,
Always by day argument and by night repetition.
Piety, asceticism, worship and reverence,
Without these, all acquisitions are wondrous vain.

After the death of his revered father, having abandoned the ordinary conversation and giving up all connection with the delusive phantoms of the world, he set himself to follow consistently the paths of obedience and austerity, firmly occupying the prayer carpet of the Shaikhs, and used to engage in the direction and instruction¹ of seekers of the right way. Nevertheless he still retained a residue of evidences of worldly desires, and in accordance with the saying, “The last thing to leave the head of the just is the love of glory,”² seeking as he did to claim superiority over his fellow-men, he was unwilling that any other Shaikh in that city should share his dignity; this he carried so far that on the day of the festivals, from his excessive jealousy³ and envy, he caused one of the leaders of the contemplative⁴ and ascetic⁵ Shaikhs of the Sūfi party to descend from his litter, thus inflicting a grievous blow to his dignity. He used to arrogate to himself alone the dignity of Shaikhdom. His other brothers, who in respect of years and experience were his superiors, used also to yield submission to him and pride themselves upon it.⁶

In the meanwhile Miyān ‘Abdu-llah, a Niyāzi⁷ Afḡhān, who was at first one of the most noted lieutenants of Shaikh Salim Chishtī of Fathpūr, and who eventually with his permission proceeded on a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, and performed various kind offices and favours for him, taking part with Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,⁸ *may God sanctify his holy resting-place*, who had claimed to be the promised Mahdi, and adopting the manners of a Mahdi, on his return from the Hijāz took up his

¹ MSS. (A) (B) write ارشاد و تلقین.

² “That last infirmity of noble minds.”

³ Bādāoni here uses غبطة *ghibbat* in a sense opposed to its classical meaning which is emulation unmixed with envy.

⁴ MS. (A) reads میتوسم for میتوسم in the text.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read منقش for منقش in the text.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read میکردن. ⁷ See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I, v.

⁸ See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I, iv.

abode in Biānah, and making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men on the borders of a tank, used to cast water upon his head; and when the times of prayer came round, used to gather together certain of the labourers, hewers of wood and drawers of water who had to pass by that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer,¹ with such a degree of enthusiasm, that if he met any man disinclined for the meeting he would give him a few coins² and encourage him, thus not allowing the reward of the assembly³ to escape him.

396.

When Shaikh ‘Alāī saw his conduct he was greatly pleased,⁴ and said to his own followers, This is religion and true faith which Miyān ‘Abdu-l-lah Niyāzī has, whereas the path in which we are held is nought but idolatry and infidelity.⁵

So long as a hair's breadth of existence remains to thee⁶

The danger of idol-worship still remains for thee;

Thou sayest I have broken my idols and my Zunnār, I am free,
This idol however, thy slavery to self-conceit, remains to thee.

Abandoning the customs of his forefathers, and giving up his claims as a Shaikh and a leader of religion, trampling under foot his self-esteem and conceit, he devoted himself to the care of the poor of his own neighbourhood, and with the utmost self-mortification and humility gave himself up to the service of those whom he had formerly⁷ vexed, and abandoning his *madad-i-maāsh*⁸ and his alms-house and monastery,⁹ entering the valley of self-renunciation and abnegation, bestowed¹⁰ all his worldly possessions

١ MSS. (A) (B) omit نماز.

٢ MS. (A) چند پولی.

٣ Concerning this it is said: "The prayers which are said in multitudes increase the rewards of those said alone by twenty-seven degrees." See *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābiḥ* (Mathew) xxiv. 1.

٤ MS. (B) گردید بسیار خوش.

٥ جزیت پرستی و زنار داری نیست. MS. (A) و زنار داری جزیت. The term Zunnār [Gk. *ξωράρη* (Golius) or *ξωράπιον* (Freytag)] is applied to the belt or girdle worn by the Christian or Magian. It also applies to the Brahminical thread: and thus the wearer of any of these is to Muslims an infidel.

٦ MS. (A) مسابقاً توازن می‌تواند هستی باقی است. MS. (A) تباکه می‌تواند هستی باقی است.

٧ Lands given for benevolent purposes, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 270.

٨ MSS. (A) (B) omit لنگر.

٩ MS. (A) (B) read ایثار کرد.

١٠ MS. (A) (B) read ایثار و ایثار کرد.

even to his books upon the poor, and said to his wife,¹ “The pains of the search after God have gotten hold of me, if thou canst endure poverty and hunger come with me in God’s name, but if not take² thy portion of these goods; and take the reins of choice into thine own hands, and go thy way.”

Follow my fortunes, or else depart far from me

She of her own accord was highly pleased with this determination of his.³

397. There are some women who perform perhaps even better than men the duties of religion,
Just as in boldness the lioness surpasses the lion.

Then approaching Miyān ‘Abdu-llah, with all respectful submission to him, he took instruction in the ceremonial observance of *Zikr*⁴ in the manner which obtains among that sect.

The interpretations of the Qur’ān, and the delicate points and minutiae and true meanings of that sacred book were easily revealed to him, and a large number of the friends and companions who were in accord with him, and believed in him, some of them unmarried and some with families, chose companionship with him even at the risk of their lives, and following the path of his guidance with the foot of reliance in God, three hundred householders, abandoning all other source of gain and traffic, agriculture and skilled labour, spent their time with him. And whenever anything was given by Providence they used to divide it justly, apportioning to each individual an equal share. If nothing came,⁵ comforting themselves with the sacred word, “Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God,”⁶ even had they died of hunger, they would not have uttered a sound, and if any person abandoning his vow made according to their mutual compact engaged in any lucrative occupation, of a surety he would expend a tithe of it in the

¹ MS. (A) reads جلیله. ² MSS. (A) (B) The text reads wrong-ly بِرَادَر. ³ This line is omitted from MS. (B).

⁴ ذِكْر. *Zikr*. The religious ceremony practised by the various religious orders of Faqirs. See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. *Zikr*.

⁵ I read here وَ لَا مَسْأَلَةً. MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ Qur’ān xxiv. 37. رِجَالٌ لَا تُلْبِيهِمْ تِجَارَةٌ وَ لَا يَعْمَلُونَ ذِكْرَ اللَّهِ.

service of Almighty God. Twice daily after the morning prayer and another prayer, great and small would gather in that assembly, and listen to an exposition of the Qur'ān. Shaikh 'Alāī had such a marvellous power of attraction that when he was expounding the Qur'ān almost every one who heard him, of his own accord withheld his hand from all worldly occupation, and elected to join that assembly,¹ abandoning his family and relations and children, enduring the hardships of poverty, hunger and religious warfare never troubled himself again about his work or gains; and if he had not that degree of fortitude, his penitence and repentance of his sins and iniquities would certainly have availed nothing, while many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down, and they kept nothing in the way of means of existence by them, from their extreme faith in the providence of Almighty God, and the saying "Each new day brings a new provision" was the basis of their practice.

398.

A short account of this sect is given in the *Najātu-r-rashīd*² which should be consulted.³

In spite of this they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them⁴ as a protection against their enemies, so that anyone who was unacquainted with the truth of the matter would be apt to think they were wealthy; *The ignorant think them to be rich because of their modesty.*⁵ And whenever they saw any irreligious or forbidden action either in the city or the market, they went and called the offenders to account by main force,⁶ and admitted no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it; they aided every magistrate of the city who acted in conformity with their religious tenets and principles⁷ in carrying out his

¹ MSS. (A) (B) insert بـ after صحبـت.

² نجات الرشيد *Najātu-r-rashīd*. A MS. of this work is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. E. 204. Its author is Badaoni.

³ MS. (A) reads داد.

⁴ MS. (A) reads باو.

⁵ Qur'ān ii, 274. بـ حسـبـهـمـ الـجـاهـلـ إـغـيـرـهـ مـنـ التـعـقـفـ.

⁶ MS. (A) reads گرفته for رفته.

⁷ MS. (A) reads دو اعداد او می کوشید.

measures, while no one who was opposed to their views could [stand against them. Matters came to such a pass that fathers left their sons, brother left brother, and wife left husband]¹ and entered the charmed circle of the Mahdi, voluntarily submitting to poverty and extinction. Miyān 'Abdu-l-lah when he saw that Shaikh 'Alā'i had lost his influence with rich and poor alike, and that his day was over, was much vexed, and speaking with gentleness and moderation, said by way of advice, The time cannot away with affairs of this kind, and truth nowadays has become more bitter than colocynth. It were wiser for you to quit this vale (of iniquity) and either retire into obscurity or determine upon a journey to the Hijāz.

Verse.

Alas! for him who escapes not from public turmoil,
 Alas! for him who sets his heart upon the men of this world.
 The hand of the faqir holds no other coin but that of leisure,
 Alas! for him if he abandons that also.

399.

Shaikh 'Alā'i,² retaining that selfsame habit and conduct³ which he always had, accompanied by six or seven hundred families, set out for Gujrāt in the hope that in the companionship of the chiefs⁴ and leaders of this sect he might learn the customs of the inmates of cloisters.⁵ At the time of his arrival at the township of Basāwar from Baiāna, my late father took me, the writer of these pages, to do homage to him. In consequence of my tender years, his form remained fixed in my memory as a dream or a vision. On his arrival at Khawāspūr which is near Jodhpūr, Khawāss Khān who had been appointed to that district, at first came out to receive him and joined the circle of his adherents: but in consequence of his devotion to musical entertainments and pastimes,⁶ whereas now every Thursday night Sūfis used to assemble in his house, and Shaikh 'Alā'i forbade music and other prohibited⁷ pastimes, and enjoined⁸ that which

¹ MS. (A) شوھر از ذن. The words in brackets are omitted in MS. (B).

² MS. (A) omits علائی. ³ MS. (B) omits و حالت.

⁴ MS. (A) reads wrongly باغبان.

⁵ Insert in the text را دواہر after MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MSS. (A) مغلبی و ملکی. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) بسماح و مفایی مقید بود.

⁸ MS. (B) reads wrongly اواہر آہر for.

was lawful and opposed that which was forbidden by law, accordingly their association was not agreeable, besides which opposition and disagreement arose with regard to the upholding of the rights of the soldiery : The saying—

Verily speaking the truth will not leave me a single friend¹

is a well known proverb. Shaikh ‘Alā’i in consequence of certain opposition which arose, turned back in the middle of the journey and returned to Baiāna, and at the time when Islem Shāh had taken firm possession of the throne of power in Āgra, and the rumours regarding Shaikh ‘Alā’i reached his ears, he sent for Mir Saiyyid Raftū-d-Din the traditionist, and Miyān² Abul-fath of Thanesar and other learned doctors of Āgra, and summoned Shaikh ‘Alā’i from Baiāna, at the instigation of Makhdūmu-l-mulk Maulāna ‘Abdu-l-lah of Sultānpūr. He accordingly, accompanied by a party of select³ companions, all of whom wore mail and were fully armed, came to the Court, and paying no heed to the customary observances of kingly assemblies,⁴ greeted the whole assemblage in the manner appointed by the laws of Islām.⁵ Islem Shāh acknowledged his salutation with indignation, as the appearance of the Shaikh greatly displeased⁶ him and his courtiers.

Makhdūmu-l-Mulk had fully persuaded Islem Shāh that **400.** Shaikh ‘Alā’i was a revolutionary who laid claim to being the Mahdi, and that the Mahdi himself would be king of the whole world: consequently as he presumed to revolt he was deserving of death. ‘Isā Khān⁷ Hajjāb who held a very confidential post, and the other Amirs, when they saw Shaikh ‘Alā’i in this displeasing attire, with ragged clothes and worn out shoes, said to Islem Shāh : “ This fellow, in this condition and with this miserable appearance, wishes to take away the kingdom from us, doe he imagine that we Afghāns are all corpses ! ”

Prior to the convening of the assembly for discussion, Shaikh ‘Alā’i in accordance with his invariable custom, had expounded a

¹ إن قول الحق لم يترك لي صديقاً.

² میان (A) (B).

³ MS. (B) omits مخصوص.

⁴ MS. (A) reads می باشد می یافتند for and omits مسلم.

⁵ Omit و MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) نمود.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) supply خان.

few verses of the Qur'ān, and delivered such a profitable discourse, in most elegant language, comprising a criticism of the world, and a description of the last judgment, and contemptuous remarks regarding the learned men of the time, and all their faults and failings,¹ that it had the most profound effect² upon Islem Shāh and the Amirs who were present in the assembly, notwithstanding their hardness of heart, so that it brought tears to their eyes and left them amazed and confounded. Islem Shāh then rose from the assembly, and giving the matter his own attention sent refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaikh and his companions.³ The Shaikh, however, refused to touch⁴ the food himself, and moreover when Islem Shāh entered⁵ he did not pay him any respect, and merely said to his friends: Any one who chooses may eat of it. When they enquired of him the reason of his abstaining from eating the food he replied: "Your food is due to Muslims because you have possessed more than was yours by right, contrary to the dictates⁶ of the law of Islām." Islem Shāh notwithstanding this repressed his anger, and referred the enquiry into the truth of that dispute,⁷ and the decision of that contention to the 'ulamā.

401. Shaikh 'Alā'i vanquished every one of them in argument by virtue of his quickness of intellect and clearness of apprehension, and whenever Mir Saiyid Rafī'u-d-Dīn (who died in the year 954 H.) was engaged⁸ in citing the traditions which existed relating to the appearance of the promised Mahdi, and the signs by which he would be known, Shaikh 'Alā'i used to say, "you are a Shāfi'iite by religion⁹ and we¹⁰ are Hanafites, the fundamentals of your traditions are different from those of our's;" How can we accept¹¹ your explanations and interpretations on this question? Nor did he spare¹² even Mulla 'Abdu-l-lah himself in his criticism of a single point, saying to him, "you are one of the learned men of the world and a thief of religion, and you engage in so many

¹ MS. (A) خطایات.

² MS. (A) بسیار مؤثر آنقدرند و.

³ MS. (B) همراهیانش.

⁴ MS. (A) تناول کرد.

⁵ MS. (A) هنگام درآمدن.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) بخلاف حکم شرع.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) آن مثبت.

⁸ MS. (B) writes علامات آن وارد شده شیخ میشد omitting.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) مذهب.

¹⁰ MS. (B) و یا.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads قبول داریم.

¹² MS. (B) reads و میگذاشت.

illegal practices that you have put yourself outside the pale of equity, so that even to this time the sound of pipe and tabor may be plainly heard issuing from your house, and in accordance with the true traditions of the prophet, *upon him be peace and blessing*, a fly which settles upon filth is by degrees better than learned men who¹ have made kings and emperors the object of their ambition and gad from door to door.

Verse.

Learning which exists for the sake of palace and garden
Is like a lamp to the night loving thief.

In accordance with these premisses he uttered so many scathing satires [on those who preach but do not practise, citing in support of his² arguments examples from the Qur'an and Traditions] that Mulla 'Abdu-llah was not able to say a single word in defence. One day in the midst of the argument it happened³ that the learned Mulla Jalāl Bhīm⁴ of Āgra, having turned up that tradition which relates to the description and evidences of the promised Mahdi,⁵ read as follows,⁶ *Ajallu-l-jabhab*,⁶ on the form of the *af'alu-t-taṣṣil* derived from *jalāl*; Shaikh 'Alā'i smiled, and said, "Good Heavens!⁷ You have given yourself out to the world as a marvel of learning, and yet you cannot read with a proper pronunciation, you have no knowledge of the delicacies,

۱ اهانت می آورد MS. (A). ۲ Not in MS. (B) which reads تھیم.

۳ MS. (A) reads تھیم.

۴ Regarding the Mahdi, see Blochman *Jin-i-Akbari* I, iii.

۵ MSS. (A) (B) کے خواہد کے.

۶ The text here runs:

- *کہ اجل الجیہہ بفتح جیم و تشدید لام بصیغہ تفضیل مشتق از جلال*

بصیغہ افعل التفضیل الجلیل - MS. (A) reads more correctly.

Ajallu-l-jabhab would have no accurate meaning. *Jalāl* meaning greatness.

The superlative form with the article is applied to God. - *آلِ Ajallu*.

The form *afa'lū* is called the *صیغہ تفضیل* or form of superiority, i.e., the comparative, or, combined with the article, the superlative.

? *سبحان الله* ? *Subḥān-Allah*: (lit.) *Praise be to God!* A common mode of expressing surprise or astonishment.

and subtleties and minutiae of the science of tradition.¹ The real reading is *Ajlāu-l-jabhabah*² which is the form *Afa'alu-t-taqṣil* from *jalā*, not from *jalāl* which is your own name."

402. He was abashed and said not another word.³ They likewise relate concerning Shaikh Mubārak⁴ that he was an ally⁵ of Shaikh 'Alā'i in this assembly, and from that day⁶ he became known⁷ as Mahdawi, and Islem Shāh being deceived⁸ by his speech and explanations used to say "You must have been in the habit of expounding the meaning of the Qur'ān," he also gave a message to the Shaikh in these words "Give up this claim of yours to be the promised Mahdī,⁹ and renounce this pretension secretly¹⁰ in my hearing, and I will make you chief overseer of religion in the whole of my dominions, and whatever lawful orders you have been in the habit of issuing without my authority, continue henceforth to issue these same commands with my permission. Otherwise, the 'Ulamā of this time have given their decision that you should be killed and gibbeted, but I will revise their sentence, for I am not willing that your blood should be shed. The Shaikh, however, who had been successful at every step, and in this easy pretension and partial object of attainment had got beyond the power of even Islem Shāh,¹¹ cared nought for

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit حديث.

² اجلی الجبهة *Ajlāu-l-jabhabah*. Most wide of forehead. That is to say having that degree of baldness which is termed jalā, i.e., baldness of the fore part of the head. See Lane. Lex. s. v. اجلی.

³ و دیگر مردم نزد دیگر دم نزد.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) have و before the word شیخ.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) correctly read مُمِدَّدٌ *Mumidd*. The text has مُحَمَّدٌ *Muhammad*.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit روز باز.

⁷ مشهور شد.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omit ب and read فریقتہ بیان.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read گذشته before باز آئی.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads آیندہ for آئندہ.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads بود نیم for بود نیم.

any ruler and addressed¹ him in these words, "why should I change² my own belief at your bidding."

If thou desirdest safety, reproach is right
If safety is lost, reproach is a mistake.

In the meantime tidings reached Islem Shāh³ daily "To-day such and such an Afghan⁴ general has gone over to the following of the Shaikh and sided with him, giving up all worldly considerations."

The following day Bahmān and Mulla 'Abdu-llah spent every moment in urging Islem Shāh to put the Shaikh to death. At last Islem Shāh gave orders for his expulsion,⁵ and forbade him to remain in his kingdom, and ordered him to go to the Dakkan. Shaikh 'Alā'i who had for years⁶ desired to travel in the Dakkan and to see how the Mahdawi ideas were progressing there, hearing this good tidings recited⁷ the text *Verily God's earth is wide.*⁸

Then he arose and started without delay for that country.

Qāsim, curtail thy speech, arise, and take thy way,
Cast the sugar to the parrots, cast the carcase to the vultures. 403.

On his arrival at Handiya,⁹ which is the frontier of the Dakkan, Bihār Khān, who was entitled Ā'zam Humāyūn Sirwāni, the governor of that place, kept him for some time in his own family, and having embraced his tenets used to go daily to hear his preaching, and half¹⁰ his army, nay more than half, sided with him; this news was brought to Islem Shāh by runners, and roused his indignation. Makhdūmu-l-Mulk took great pains to paint the event in glowing colours, and misrepresented it to Islem Shāh so that orders were issued summoning Shaikh 'Alā'i. Just at this

¹ Omit می MS. (A).

² MS. (A) دهم تغیر می دهم.

⁴ MS. (A) افغان.

⁶ MS. (B) omits باز.

⁸ Qur'ān iv. 99. قُلْوَا أَلَمْ تَكُنْ أَرْضُ اللَّهِ وَاسِعَةً فَتَهَا جِرَوا فِيهَا They said

was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?

⁹ See *Imp. Gaz.* V. 309. Handiya is on the Narbadā in the Hoshangābād District of the Central Provinces. MS. (A) reads هندویہ Hindawīya, and مسیدہ for مسیدہ.

¹⁰ MS. (B) گھٹا.

³ MS. (A) تسلیم.

⁵ MS. (B) اخراج او کردہ.

⁷ MS. (A) خواند و.

juncture Islem Shāh had left Agra for the Panjāb¹ with the intention of quelling the disaffection of the Niyāzi faction ; when he arrived opposite to Baiāna at the halting-place of Bahrsūr, Makhdūmu-l-Mulk said to Islem Shāh “ we have earned a few days respite² from the lesser evil ” by which he meant Shaikh ‘Alā’i, “ but the great evil, that is Shaikh ‘Abdu-llah Niyāzi, who is the instructor of Shaikh ‘Alā’i and the spiritual guide of the Niyāzi faction, and always remains in the hill country of Baiāna accompanied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped, and raises disturbances there, is still flourishing.” The fire of the anger of Islem Shāh, who was thirsting for the blood of the Niyāzis, was fanned into flame by this breath³ of suggestion, and he ordered Miyān Bahwa Lūhānī⁴ the Governor of Baiāna, who was one of the special adherents⁵ of Shaikh ‘Abdu-llah, to produce the Shaikh. Miyān Bahwa went to the Shaikh and said : It seems to me to be the best course for you to hide yourself for a few days in accordance with the saying “ one should avoid misfortune ” and migrate from this city to some other place, then perchance the king will forget⁶ all about you and never make an attempt of this kind again,⁷ and you will have met the emergency,⁸ while I for my part shall have a good excuse.

Verse.

404. Fear not a misfortune when the night intervenes between it and you.

Shaikh ‘Abdu-llah would not agree to this suggestion⁹ of his, and said, “ this is an arrogant monarch and Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is always watching for an opportunity. If they go still further away and then send for me it will cause me great annoyance ; for this reason, seeing that he is only ten *krohs* distant, I had better interview him now, and as for the question of mastery here and there, it will be all one whether it is to be now or in the future, since whatever is predestined will come to pass.”

Man proposes and God disposes.

١ MS. (B) omits بجانب پنجاب.

٢ MSS. (A) (B) read خلاص یافتم. ٣ MS. (B) reads نفیش.

٤ MS. (A). ٥ MS. (A) گرویدگان بوخانی فراموش کند.

٦ MS. (B) باشند حروف for حروف.

٧ MS. (B) reads سخن. ٨ MS. (A) omits سخن.

Verse.

The reins of affairs are not in the hands of one who looks to advisability,

Yield the reins into the hands of Fate, this is the advisable course.

Accordingly he set out by night from Baiāna, and had an interview with Islem Shāh in the morning as he was mounted ready to march, and greeted him with ‘Peace be to you.’ On the instant Miyān Bahwa seized him by the nape of the neck and bent his head down saying :¹ “ My friend the Shaikh this is the way they salute² kings.” The Shaikh looked savagely in his direction³ and replied : “ The salutation which is in accordance with the sunnat,⁴ and which is that which the friends of the Prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to make,⁵ and which he, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to give them in response, is this very form of salutation, I know no other.” Islem Shāh, with evident aversion asked :⁶ Is this the master of Shaikh ‘Alā’i ? Mulla ‘Abdu-l-lah who was lying in wait for him said : The very man. By order of Islem Shāh he was at once seized and most unmercifully beaten with sticks, and kicked and cuffed ; the Shaikh as long as he retained consciousness kept repeating this text of the sacred word “ Lord forgive us our sins, and our extravagance in our affairs ; and make firm our footing, and help us against the misbelieving folk ! ”⁷ Islem Shāh enquired what he was saying Mulla⁸ ‘Abdu-l-lah said : He is calling you and the rest of us unbelievers ; Islem Shāh becoming exceeding wroth waxed still fiercer in his efforts to punish and torture him,⁹ and kept his retinue standing¹⁰ an hour longer while they cudgelled him, and when he thought that the breath had left¹¹ his body—

405.

¹ MS. (B) omits گرفته and گفت after گفت.

² MS. (A) سلام میکفندن.

³ MSS. (A) (B) بجانب.

⁴ The مسنون sunnat is the traditional law of Muḥammad.

⁵ MS. (A) omits کردن MS. (B) reads کرده اند.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) insert گفت.

⁷ Qur'ān iii. 141. See Palmer's Translation.

⁸ MS. (B) omits مل.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read تعذیب و عقوبات.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) omit ایستاده او را MS. (B) reads مسواری.

¹¹ MS. (A) منقطع شد.

One single breath was left as a mediator (between Life and Death),
 That mediator also rose and departed.
 he desisted, and went on his way.

A spark of life however remained¹ in the Shaikh, so they wrapped him in a raw hide, and kept him warm for a night and a day before a fire, till he recovered. This occurrence took place in the year nine hundred and fifty-five. When he had regained his health he left Baiāna, and commenced travelling, and spent some time in Afghānistān (Rūh), and some time among the Afghāns of Pattan in the Panjāb,² on the confines of Bajwāra between Ambér and Amritsar,³ and was in the habit of saying:⁴ This was the fruit of consorting with argumentative people.

Oh ye lords of contemplation, all my trust is in you,
 But ye masters of discussion. I'll have none of you.

Finally he came to Sirhind,⁵ and giving up all connection with the manners and customs of the Mahdawi party (moreover he turned all the Mahdawi party from that faith) began to deal with all the followers of Islām according to the tenets of the orthodox school, till eventually in the year 993 H., at the time when the Emperor was on his way to Benares, he summoned Shaikh 'Abdullāh and granted him a portion of *madad-i-maāsh*⁶ land in Sirhind with remainder to his children. And in the year 1000 H., he bade farewell to this transitory world at the age of ninety or thereabout.

Rubā'i.

If the courser of the sky give the reins into your hand,
 And if the world gives you wealth as the dust under your feet
 If your wisdom surpasses the wisdom of Aflātūn,⁷
 These are all as nought, at last you must die.

406. After that Islem Shāh had overcome the Niyāzi faction, and had

¹ MS. (A) omits ماند.

² MS. (A) پتن پنجاب در سوحد.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read here ناین انبر و ابروس. MS. (A) adds before میو.

⁴ MS. (B) می گفت.

⁵ MS. (B) omits بسرخند آمدہ.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ Plato.

returned to Āgra, Mulla ‘Abdu-llāh set about inciting him,¹ and giving him a song which reminded him of former intoxications, again induced him to summon Shaikh ‘Alā’i from Hindiya, and to order punishment to be executed upon him, and spared no pains to remind him in the vilest possible way, that Shaikh ‘Alā’i had been condemned to banishment, whereas now Bahār Khān had become his disciple and follower, and the whole army had shewn their leaning towards him. Seeing that his own relations had sought absolution from him and had adopted his faith, there was great probability of disturbance in the kingdom. Accordingly Islem Shāh summoned Shaikh ‘Alā’i thence, and used still more strenuous exertions than before² to bring matters to a satisfactory settlement, and knowing as he did the ambitious nature of Shaikh ‘Alā’i, and recognising that there was no other man among the learned men³ of Dehli and Āgra capable of settling this dispute, he therefore directed Shaikh ‘Alā’i to be sent to Bihār to Shaikh Budh⁴ the learned physician, in whom Sher Khān had the very utmost confidence, and who is renowned for the authoritative commentary which he wrote upon the *Irshād-i-Qāzi*,⁵ and bade him act in accordance with his directions.⁶ When Shaikh ‘Alā’i went thither, he heard the sound of singing and musical instruments proceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaikh Budh the physician, and saw in his assembly certain other things repugnant both to the natural feelings and⁷ to religious law⁸ also, the very mention of which is disgraceful, so felt constrained to enjoin⁹ what was lawful and to forbid what was prohibited. Since Shaikh Budh was very infirm¹⁰ and aged, and was not strong enough to speak, his family answered for him that certain customs and observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustān are of

¹ MSS. (A) (B) مُحَرِّك شَدَّادٍ. ² Omit خود. MS. (A).

³ MS. (B) omits ای after دیگر and inserts it after آگرہ.

⁴ MS. (A) reads شَيْخ شَيْخ Shaikh Hadah (?)

⁵ See Hāji Khalifah, 522. *Irshād*.

⁶ MS. (A) reads عمل می نمایند او. MS. (B) reads فَتَوَى او.

⁷ MS. (B) شریعتی. ⁸ MS. (B) دیدند.

⁹ MS. (A) reads امر معروف و نبی منکر نہ کرد which is the exact opposite of the reading in the text.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits فانی and reads قدرت قدرت for لحقوقی and for احقدادی.

such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatever, worldly injury, and loss both bodily and spiritual¹ would inevitably result to the prohibitor, also that the women of Hindustān who as a class are worthless, consider that loss

407. as the result of restrictive measures, and for that reason become infidels. In any case legalising incontinence was probably a less sin than legalising infidelity.² Shaikh 'Alā'i said that this is an iniquitous conjecture,³ as is proved by the fact that, whenever worldly loss according to their belief is the result of the interference⁴ with some prohibited pleasure, and the injunction to obedience is held by them to be the cause of personal death and injury to their property and position, they have not even the fundamental properties of Muslims, so that their conformity to Islām need not even be considered. Seeing that the argument concerns the validity of Nikāh,⁵ why should one regret⁶ the fact of their not being Muslims? for it is said, *That which is based upon iniquity is most iniquitous of all.*⁷ That class therefore stand condemned. Shāikh Budh the physician however,⁸ having regard to equity became their apologist and entered a plea for them, praising⁹ Shaikh 'Alā'i and treating him with the utmost courtesy and respect.

First of all he wrote a letter to Islem Shāh in the following terms, "Seeing that the Mahdawi question is not indissolubly bound up with the faith of Islām, and very great difference of opinion exists¹⁰ to the veritable signs by which the Mahdī is to be distin-

¹ The text varies from the MSS. (A) and (B) which read دینی و بدنی و جانی while MS. (B) omit بمانع.

² We should read here

تغیر *for تجربه* بحال در تجویز فسق شاید از تجویز کفر بزه کمتر باشد MSS. (A) (B).

³ MS. (A). قیاس فاسد.

⁴ MS. (B) reads wrongly نکاح.

⁵ *Nikāh*. The marriage contract. A marriage contracted between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman is invalid in accordance with the injunction of the Qur'ān. The issue of such a marriage is however held to be legitimate. Under no circumstances can a Muslim woman marry any but a Muslim. For fuller discussion of this subject, see Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. Marriage.

⁶ MS. (B) reads كفره for خورده.

البناء على الفاسد *for أفسد*.

⁷ MS. (B) reads در مقام انصاف *for اما* and omits در مقام انصاف.

⁸ MS. (B) reads كفرة *for نمودة*.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits باب.

guished, it is accordingly impossible to convict Shaikh¹ 'Alā'i of infidelity and impiety. At any rate, all doubts regarding him should be removed. Here books² are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many³ books in the library of the learned men of your country, let them settle the truth of the matter."

The sons of the Shaikh impressed upon him that Makhdūmu-l-Mulk⁴ was the *Sadru-s-sudūr*,⁵ and said, "This opposition of theirs to him has undoubtedly been the cause of your being summoned. At your great age it is far from wise for you to undertake so long a journey, and to undergo the severe fatigue incidental to it." They accordingly cancelled his first letter⁶ and, whether he would or not, secretly wrote another letter⁷ as if from Shaikh Budh, couched in terms of flattery of Mulla 'Abdu-llah, and sent it to Islem Shāh, saying, "Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is one of the most discriminating of the learned doctors of the day. What he says is the truth and his decision is the sound decision."

At the time when Islem Shāh was encamped in the Panjāb⁴⁰ Shaikh 'Alā'i arrived at the camp of Bin Bāū; when Islem Shāh read the sealed letter of Shaikh Budh the physician, he called Shaikh 'Alā'i to come close to him and said to him in a low tone of voice, "Do you only⁸ say to me in my own ear that you are penitent for having made this claim, you shall then be accorded complete liberty to go where you will⁹ and do as you please." Shaikh 'Alā'i however refused to give ear to his proposals and paid no heed to him; Islem Shāh in despair¹⁰ said to Mulla 'Abdu-llāh, I leave him in your hands.¹¹ This he said, and gave orders for him to receive a certain number of stripes in his own presence.¹² Shaikh 'Alā'i

وَابْنِجَا كِتْبَ كَمِيلَاب اَمْسَتْ. ۲ MS. (A) reads مُخْدِم.

۳ MS. (B) omits بِسْيَار.

۴ MS. (B) reads مُخْدِم.

۵ The *Sadru-s-sudūr* is the chief judge of all religious questions among Muhammadians. He was also known as *Sadr-i-kul* or *Sadr-i-jahān*. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I. 271.

۶ MS. (A) reads اول او را فسخ کرده.

۷ Insert خطی after نخواهی MS. (B).

۸ MS. (A) reads تو تها در گوئی من بگو.

۹ MSS. (A) (B) insert و before فارغ البال.

۱۰ MS. (B) reads مایوس شده.

۱۱ تو دانی و ابن between you and him.

۱۲ MS. (B) inserts تازیانہ بحضور خود after not as in the text.

himself had a wound in his neck, the result of an operation for the pestilence which raged in that year throughout the whole of Hindustān, and had destroyed the greater part of the people.¹ This wound had to be kept open by a tent,² in addition to which he was suffering from the fatigue of his journey, and had hardly a breath of life left in him, so that at the third lash his lofty soul quitted its humble frame and took its flight to the abode promised in the words “*In the seat of truth, in the presence of the powerful king*”³ and rested in the pleasant places of which it is said “*Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard neither hath it entered into the heart of man.*” And after his death they tied his delicate body⁴ to the feet of an elephant, and trampled him to pieces⁵ in the street of the camp, and issued orders forbidding the burial of his corpse,⁶ and appointed agents (to see to this). At that very time a vehement whirlwind arose and blew with so great violence, that people thought that the last day had arrived,⁷ and great lamentation and mourning⁸ was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early⁹ downfall of the power of Islēm Shāh.

And they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shaikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was so to speak entombed in flowers.

After this event¹⁰ the power of Islēm Shāh lasted barely two

¹ MS. (A) اکثر خلائق. The bubonic plague appears to have been the epidemic here referred to.

² قبیله MS. (A) reads قبیله.

³ Qur'ān liv. 55. The full quotation is

إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي جَنَّاتٍ وَنَهْرٍ فِي مَقَعِدٍ صَدِيقٍ عِنْدَ مَلِيكٍ مُقْتَدِرٍ

Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers, in the seat of truth, with the powerful king.

⁴ MS. (B) reads بدن.

⁵ MS. (B) reads پاره پاره.

⁶ MS. (A) reads دفن تکنند.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read مقیامت.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read غلغله و ماقم.

⁹ MS. (B) omits عنقریب.

¹⁰ A footnote to the text reads قصیدہ دولت اسلام شاہی الخ MS. (A) omits

و بعد ازین دولت اسلام شاہی.

The textual reading appears to be wrong.

years. It was in fact an exact counterpart of the affair of Sultān ⁴⁰⁹ Jalālu-d-Din Firoz Shāh Khilji after the execution of Sidi Maula, ¹ save that the decay of the kingdom of Salim Shāh was even more rapid than that of Jalālu-d-Din. People considered Mulla 'Abdūllāh, who was always vexatious to the holy men, to be the cause of all this heart-burning, and this was really the case.

This event took place in the year 957 H. (1550 A.D.) the writer of these pages was at that time ten years of age, and invented the two following chronograms: The first is *Zākiru-llāh*, the second *Saqāhum rabbuhum sharāban*. ²

Among the events which happened in the reign of Islem Shāh was the murder of Khawāṣṣ Khān, of which the following is a brief account. When Khawāṣṣ Khān, after the battle with the Niyāzis fled to the foot of the hills, Islem Shāh appointed to that district Tāj Khān Karrānī who was the brother of Suleimān Karrānī, and the most learned and able of the whole Afghān line, and wrote a command from his camp at Bin Bāū, that they were to induce Khawāṣṣ Khān, even if it were by means of treaty oaths, to come down from the hills, and put an end to him. However Tāj Khān was unable to effect ³ anything owing to the impregnability of that mountain retreat, and accordingly sent Khawāṣṣ Khān the message of Islem Shāh promising him safety. ⁴ He, relying upon the word of a Muslim, came ⁵ and had an interview with Tāj Khān, who instantly ⁶ had him put to death and sent his head ⁷ to Salim Shāh at the township ⁸ of Bin (Bāū), and after burying his body ⁹ at the township of Sarastu, in the neighbourhood of Sambal, transferred it thence to Dihli. This event happened in the year 959 H. (A.D. 1551). As a chrono-

¹ MS. (A) reads كشتن.

² مَغَافِعُ رَبِّهِمْ شَرَابٌ *Saqāhum rabbuhum sharāban.*
ذَاكِرُ اللَّهِ سَاقِعُ شَرَابٍ
The mindful of God. May their Lord give them to drink a draught of wine.

Each of these gives the date 957. H.

³ کاری نتوانست ساخت.

⁴ و.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) insert مَدْرَج.

⁶ و تاج خان.

⁷ مَسِيلِيْمَانْ for سَلِيمَانْ *Masileman*.

⁸ قصبة.

⁹ وجنة.

graphical record they invented the words *Musībat ba'ālam shud*,¹ that is to say, A calamity for the world.

One of his magnanimous acts was the following. On his arrival 10. at Kalpi in the company of Shir Shāh he gave two *laks* of rupees to the sweetmeat sellers of that city so that they might send sugarcane to Rautanbhor without intermission. In the same way also he gave money to all the mango gardens of Baiāna, so that they might send mangoes day after day² to the halting-places for the poor and necessitous.

In the meantime Shir Shāh died, and Salim Shāh appointed persons who recovered the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees³ which remained of that money, and on receiving it put it into the treasury.

In this same year Shaikh 'Abdu-l-haiyy, the son of Shaikh Jamāli Kanbāwi of Dihlī,⁴ who was adorned with excellencies of science and poetry,⁵ and was a devout man,⁶ and the boon companion and specially favoured intimate of Islem Shāh, delivered up the life entrusted to his keeping, and Saiyyid Shāh Mir of Āgra invented the following chronogram :—

He said —

My name in itself would furnish the *tārikh*

At such time as 'abd (the slave) was not in the midst of it.⁷

Among the events which happened during the time that Islem Shāh was encamped at Bin was the following. One day in the

¹ A footnote to the text says that these words give the date 989 and that therefore there is some mistake.

It appears that the real reading should be مصیبت بعام شد *musībat ba 'am ghud*, which would give the correct date, and this is in fact the reading in MS. (A). The text should accordingly be corrected in accordance with this, and we should translate, A general calamity.

² MSS. (A) (B) روز بروز.

³ MS. (B) omits هزار and reads لی after ووپد instead of او as in the text.

⁴ MS. (A) دهلي.

⁵ MS. (A) reads شعری for شعرا.

⁶ MS. (B) reads صاحب سخاوت. صاحب سجاده.

⁷ The lines run thus : کفت نامم همی شود تاریخ بندہ وقئی کے در میان نیوں :

If we take the name شیخ عبدالحسی and remove from it the centre word عبد 'abd which means a slave we find the remaining words give the date 959 H.

interval between two times of prayer Islem Shāh was sitting at ease upon his roadster,¹ and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the fort of Mān Garh,² which lies at a distance of five or six *krohs* or thereabouts, in accordance with his usual custom, when suddenly a man sprung up in front of him and blocking the road, holding a sword concealed in his armpit like the proverbial Taabaṭa Sharran,³ under pretence of seeking redress (for some grievance) came forward and aimed⁴ a blow at him. Salim Shāh, however, with great adroitness caught the blow upon the head of his whip. The handle of the whip was cut through and a slight wound was inflicted upon his face. When the man raised his arm to strike a second blow Salim Shāh sprang forward and hurled himself upon that ruffian, and wrested the sword from his hand. At this instant Daulat Khān Ajyāra, the son of Sażāwal Khān, who was the chosen intimate and bosom friend of Islem Shāh, galloped up and dealt a blow at that 411. miscreant. Others also came up and enquired from him the reason for his action. Salim Shāh did not approve of this⁵ and said : 'This wretch will destroy the houses of numberless people, lose no time in taking due vengeance on him.' However he recognised that sword as the one he had given to Iqbāl Khān. This Iqbāl Khān was one of the scum and off-scourings of Hindustān who had rendered Shir Shāh several services. He was so exceedingly ill-favoured,⁶ mean-looking, and oafish in appearance that they used to call him Raḥmatu-lláhi, which in Hindustān is the term

¹ Read راہدار for راہوار.

² MSS. (A) (B) مان کندھا.

³ تابط شرا. The surname of Ṣābit-bin-Jābor bin Safyān al-Fahmī, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, who was so called according to some because the sword never quitted him, or because he put beneath his arm-pit (ابط) a quiver of arrows, and took a bow, or put beneath his arm-pit a knife and came to an assembly of Arabs and smote some of them, see Lane s. v. باط. According to the account in the Aghānī, he acquired his name from having slain a lion in a dark night in the midst of a violent storm of thunder and lightning; when morning came he brought the lion to his companions under his arm, and they said, *Laqadd taabaṭa sharran*; "Verily he has put destruction under his arm."

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) ۵ MSS. (A) (B) راضی نے شدہ گفت. زخمی برآمد اخت.

⁵ MS. (B) omits بسیار بود مخفقر. MS. (A) omits inserting it after

applied to a weaver.¹ Islem Shāh himself² had raised him from the very lowest of the low, and had given him a position of intimacy with the highest, so that he made him the envy of the noble Amirs,³ and would not permit him to be out of his sight for one moment. From that day forward, when he recognised that sword, he deprived him of his rank, so that ⁴ he made him an example⁵ of the saying : *Everything returns to its original state*; but in spite of the incitation of the Amirs of the Afghāns that he should put him to death, he replied, "I am heartily ashamed to destroy the man of my own training.⁶

Verse.

Water cannot swallow down wood, knowest thou why ?
It is ashamed⁷ to destroy that which it has reared.

Islem Shāh, who had for this same reason become distrustful of Afghāns, now became afflicted with complications of his disease, and increased the opium in his wine,⁸ and the snake-bitten one drank a draught of poison,⁹ and thirsting for the blood of the Afghāns, became more than ever¹⁰ set upon eradicating them. The crisis was as though it was saying to him :

Verse.

Thou hast laid a foundation, which will destroy thy family,
Oh, thou whose family is destroyed, what a foundation thou
hast laid !

1 جوالسا *jūlāha*. MS. (A) reads جوالسا *jūlāsa*. Either reading may be accepted. If we read جوالسا as in the text the translation will be as above, with the implied meaning of that stupidity for which weavers are proverbially noted. See Fallon's Dictionary s.v. جوالسا.

If we read جوالسا the meaning will be dull, apathetic, stupid.

2 MS. (A) inserts خود and omits اورا inserting this after گورهہ.

3 MS. (A) omits خود here. 4 MS. (A) گرفت تا.

5 MS. (A) omits مظہر. 6 MS. (B) قربت for قربت.

7 MS. (A) reads شرمش for شرمش. MS. (B) omit ذ.

8 MS. (A) سراب.

9 MSS. (A) (B) مازنڈہ. The meaning appears to be that the opium he took as an anodyne acted as a poison, and increased the effects of the disease from which he was already suffering.

After these events Islem Shāh returned¹ towards Gwāliār, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dihli² when tidings arrived that Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh had reached the banks of the Indus, with the aim of conquering Hindustān. Islem Shāh just at the³ very moment when this tidings arrived, had applied a leech⁴ to his throat, but instantly took it off, dashed some water upon his head,⁵ and binding up his throat with linten rags⁶ ordered his army to proceed, and⁷ the first day covering three *krohs*, encamped, and the rank and file of his army who were at the last gasp from drunkenness, involuntarily followed him as though led by a halter round their necks. Certain of the Vazirs who were well-disposed to him⁸ represented that inasmuch as a powerful foe had come against him, and his soldiery were worthless, it would be just as well if orders were given for their pay to be issued to them. Islem Shāh replied that if⁹ he were to give them money at that particular time they would attribute it to his being weak and in straits, so I will wait, said he, till my return after this victory,¹⁰ when I will give them, with one stroke of the pen, two years pay. The soldiers had patience and without a murmur awaited what fortune Providence would bring them, at the same time expecting some sudden calamity,¹¹ and in spite of their state of unpreparedness arrived at the encampment. When it was reported to Islem Shāh that the artillery was ready, but that, as the bullocks¹² for the gun-carriages had been left at Gwāliār, they awaited his orders, he replied, 'What possible use are such a crowd of thousands of infantry and cavalry, are they to get their monthly pay for nothing?' accordingly he made them all do

412

¹ MS. (A) omits نموده here and inserts it after بود in the next line.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit توجه نموده چون. MSS. (A) (B) read

بدهلی رسیده بود که خبر.

³ Read در آن ساعت که این خبر رسیده.

⁴ MS. (A) reads زیور probably a copyist's error for زلورا or زلوری.

⁵ Omits تا MS. (A). ⁶ لاتا latta. MS. (A) reads ملیند (?).

⁷ Insert و. MS. (A) (B). ⁸ MS. (A) insert بعد before بعض.

⁹ MS. (A) put اگر وقت درین وقت not after it as in the text.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omit بازگشته.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads آفت واقعه for دوند نموده.

¹² Text گاروان ازاده. MS. (A) reads گاروان. MS. (B) عربانه.

the work of bullocks,¹ and ordered them to drag the gun carriages, thus proving the truth of the following :—

Verse.

These whom you see are not all human beings,
Most of them are tailless oxen and asses.²

- Some of the large mortars were of such a size that it took one or two thousand men, more or less, to drag each one.³ At this rate of speed they reached the Panjāb in the course of seven days. Humāyūn Pādshāh in person, in accordance with certain advantageous plans he had formed, advanced as far as Banbhar,⁴ at the skirt of the mountain range to the north of the Kashmīr frontier,⁵ and then returned towards⁶ Kabul. A short resumé of these events will be given in its proper place if the Most High God so will it.⁶

Islēm Shāh also upon hearing this tidings⁷ fled⁸ with all haste from Lāhor to Gwāliār. In the course of his retreat arriving in the neighbourhood of the township of Anberī,⁹ he was occupied in hunting, when a band of ruffians,¹⁰ at the instigation of certain of the Amirs, blocked his path, and meditated doing him harm, but a messenger arrived who informed Islēm Shāh of this design, and he consequently entered the city by another road,¹¹ and after putting to death¹² a number of men, among whom were Bahāu-d-Din and Maḥmūd and Madā,¹³ who were¹⁴ the fountain heads of the rebellion attempted by the

¹ Omit دھنٹر. MSS. (A) (B). MS. (A) reads اعْتِبَار كُوْدَة.

² The text reads کھڑرو بیشتر کسی. MS. (A) inserts after کسی and omit the second کسی replacing it by و.

³ At the foot of the Alidek range. See Rennell's map, Tieff., Vol. III. Behnbur. MSS. (A) (B) read پنہر Banbhar. The text reads بندھر Banhar.

⁴ MS. (A) omits از حد کشمیر. ⁵ MS. (B) reads بے کابل to Kābul.

⁶ MS. (A) inserts مذکور خود between انشاء الله تعالى.

⁷ MS. (A) omits خبر. ⁸ MS. (A) reads فوار.

⁹ This is the reading of the text: but MSS. (A) (B) read Antari.

¹⁰ MS. (B) reads لوانیده. ¹¹ MS. (A) reads براہی دیگر.

¹² MSS. (A) (B) reads وسانیده.

¹³ MS. (B) omits these last names and reads وغیره and others.

¹⁴ MS. (A) بوجہ for بودنه.

mutineers, imprisoned all persons against whom he entertained suspicion, afterwards putting them to death. Then he threw open the doors of the treasury and issued a public order directing the issue of two years pay to the soldiery,¹ and sent written despatches to the Amirs of five thousand and ten thousand to this effect. Some of the troops received the pay, others did not. At this very time the army of Fate, who is the most powerful of all powerful foes, made an onslaught upon him.²

Verse.

That man owned a single ass, but had no pack-saddle,
He found a pack-saddle, but in the meantime the wolf had
made off with the ass.³

* Among the forces which overthrew him was, it is said, a carbuncle which appeared in the neighbourhood of his seat, others assert that it was cancer.

He was beside himself with pain and⁴ had himself bled, but without relief. Whilst in this state of distress and prostration, he used from time to time to say, 'I had no idea that God was so extremely powerful,'⁵ and while in this condition, as long as he retained consciousness he ordered Daulat Khān to sit facing him, and would not cast a glance in any other direction save on his face alone.⁶ 414.

Verse.

Mahmūd gives not a soul to the Angel (of Death)
Until he sees him in the form of Ayāz.

Notwithstanding the fact that he had lapsed into unconsciousness, he would now and then open his eyes, and these words would

¹ MS. (B) سپاهیان.

² A footnote directs attention to a suggested variation in the text by placing **ک** after سپاهیان instead of before those words. This is the reading found in MS. (A) and is obviously correct.

³ A proverbial saying of this kind is—

جب چنے تھے تب دانت نہ تھے جب دانت ہوئے تب چنے نہیں.

When I had peace I had no teeth; now my teeth have come I have no peace.

⁴ Omit **گھوڑا**, MS. (A).

⁵ Insert **و**.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ MS. (B) omits **در** before جانب. MS. (A) reads **جانب** for **جا**—

come¹ to his lips 'Where is Ajyāra.'² They say also that although he found it excessively difficult to turn from one side to the other, yet he would not consent to their giving Daulat Khān the trouble of coming in front of him, but he would say, 'Please turn my face in his direction.'

One day he saw that Daulat Khān was absent and asked 'where can he be?' They replied he has probably gone to the house of one of his relatives. Then he knew that to all appearance he was playing a time-serving part with others. At that moment Daulat Khān arrived and Islem Shāh quoted this verse:—

Thou knowest my value, how faithful I am³

Stay! before thou seekest the companionship of other friends.

It is reported on excellent authority also that Islem Shāh had ordered⁴ the treasury-officer that he should give Daulat Khān every day for his personal expenses as much as a *lak* of tankas, as a matter of course and unasked,⁵ but that if asked for a larger sum he should produce it for his use. At last seeing that his condition became more grave day by day, nay, hour by hour, his physicians despaired of relieving him.

Verse.

In one small detail the whole of the philosophers have been found wanting,

For what can man do against the Eternal decree.⁶

When the natural causes of the pulse depart from the fundamental movement,⁷

¹ MS. (B) میگذشت.

² Daulat Khān Ajyāra, who has been before mentioned. MSS. (A) (B) read احیارہ Ajyāra, but the text reads (۴) حیارہ Haiyāra with a note of interrogation. Ajyāra is the right reading.

³ For حکم بود (B) جانم (A) read حکم بود (A) (B) جانم.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read نے پرسید for نے پرسید.

⁵ کن فیکون Qur'ân II, iii.

⁶ بَدِيعُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَإِذَا قَضَى أَمْرًا فَإِنَّمَا يَقُولُ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ

The originator of the heavens and the earth, when he decrees a matter he doth but say unto it, BE, and it is.

⁷ The modifying causes of the pulse are classified by Sadidi thus: (1) ماسک māsik or constant such as animal force in the heart and vessels, (2)

The foot of Aflatūn himself becomes fixed in the mire of helplessness.

When the conduct of nature turns towards disorder,
The Qānūn¹ of Bū ‘Ali lies useless in the hand.

415.

At last he left this world of regrets, wounded by countless sorrows, and abandoned his kingdom to the desire of his enemies. The duration of his reign was nine years. His body was taken to Sahisarām and buried by the side of his father. This event occurred in the year 961 H.,² and by a coincidence it happened that in the course of this (self-same) year³ Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, who had adorned the throne with justice⁴ and equity and the fear of God, drank the cup of martyrdom at the hands of his servant Burhān.⁵ Nizāmu-l-Mulk Bahri,⁶ the king of the Dakhan, also took his way to the ocean of non-existence, and Mir Saiyyid Na‘matu-llāh, whose poetical name was Rusūlī,⁷ who was one of the incomparable learned men and a close companion of Islem Shāh, wrote this chronogram :—

Verse.

At one time came the decline of three emperors,
Whose justice made Hindustān the abode of safety :

مغیر *mughaīyir* or variable, such as age, sex, sleeping or waking; exercise, bathing—others of this class are external or accidental, such as, feverishness, and inflammations. The pulse says, he is necessary for the quieting of the natural heat, and for dispelling vapours. It is opposed by rigidity of the vessels and weakness of the animal powers. See Sadidi, p. 54, et seqq.

قانون في الطب قابوں بوعیٰ¹ *Qānūn-i-Bū ‘Alī*. This is the famous canon medicinæ, by the celebrated Shuikh Abū ‘Alī Ḥussain bin ‘Abdu-llāh commonly known as *Ibn Sīna* (Avicenna). See Hājī Khalīfah, No. 9354.

• Abū Sīna was a famous Muhammadan physician who was born in Bukhārā, and died at Hamadān in July 1087 A.D., 427 A.H.

(H.K. says 428 A.H.). See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 20.

² MSS. (A) (B) both write صد و شانہ^ا & ویک^ب omitting which is added in the text.

³ درصدت نک سال^ا. MSS. (A) (B). ⁴ MS. (B) reads بصفت^ب.

⁵ The text reads لا برهان^ا a punning comment on the servant's name, which will not admit of translation.

⁶ See Beale, *O. B. D.* for an account of the Nizām-Shāhī dynasty.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) the text reads رشوتی^ا Rishwati.

One was Maḥmūd the Emperor of Gujerāt,
 Who, like his empire, was still in the pride of youth ;
 The second was Islem Shāh, that mine of beneficence,
 Whose beloved son¹ was Sher Khān ;
 The third was Nizāmu-l-Mulk Bahri
 Who as Emperor was seated on the throne of the Dakhan.
 If you ask of me a *tārikh* for the death of these three²
 Emperors ?
 I answer *Zawāl-i-khusrūān*.³

416. Islem Shāh notwithstanding his not having read poetry had many apt quotations in his memory, and being a clever critic, used constantly to practise the art of versification with Amir Saiyyid Na'mat Rusūli,⁴ and used to compose many elegant verses and to enjoy listening to those of his fellow poet. Moreover he was highly esteemed by the learned and religious men⁵ of his time. They say that when he reached Alwar on his way to the Panjab, he one day caught sight of Mulla 'Abdu-llāh of Sultānpūr⁶ who was at some distance coming towards him ; addressing his attendants he said : " Have you any idea who this is who is approaching." They replied : " Who is it, please inform us." ? He said : " Bābar Padshāh had five sons, of whom four⁸ left Hindustān and one remained." They said " and who is that one ? " He replied : " This Mulla who is approaching." Sarmast Khān said : " What is the use of keeping up connection with such a vicious person ? " ⁹ He replied¹⁰ " What can I do, when I can find¹¹ no better than he ? " And when Mulla 'Abdu-llāh came up he ordered him to sit upon his own throne, and bestowed upon him a bead-roll of pearls, valued at twenty thousand rupees,¹² which had at that moment arrived as

¹ MS. (A) reads مزید فیض.

² MS. (A) این هر سه.

³ MS. (A) زوال خسروان. The decline of the Emperors. The letters of *Zawāl-i-khusrūān* give the date 961 H. See note 2 *supra*.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B). The text as before reads Rishwati.

⁵ MS. (A) omits و ملکا.

⁶ MS. (A) omits و ر.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) فرمای.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) چهار.

⁹ Text reads منافقی ; MS. (A) reads مفتون seditious. MS. (B) reads منفعی parasitic.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) گفت.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) نمی یابم.

¹² Omit دی before بیت. MSS. (A) (B).

a present from some place. He never missed the public prayers, and never touched any intoxicants¹ not even *jauz*,² [and Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpur and Hāfiẓ Nizām of Badāou were both of them his imāms].³

FIRŪZ SHĀH IBN-I-ISLEM SHĀH,

Who was called Firūz Khān, was raised to the throne in succession to his father at the age of twelve⁴ with the title of Pādshāh.⁵ The affairs of the kingdom did not prosper in his hands, and Mubāriz Khān the son of Niẓām Khān⁶ Sūr, who was brother's son to Islem Shāh,⁷ after three days attempted the life of that innocent one, and although Bibi Bā'i, who was the sister of Mubāriz Khān,⁸ and the wife of Islem Shāh, fell at his feet and besought him piteously saying: "Ah my brother, spare the life of this poor harmless boy, and let me take my own way and bear him away⁹ to some place where no one will have a trace of him, and where he will have nothing to do with sovereignty, nay, will not even mention the name of kingship."¹⁰ That pitiless tyrant would not heed her, but entered the palace and cut¹¹ off the boy's head under the very eyes of his mother. At this day his issue is cut off just as the line of Islem Shāh; and it is said that Islem Shāh

417.

¹ MS. (A) reads معني جوزهم و از گیفیت معنی جوزهم. A variant given in a footnote to the text reads وغیر از گیفیت معنی جوزهم. On the whole the textual reading seems the best adding as in the two readings given.

² جوز مائل Jauz māqil. Datura, sp. alba. D. fastuosa N.O. Solanaceæ called in Hindustāni धतुरा dhatūrā, and in Sanskrit धतुर् dhatur from धूत् dhūt elegant, and तुर् tur injurious. (Wilson). Used as a narcotic and intoxicant. According to the *Makhzanul-adwiya* a wine is made from the juice of the leaves. An overdose is said to produce symptoms resembling *delirium e potu*, the patient raving and chasing imaginary animals along the walls of the room.

³ These words are not in the text but both MSS. (A) (B) read

و شیخ سیم چشتی فتحپوری و حافظ نظام بداؤنی هردو ائم او بودند.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read thus دوازده. The text reads ۱۵ ten.

مبارز خان بن نظام سور موسوی شد. MS. (B) reads سور موسوی شد.

⁵ که برادر زاده شیرشاک و عمرلاه و بوادر زن اسلم شلا دود.

Who was brother's son to Sher Shāh, and uncle's son and wife's brother to Islem Shāh.

⁶ MS. (A). ⁹ MS. (A) کس بچا پرم که.

¹¹ MS. (A) بربید.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits هرگز.

had made several attempts upon the life of Mubāriz Khān, and used to say to his wife, " If you value your child keep clear of your brother,¹ and if you wish to preserve the one, take away all hope of life from the other." She used to say in a deprecatory way, " My brother spends all his time in amusing himself,² and the robe of royalty is in no way suitable to his standard of ambition; give up the idea of destroying him."³ Islem Shāh however, whenever he saw Mubāriz Khān used to say to his wife in a reproachful way, " In the end you will regret this at a time when regret will avail nothing." And at last the prophecy of Islem Shāh, which he had made by his judgment of physiognomy, was confirmed to the letter.⁴

Verse.

Whatever the young man sees the mirror,
The old man sees that same in the unbaked brick.⁵

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD 'ĀDIL COMMONLY KNOWN AS 'ĀDLĪ,⁶

Who was the son of Nizām Khān Sūr,⁷ and went by the name of Mubāriz Khān, ascended the throne with the concurrence of the principal Amirs and Vazirs, and caused himself to be addressed by the above title.⁸ The general public however used to call him 'Adli, and that name even⁹ they perverted to Andhli which has the commonly accepted signification of "blind."¹⁰ At the commencement of his reign, having heard of the conduct of Muhammad 'Adil ibn Tughlaq Shāh,¹¹ he used to imitate him in lavishing money, and having opened the doors of his treasury he

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit خود.

² Omit و لغور. MSS. (A) (B). ³ MS. (B) omits او.

⁴ In MS. (A) these words precede the verse, and read :

و عاقبت الامر هم جنان شد انج. MS. (B) omits مم.

⁵ MS. (A) reads تیر در خشت بخته آن بینند، a footnote variant reads كنه (old) for بخته (baked). I follow the reading of the text, taking the meaning to be that the aged can see the tendency of the young as clearly as the young can see the reflection in a mirror.

⁶ See *Ain-i-Akbari* II, (J.) 221 n. 3.

⁷ MS. (A) reads ابن نظام خان سور که and بود و

⁸ MS. (B) omits مخاطب کرد. ⁹ MS. (A) omits نیز.

¹⁰ اندھلی means "a blind woman."

¹¹ MS. (A) reads سلطان محمد تغلق را.

aimed at securing¹ the goodwill of great and small : and he had made arrows tipped with² gold of a money value of five hundred *tankahs* and used to throw them. Whatever³ poor person's house they used to fall at, he then bestowed that amount in money upon him and used to take back the *kaliba-bâsh*, this fitful habit however quickly⁴ came to an end after a few days.

Verse.

Inorganic matter is one thing : spontaneous growth is another.

Verse.

If the tears flow down upon the cheeks,
True weeping is easily distinguished from false.

The rank of *Vazîr* and *Vakîl* was bestowed upon one Shamsher Khân, a slave who was the younger brother of Khwâsâs Khân and Daulat Khân, the "new-Muslim," a protégé of the Luhâni⁵ faction. He also gave uncontrolled authority to Himûn the greengrocer, of the township of Rewârî in Miwât, whom Islem Shâh had gradually elevated from the position of police superintendent of the bâzârs and confirmier of punishments, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant.⁶ He now gave him the superintendence of all important affairs both military and civil.

Inasmuch as 'Adli had originally been accustomed to the profession⁷ of music and dancing, and was fond of a life of ease and luxury, and was otiose in his habits, he was by no means fitted for the conduct of military affairs, or the duties of civil administration ; superadded to this was the murder of Firûz Khân and his unbounded confidence in Himûn. Accordingly these Amirs who were of true Afghân descent, evinced a great repugnance to obey him, and aroused such widespread feelings of

¹ MS. (A) ساخت.

² Text كنه باش ها. MS. (B) كتبه باش.

The reading of the text is unintelligible. We should read كنه باش in the meaning of a bamboo shaft. Firishita's reading is quite clear he says

كنه باشي که بیکان آن یک تولا طل بود

Bo : Text, p. 439.... That is, Katah, a bamboo shaft, whose head was one tola of gold.

³ MS. (A) reads بخانه هر غربی. ⁴ MS. (A) زود بطرف شد.

⁵ MS. (A) نوحان.

⁶ MS. (A) صاحب اعتبار.

⁷ MS. (A) reads پیشگی پیش for پیشگی.

shame, that hardly had a month passed since his accession, when on all sides rebellions arose, and they became rulers of their several clans. Sedition awoke from its heavy slumber, the bonds of kinship with Sher Shāh and of orders passed by Islem Shāh 419. snapped asunder, and disorder reigned supreme :

Verse.

When the heart of the times writhes, the bond of fellowship
snaps,

When a flaw appears¹ in the string, the pearls are scattered.

One day when, having summoned the most renowned Amirs to the durbār hall of the fort of Gwāliār, ‘Adli was engaged in distributing *jāgīrs*, he ordered that the Sarkār of Qanauj should be transferred from Shāh Muḥammad Farmali, and given in perpetuity to Sarmast Khān Sarbani, [Shāh Muḥammad was ill],² whereupon his son Sikandar, who was a brave, handsome, and well-built youth spoke fiercely with regard to this *jāgīr*. Shāh Muḥammad however admonished³ him in gentle terms and forbade him to speak thus, but he answered his father “Once Sher Shāh placed you in an iron cage and kept you a prisoner for some years, while Islem Shāh made you the captive of his kindness and by intercession and influence obtained your release. Now the Sūr faction are attempting to destroy us, and you do not understand their infamous design ;⁴ thereupon he began to abuse Sarmast Khān with all the petulance of youth and the arrogant pride of race and said : “Now our affairs have come to such a pass⁵ that this dog-seller⁶ is to enjoy our *jāgīr*.” Sarmast Khān, who was a tall, powerful man full of energy, placed his hand upon the shoulder of Sikandar intending to make him prisoner by underhand means, and said : “My boy, why are you saying all these bitter things,” Sikandar however perceived his intention, clapped his hand to his dagger, and struck Sarmast Khān such a deadly blow over the shoulder blade, that he fell on the spot unconscious and died. Sikandar Khān also made some others of those⁷ hell-dogs so heavy of head

¹ MS. (A) reads *آمدیدید*.

² MS. (A) adds the words in brackets داشت و شاه محمد بیماری نصیحت مینمود.

³ MS. (A) *رسیده*.

⁴ MS. (A) omits را.

⁵ MS. (A) *رسیده*.

⁶ MS. (A) *فروش*.

⁷ Text دوزخیان. MSS. (A) (B) read دور چنان.

and sleep-stricken¹ that they will never wake² till the morn of the great assembly, and certain others remained so intoxicated that they spent the remainder of their lives in recovering from it.³

Verse.

420

Thine eye which was wonderful in slaying thy lovers
Would slay one and cast its glance upon another.

It was currently reported that from the time when⁴ the dagger was first invented in Hindustān no person can have ever used it in the way that Sikandar Khān did. A tumult arose among the people, and 'Adli fled and entered the women's quarters and put up the chain on the inside. Sikandar after that he had killed some and wounded⁵ others, at last made towards 'Adli and⁶ aimed a blow at him with a sword, which however struck a plank of the door: had he attacked him in the first instance he would have despatched him. The Amīrs of 'Adli's party shewed themselves in their true colours that day, as most of them cast away their swords⁷ and took to flight, and were going about distractedly, till at last, after Sikandar had done as much mischief as salt in the yeast,⁸ they attacked him simultaneously from all sides. This contest went on for three or four hours, when⁹ Sikandar fell to a blow from the sword of Ibrāhīm Khān¹⁰ Sūr, sister's husband to 'Adli, and Shāh Muḥammad was struck down by the sword of Daulat Khān Lūhāni,¹¹ both of them taking their way to the city of non-existence. It so happened that on that day before the assembly of that meeting Tāj Khān Karrāni, the

¹ MS. (A) و خواب آلوهه سرگران. MS. (B) read مرجوان.

² MS. (A) بیدار نشود.

³ Read here بعضی دیگر شیر گیر مانده. This is the reading of MSS. (A) (B) and is far preferable to the reading in the text.

⁴ MS. (A) reads ازان زمان که.

⁵ MS. (A) ساخت.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) نمود و.

⁷ MS. (B) reads اکثری از سردیوار های خود را انداده. Most of them threw themselves from the walls. This is also the reading given in a foot-note variant to the text.

⁸ The addition of salt to yeast is said to check its fermentative powers.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) و.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits خان.

¹¹ MS. (A) نوحانی.

brother of 'Amād and Suleimān, who eventually became the autocratic¹ ruler of the province of Bengal, and gave himself the title² of Ḥazrat Ā'alā, having left the audience hall of 'Adli was going outside the fort, when on his way he met with Shāh Muhammad Farmalī. They asked³ after each other's affairs, and Tāj Khān said: "I see signs of mischief, and consequently I am removing my manly footsteps outside this circle,⁴ and am going outside. Do you too come with me and follow my lead,⁵ for the scale has turned.

Verse.

When you see that your friends are no longer friendly,
Consider that flight is an opportunity to be seized.

But inasmuch as the hand of death had seized the skirt of Shāh Muhammad and was dragging him to the grave,⁶ he would not consent to this advice and went to 'Adli.

Verse.

When the appointed time of the quarry comes it goes towards
the huntsman.

And that which was written in his fate befel him; Tāj Khān in full daylight fled from Gwāliār towards Bengāl and 'Adli sent an armed party in pursuit of him, and⁷ himself also started to follow him, in front of the township of Chhapramau⁸ in the district of Qanauj an engagement took place between the two parties. The stars in their courses fought for 'Adli, and his army

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read صاحب استقلال میگانه and MS. (A) reads صوہ بنگاله.

² MSS. (A) (B) و خطاب داد و should be omitted.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read پرسند which is better than the textual reading پرسیدند.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read (B) میروم { میروم (A)

⁵ MS. (A) reads wrongly مکن for بکن.

⁶ MS. (A) reads شاہ محمد را کشان کشان.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) و خود نیز.

⁸ MS. (B) ج چپرا مو. The text is without dots. MS. (A) reads Chhapramau.

was victorious,¹ and Tāj Khān turning in flight made the best of his way to Chhinār,² wherever he found the authorities favourable to 'Adli he made prisoners³ of them, and laid hands on whatever cash and valuables he could find. A hundred head of elephants also fell into his hands. Thus he proceeded till he joined hands with Suleimān and 'Imād and Khwāja Ilyās who held sway over certain *parganas* on the banks of the Ganges and other places. Then he openly sounded the note of rebellion. 'Adli arrived at Chunār,⁴ and the Karrānis on the banks of the river^b Ganges came out to fight with him. Hīmūn asked for a *halka* of elephants, that is to say, a hundred elephants, and fought a desperate battle with them gaining^a a victory. And 'Adli while in Chunār intended to seize⁶ Ibrāhim Khān, the son of Ghāzi Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Khān, but the sister of 'Adli, who was married to him, became aware of this intention, and brought him down by a secret passage⁷ from the fort. Ibrāhim Khān made his way towards Baiāna and Hindūn which was his father's *jāgir*: 422.

'Adli despatched Isā Khān Niyāzī after Ibrāhim Khān, and they fought a battle⁸ in the vicinity of Kalpī, the breeze of victory fanned the standards of Ibrāhim Khān, and he gained the day. Then having assembled a large following, and entering that country, he proclaimed himself sovereign.⁹ 'Adli thereupon disengaged himself from the Karrānis, and came against Ibrāhim Khān to attack him, and when he arrived near the river Jon, Ibrāhim Khān made overtures,¹⁰ and sent a message saying: "If Rāī Husain Jilwānī,¹¹ and Bihār Khān Sarwānī, to whom Islem Shāh gave the title of Ā'zam Humāyūn, with some others¹² of the Amīrs noble and renowned, will come and reassure me,¹³ then will I in reliance upon their assurances agree to make

¹ The textual reading is wrong, omit پر reading with MSS. (A) (B)
فوج او غالب آمد.

² MS. (A) جنار. MS. (B) چنار دستگیر ساخته.

⁴ MS. (A) (B). دریا ی گنگ.

⁶ MS. (A) مغید سازد.

⁷ MS. (A) reads اورا بصوب صحولی از بالای قلعہ which is better than the text.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) جنگ کردہ.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) دم از استقلال زد.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits درمیان.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads حلوائی.

¹² MS. (A) omits دیگو.

¹³ MS. (B) reads بدھند.

submission to you." 'Adli¹ accordingly sent them, and no sooner had they arrived than they gave in their allegiance to Ibrāhim Khān, giving him the title of Sultān Ibrāhim, and thus putting² a different complexion upon the dispute, raised the standard of insurrection against 'Adli.

The *Khuṭbah* was read in the name of Ibrāhim Khān in Āgra and certain other districts, while 'Adli, realising that he was not able to cope with him, left Gwāliar for Bhatta, and thence returned towards Chunār³ taking with him⁴ large amounts of treasure, many elephants and a large following.

After the death of Islem Shāh, at the time when the kings of clans arose,⁵ Aḥmad Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shāh, who had to wife the second sister of 'Adli, a man of distinguished bravery and endurance, sat in conference with⁶ the Amirs of the Panjāb, and implanted in their minds all sorts of evil notions regarding 'Adli and of his unfitness, (they being already ill-disposed towards him) and with the aid and assistance of Tātār Khān Kāsi,⁷ and Ḥabib Khān, and Naṣīb Khān Tughūji, who had attained this title from Sher Shāh,⁸ declared open war against 'Adli, and⁹ assuming the title of Sultān Sikandar and reading the *Khuṭbah*, and entertaining hopes of still further increase of power¹⁰ proceeded to Dihlī and Āgra.¹¹

On the other hand, Ibrāhim having collected a large army confronted Sikandar at Farah,¹² which is situated at a distance of ten *krohs* from Āgra.

Most of the noted Amirs, such as Hāji Khān Sultāni, Governor of Alwar, who was virtually a king, and Rāī Hussain Jilwāni¹³ and Maṣ'aūd Khān and Husain Khān Ghilzāi were on the side of Ibrāhim. To some two hundred of them Ibrāhim had given royal

¹ Omit و. MSS. (A) (B).

² MS. (B) omits بسوی قوارداده ادای.

³ MS. (A) (B) omit خود reading در تصرف داشت.

⁴ MS. (B) omits both ملوك and شدنده.

⁵ MS. (A) بصرای ب.

⁶ A footnote variant reads کالپی Kālpī.

⁷ MS. (A) reads یانده بوندہ.

⁸ MS. (A) (B) و. ¹⁰ MS. (A) reads در فر زور.

¹¹ MS. (A) (B) شد.

¹² MS. (B) مقابل شد.

¹³ MS. (A) (B) فره.

¹⁴ MS. (A) حلوایی.

tents and standards, and ensigns¹ and kettle drums, and it frequently happened that to anyone who came and brought with him ten or fifteen horsemen he gave a sort of makeshift flag-staff with a bit of red rag wrapped round it, simply to gain favour and to attract people, bestowing upon him also a grant of dignity and a *jāgīr*.² In this way nearly eighty thousand men flocked to him; and on the day when Hāji Khān came from Alwar and gave in his allegiance to him, he shewed him great favour bestowing upon him a lofty and spacious tent covered on the outside with *saqirlāt*³ of Portugal, and on the inside with Frankish velvet, had it freshly pitched for him. Moreover he lavished upon Hāji Khān magnificent carpets, and vessels of gold and silver and all other requirements on the same scale: accordingly he entered the tent without hesitation and there took up his abode. This treatment occasioned great envy and jealousy⁴ among the Amirs of pure Afghān blood who became disheartened and spared not to express their discontent among themselves. Iskandar, who had a following of twelve thousand men, inasmuch as he estimated the army of Ibrāhim as being more numerous than his own, shilly-shallied and made overtures for peace, and wrote a treaty in the following terms, that from Dihli to the eastern extremity of Hindustān as far as could be arranged,⁵ should belong to Ibrāhim Khān,⁶ and that the country of the Panjāb and Multān as far as possible should belong to Sikāndar, so that he might attain the object for which the Mughuls came to Hindustān. The Afghāns of both

424.

¹ The text here reads طوق. MS. (A) however reads قوچ. The true reading should evidently be قوغ which according to M. Pavet de Courteilles means a standard composed of the tail of the *quās* (quās or Tibetan *yak*) fixed to a pole.

² MSS. (A) (B) وجایکبر

³ MS. (B) reads سقرلات *saqirlāt*. Dozy, however, gives no such form of the word and the word is probably *siglāt*, meaning a silken stuff brocaded with gold. See Dozy s. v. See also Yule and Burnett Glossary s. v. *Suclāt* also, Skeat Etym: Dict. s.v. Scarlet.

⁴ Another instance of Bādāoni's use of بخطہ in this unusual sense.

⁵ We should apparently read here آنچا کہ تو وند بشورد گا. MS. (B) omits the words altogether. MS. (A) agrees with the text, which however does not seem satisfactory.

⁶ MS. (A) omits خان.

armies, who were blood-relations or connections of each other, were pleased at the prospect of a peaceful settlement, and Kālā Bhār¹ the brother of Sikandar, and the Amirs of the *Panj Bhaiya* which means "the five brothers," who were² with the sword the marvel of the age, made this additional stipulation that if after that Ibrāhīm (*Khān*)³ gets possession⁴ of the treasury of 'Adli and the kingdom of Bhatta, which is near being realised, he shall make us partners in both of these gains, then all well and good,⁵ but if not we will annul the peace. Sikandar agreed to this proposition,⁶ and the majority of the Amirs of Ibrāhīm (*Khān*)⁷ impressed upon him that there was no danger to be apprehended from agreeing⁸ to this proposal, inasmuch as the treasury and kingdom of Bhatta would certainly be theirs, "and then," said they, "it will require a man to oppose⁹ us (successfully), while for the present, at any rate, we shall have tided over this difficulty satisfactorily:

Verse.

Be not proud, for I hold the staff of wisdom in my hand,
The arm of riot is long (and)¹⁰ a stick has two ends.

Ibrāhīm came round to this view but Mas'ud *Khān* and Husain *Khān Ghilzai* with some of the new Amirs said: "Seeing that in the end the matters in dispute between us and Sikandar will one day have to be decided by the sword, now that our party has increased, while his following is exceedingly small, why should we not decide¹¹ the matter at once,¹² and not desist until we have secured ourselves against a repetition of this in the future. To agree to peace now will be a confession¹³ of weakness on our part, and an admission of the bravery of our enemies."¹⁴ Upon 'Adli

425. ¹ MSS. (A) (B) so also *Firishta*. The text reads کالا پہار Kālā Pahār.

² MS. (A) reads بود. ³ MS. (B) adds خان.

⁴ MS. (B) reads اورد بدمست which seems better than the text.

⁵ MS. (A) omits بهتر. ⁶ MS. (B) reads رای for معنی.

⁷ MS. (B) ابراهیم خان.

⁸ MS. (B) omits قبول. ⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read که بمقابلہ ما در گید.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) omit و. That is to say, a staff is a weapon both of offence and defence.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads نو سانیم بوسانیم but the textual is better.

¹² MS. (B) reads قضیہ را بفاصل فیصل.

¹³ MS. (B) omits دلیل.

¹⁴ MS. (B) reads اعطا می شود.

also, who has crept like a rat into his hole, with all his elephants and retinue, the desire of conflict with us is creeping, and that peace which had been concluded has been confounded." Ibrâhim Khân put off fighting till after the arrival of Miyân Yahya Tûran, governor of Sambhal, who was famous both as a warrior and as a man of sound judgment. Miyân Yahya in the year 961 H. during the disturbances, gave battle in Badâon to twenty of 'Adli's Amirs who had been appointed to the district of Sambhal, and defeated them; he then fought a great battle on the plain¹ of the township of Kandarkhi with Râja Matar Sen Kahtariya, who was the former ruler of Sambhal and had collected a great force, and defeated him. The author of this *Muntakhab*, who was at that time accompanying his father, now deceased, was in the twelfth year of his age,² and had gone to Sambhal to study, wrote this chronogram: *Chi bas khüb karda and*³ (How well have they done)! Before that he could convey the news to his teacher,⁴ the prince of learned men, the guide of connoisseurs, the exemplar of the intelligent,⁵ the master of masters, the Miyân Hâtim of Sanbhal, this⁶ tidings had already reached him. At the time when he was by way of benediction and blessing giving instruction in the *Kanz-i-Fiqh*, he said, "Count the letters of this *târikh* which I have spoken without forethought, *Fathhâ-i-âsmânî shud.*"⁷ I replied nine hundred and sixty, which⁸ is one unit short. He answered,⁹ I said it with the *hamza* of *Izâfat*, that is to say, *Fathhâ-i-âsmânî*, which is in conformity with the ancient spelling in respect to the value of letters: and in this way it is correct.¹⁰ He gave his blessing, and fixed a time for the lesson, and adding

¹ MS. (B) reads در موضع. ² MS. (B) reads در سیصیل and

³ چه بس خوب کردند. ⁴ Chi bas khüb karda and. A footnote to the text points out that this gives the date 962 H. whereas the event chronicled occurred in 961 H.

⁵ Read مدروس. MS. (B).

⁶ مقتدای جهاندیده instead of مقتدای جهابده.

⁷ این خبر. MS. (A).

⁸ فتحاً آسماني شد. ⁹ *Fathhâ-i-âsmânî Shud.* They were heaven-given victories. Read with hamza this gives 961 H.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads ۸۵ for و. MS. (B) reads گو.

¹¹ میفهوموند که.

¹² MS. (A) reads wronglly هست. According to this the value of *hamza* is 1. and it is taken as equivalent to Alif. The *hamza* of *izâfat* is said to be

a few pages, written with his own hand to the pages which I had
 426. written containing the instruction of the Qāzī; gave them to me
 as a souvenir, and entrusted my instruction to Miyān Shaikh
Abūl Fath, the son of Shaikh-allahdiyah¹ of Khairābād, *may God be merciful to him*, who is now seated on the throne of instruction and guidance in the room of his father; and inasmuch as Miyān Yaḥya after taking forcible possession of² the country of Kānt³-o-Golah and that district, going by way of Badāon had built a bridge across the Ganges at the township of Ahār,⁴ and had gone towards Ibrāhim Khān, I accompanied my father, now departed, *may he rest in peace*, to Amroha,⁵ and was thus separated from that army;⁶ and being introduced to the presence of the late Mir Saiyyid⁷ Muḥammad Mir 'Adl, *may God have mercy on him*,⁸ with whom he had some hereditary connection, remained some time under his instruction. In short on the day on which Miyān Yaḥya joined Ibrāhim Khān, on that very morning Ibrāhim Khān had drawn up his army and placed Miyān Yaḥya in the command of the advance guard, while he appointed Hāji Khān to the command of the left division, and Rāi Husain Jilwāni with the Ghilz'aïs to the right division. He himself taking the centre drew up in line of battle. On the other side Sikandar Sūr

an abbreviated **س** (Platts' Persian Grammar, p. 43), but if this were the case its value would justly be 10 and not 1. It thus appears more probable that the hamza of iżāfat is in reality hamza, and does not represent an original **س**.

¹ MS. (A) **وله شیخ البدایہ**. See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 118.

² MS. (B) reads **بضبط اورڈہ**.

³ Kānt. Town in the Shūjhahānpur District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. vii. 437. Kānt-o-Golah in Shahjahānpur according to Blochmann, J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 122.

⁴ Ahār. Ancient town in the Bulandshahr District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. i. 81.

⁵ Amrohā. Town in Moradabad District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. i. 266.

⁶ MS. (A) reads **ازان لشکر جد اسے وبا مر و مہ رفتہ** after

⁷ See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 126, and *Ain-i-Akbarī*, (B), I. p. 268. The Mir 'Adl was the officer entrusted with the duty of carrying out the finding of the Qāzī, see *Ain-i-Akbarī*, III. (J.) 41.

⁸ MS. (A) reads **رحمۃ اللہ علیہ**.

also drew up his forces and came out¹ from his camp. The right wing of Sikandar's forces (the Panj Bhaiya), carried away the left of Ibrāhim's army by sheer weight, and after sacking² the camp went on to Āgra and pillaging the city issued a proclamation on behalf of Sikandar.³

The right of Ibrāhim Khān's army, however, carried away the left of Sikandar's force, and driving them back pursued them as far as the township of Hodal⁴ and Palwal,⁵ shouting, Prosperity to Ibrāhim Khān.⁶ Hāji Khān at the instant the two opposing ranks closed, passing by the side of his tent,⁷ and seeing it had been torn to shreds by the pillaging party,⁸ in pretended ignorance of what had occurred hastened to Alwar. A slight engagement ensued with Miyān⁹ Yahya Paran who commanded the advanced guard of Sikandar's army, and a wound was inflicted upon the hand of Miyān Yahya and two of his fingers were cut off.¹⁰ He did not draw rein till he arrived at Sambhal. Ibrāhim Khān took up a position on the lower ground with four hundred¹¹ men, and with his front facing down-hill¹² awaited the attack of Sikandar, the shots from whose mortars¹³ passed over the heads 427. of his men, so that they could not move a step.

When Ibrāhim saw that the field remained empty and that his troops were scattered like motes in a sun beam,¹⁴ he realised that Sikandar himself was present with the opposing army, so yielding to necessity¹⁵ he proceeded to Itāwa. His canopy and all his regalia¹⁶ were taken. Sikandar pursued him as far as Itāwa,¹⁷ where he heard that Jannat Ashiyāni had reached¹⁸ Hindustān :

¹ MS. (B) بدر آمد.

² MS. (B) reads نیبی کردا.

³ MSS. (A) (B) omit بنام.

⁴ MS. (A) reads بھودل Bhodal.

⁵ For Hodal and Palwal, see Hunter, J. G. v. 437 and xi. 21.

⁶ MS. (A) omits خان.

⁷ گذشته MS. (A).

⁸ MS. (A) omits غارت گوان.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) دو عینان مدان یحیی.

¹⁰ Read with MSS. (A) (B). دوی از انگشتان او.

¹¹ Supply مه from MSS. (A) (B).

¹² I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this passage.

¹³ The text and both MSS. seem to be incorrect : we should read I think, و ضرب دیگهای سکندر. The text and MS. (A) read زنگها MS. (B) reads زنگها.

¹⁴ Qurān, xxv. 25. MS. (A) reads wrongly here سایرو منثروا MS. (B) شد.

¹⁵ MSS. (A) (B). بصرورت ماند و MS. (A) reads خبر چتر for چتر.

¹⁶ MSS. (A) (B). از عقب او افواه رسید MS. (B) مدد.

retracing his steps thence he proceeded by continuous marches as far as Sihrind,¹ he eventually fought a battle there and was defeated. Ibrāhīm leaving there went to Sambal, and collecting an army procured a fresh gold-embroidered canopy, and a month later crossed (the river) with a force of three² thousand sowārs by the ford of Kistī,³ and (?) made towards Kalpi in order that having collected a fresh army,⁴ he might fight 'Adli again. At this juncture 'Adli had appointed Hīmūn the grocer, who was his vazīr and uncontrolled agent, and had sent him from Chinhār with certain eminent Amirs, and five hundred elephants like storm clouds (for blackness), and unlimited treasure to proceed to Āgra and Dilhī.

Hīmūn, regarding Ibrāhīm as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him;⁵ Ibrāhīm came out to oppose him⁶ ready for battle, and taking up a strong position shewed a resolute determination to withstand him, such as perhaps Rustum, if anyone, displayed before.⁷ But for all this, by the decree of the Almighty⁸ he was not successful.⁹ He was the possessor of all the praiseworthy qualities which should belong to kings.¹⁰ He was well formed and well spoken, modest, cultured and refined,¹¹ daring and liberal, but success in war is God-given,¹² and it is not in mortals to command it, it was not his fate¹³ to win. Accordingly in this space of two years of disorder he must have fought¹⁴ sixteen or seventeen battles, and on every occasion after gaining a success met with a defeat. *God preserve us from failure after success.*¹⁵

428. *met with a defeat.* مُهْزَلَةً عَاقِبَتْ (A) (B).

¹ MSS. (A) (B). ² MSS. (A) (B). مُهْزَلَةً.

³ MS. (A) (B). ⁴ MS. (B). کَنِیٰ (?). گیسی (?).

⁵ MS. (B). جمیعَتِی.

⁶ MS. (A) reads واقع for دفع. ⁷ MS. (B) reads بمُقابله بِمُقَابَلَةٍ.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read همان قدر for نهایتش.

⁸ MS. (A) reads بُرْنَادِید.

⁹ A footnote to the text says that the word بِ is superfluous, MS. (A) omits بِ.

¹⁰ MS. (B) reads wrongly تَوَاضَع for متخلق for تَوَاضَع.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B). مُوهَبَتِی. ¹² MS. (B) reads again بِصَيْغَةً for نصِيب.

¹³ MS. (A) supplies فُرَّات.

¹⁴ نَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنَ الْحُجُورِ بَعْدَ الْكَوْرِ. A tradition, meaning we have recourse to God for preservation from decrease or defectiveness after increase, or redundancy. See Lane s. v. حُجُورٌ.

Ibrâhim Khân after this¹ defeat, leaving Kalpi made straight for² Baiâna with all speed, and Hîmûn pursuing him arrived at Baiâna. Ibrâhim Khân taking a body of the Nuhâni³ and Afghân cultivators⁴ and landholders of Baiâna, again⁵ went out to meet Hîmûn, and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khânwah, ten *krohs* distant from Baiâna, but could not prevail against his destiny, and Hîmûn said ‘It is easy to smite a stricken foe’ and rolled him up and inflicted a defeat upon him, so that⁶ he was compelled to fortify himself in the fortress of Baiâna, which is a fort of exceeding loftiness and strength. Hîmûn thereupon, making that fortress the centre of his operations, attacked it continuously every day, subjecting the fort to a heavy bombardment;⁷ Ghâzi Khân the father of Ibrâhim Khân⁸ kept the fort provided⁹ with supplies by way of the mountain passes to the westward of Baiâna. Hîmûn kept up the siege of this fort for three months, and made inroads on the districts of Baiâna on all sides, pillaging and destroying.¹⁰ Nearly all the books which my late father¹¹ possessed in Başawar¹² were destroyed. A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern¹³ portion of Hindûstân, especially in Âgra, Baiâna, and Dihli. It was so severe a famine that one *ser* of *jawârî*¹⁴ grain had reached two *half-tankahs*, and was in fact not to be had (even at that price). Men of wealth and position had to close their houses, and died by tens or twenties or even more in one place, getting neither grave¹⁵ nor shroud. The Hindus also were in the same

¹ MS. (A) این.

² We should read here يک انداز *yak andâz* MS. (A).

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) زرعون. The text reads ارغون which has no meaning.

⁵ MS. (A) باری.

⁶ MS. (A) بالضرورة.

اًتِشْبَازِي (A)

⁷ MS. (A) omits خان.

مِيفُوسْتَاد (B) reads

⁸ MS. (A) نمود (B) غارت می نمود MS. (B) کرده (A).

⁹ MS. (A) وابد مرحوم.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits بساور.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) ممالک شرق رویه.

¹² MS. (A) reads in error مذکور for گور. ¹³ The *ser* is approximately two pounds. *Jawârî* is the Hindustâni name for the small variety of millet also known as *chhota jawâr*. (*Andropogon sorghum*).

¹⁴ MS. (A) reads مذکور for گور.

plight, and the bulk of the people were fain to live on the seeds of the *Mughailān* thorn¹ and on wild herbs,² also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to time;³ after a few days their hands and feet swelled⁴ and they died. As a date for that year the phrase *Khashm-i-Īzad*⁵ (Divine wrath) was invented.⁶ The writer of these pages with these guilty eyes of his saw man eating his fellow-man in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them; and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain, and shortness of grain,⁷ and desolation, and what with the constant struggle and turmoil, and two years continual anarchy⁸ and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked⁹ the cities of the Muslims. Among the strange¹⁰ incidents of the year 962 H., during the time of the war between Sikandar and Ibrāhīm, was the fire which occurred in the fort of Āgra. The following is a short account of this incident. During the time when Āgra¹¹ was emptied of the troops of 'Adlī,¹² one of the Amirs¹³ of Ghāzī Khān Sūr entered the fort of Āgra and took up his abode there,¹⁴ to make certain preparations and to take charge of the supplies; while he was engaged in inspecting¹⁵ the rooms of the warehouses, he happened to go early one morning into one of the rooms,¹⁶ and was going round¹⁶ carrying an open lamp,¹⁷ a spark from which fell in one of the rooms which was full of

۱ مغیلان *Mughailān* for غیلان *Ummu-ghailān*. According to the *Makhzanu-l-Adviya*. This is the tree called in Hindi *kikar* or *babul*. (*Acacia Arabica*) see also Ibn Baiṭār (South) I. 82, according to whom it is *Spina egyptiaca*. *Mimosa gummosifera*. See also Drnry, useful plants of India who states that the seeds and pods are used as food for sheep when grain is scarce.

۲ درم می کردو MS. (B) adds بود. ۳ MS. (B) omits حشیش چنگلی.

۴ خشم ایزد *Khashm-i-Īzad*. Gives the date 962. H.

۵ یافته شد MS. (B)

۶ غله MS. (B) omits غله. ۷ فتنه MS. (B) omits فتنه.

۸ می خاتند MS. (A) omits می reading می. ۹ غایبی *MSS. (A) (B)*.

۱۰ عدل خان آگوڑا MS. (B) omits عدل خان. ۱۱ MS. (B) reads 'Adl *Khān*.

۱۲ می سیری از MS. (A) reads سیری از. ۱۳ قیام می نمود و MS. (A) (B).

۱۴ سیری میکرد MS. (A) (B). ۱۵ درون MS. (A) (B). ۱۶ می دید MS. (A) (B).

۱۷ چراغ *chtragh* is an open lamp with a naked flame generally consisting of a small earthenware saucer of oil with a wick.

gun powder. In the twinkling of an eye an explosion occurred,¹ and the flames shot up to the sky, attended with a violent shock, which led the people of the city to imagine that the judgment-day had arrived, and starting from their sleep they began repeating the formula of *Tauhid* (Declaration of Unity),² and *Taubat*³ (Repentance), and *Istighfar* (seeking for pardon). Heavy slabs of stone and massive pillars were hurled⁴ through the air to a distance of several *krohs* across the river Jamna, and great number of people were killed,⁵ in fact human hands and feet, and the limbs of all kinds of animals were thrown five or six⁶ *krohs*. As the name of the citadel of Agra was originally Badal Garh, the words *Ātash-i-Badal garh*⁷ made a chronogram to record the date.

In the days when Himūn blockaded the fortress of Baiāna God's people were crying for bread and taking each other's lives,⁸ a hundred thousand sacred lives were as nought for a single grain of barley, whereas the elephants of Himūn's army, which numbered five-hundred, were fed solely upon rice, and oil, and sugar; the senses⁹ were shattered by anguish upon anguish in that terrible time :—

Verse.

We cherish enemies, we also destroy friends,
What mortal has the power to question our decrees.

On one occasion Himūn was one day presiding at a public banquet, and summoning the Afghān Amirs¹⁰ into his presence,

۱ آتشی در گرفت که MS. (A).

۲ The formula of *Tauhid* is *Lā illāha illa Allāh wa ḥadhu lā Sharika lahu*. There is no god save God. He is one, He has no partner.

The other formula is *Istaghfiru-lلāh wa atubu ilaihi*. I ask pardon of God and to Him I repent.

Both these formulæ are used on occasions of sudden alarm and peril.

۳ MS. (B) omits و توبة. ۴ MS. (B) reads بوردة instead of پریده.

۵ MS. (A) تلف شد. ۶ MS. (B) omits و مشش. MS. (A) omits و.

۷ آتش بدالگرخ *Ātash-i-Badalgarh*. The fire of Badalgarh. These words give the date 962 H.

۸ I read here with MS. (A) گونند و جان می. Although MS. (A) also reads in the margin می دادند, the other reading is more probably correct, and is a further statement of the terrible straits to which the garrison of Baiāna were driven.

۹ A footnote variant reads خلق را. MS. (A) reads هم.

۱۰ MS. (B) omits افغانان.

to the head of the table¹ urged them to partake of food, saying: "Help yourselves to the largest morsels," and if he saw anyone of them eating slowly no matter who he was,² he would address him³ in terms of the foulest abuse saying: "How can such a nondescript nonentity as you who are sluggish in eating your victuals hope to contend against your own son-in-law the Mughul in battle." As the fall of the Afghān power was near at hand,⁴ they had not the courage to say a word to that foul infidel, and laying aside all that disregard of superior force⁵ for which they were renowned, swallowed his insults⁶ like sweetmeats, either from fear or hope,⁷ this had become a regular practice with them.

Verse.

Lay not your hand obsequious on my foot,
Give me but bread, and brain me with your boot!

In the meanwhile news reached Himūn that Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Governor of Bangāla, had assumed the title of Sultān⁸ Jalālu-d-Din, and was marching with an army⁹ like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangāla, and having reduced Jaunpūr was making for¹⁰ Kälpi and Āgra. Just at this juncture an

431. urgent summons¹¹ arrived from 'Adli to Himūn in these words: "At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy." Himūn thereupon abandoned the siege, and when he arrived at Mandāgarh,¹² which is distant six *krohs* from Āgra, Ibrāhim (Khān)¹³ like a hungry hawk which leaves¹⁴ its nest and pursues the crane, pounced upon him, and hurled against him in

¹ MS. (B) omits سر.

² MS. (B) omits هرگاه می بود.

³ MS. (A) reads بزبان او بر for بزبان (Text).

⁴ MS. (B) insert و unnecessarily.

⁵ I read here جهل دستبرد. *Jahl-i-dastburd* instead of the textual reading. MS. (A) gives reason to think that this is correct, it reads جهل which making allowance for conversion of ح into ج in writing gives the reading adopted. The textual reading has no meaning.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) دشمن او را.

⁷ MS. A omits از.

⁸ MS. (B) omits سلطان.

⁹ MS. (A) omits عظیم.

¹⁰ MS. (A) هشتم.

¹¹ Omit نیز. MS. (A).

¹² MS. (A) reads مسند اکبر. *Mandākar*. MS. (B) مسند اگر. *Mauḍāgarh*.

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

¹⁴ MS. (B) reads پریده.

battle, but being defeated went towards Alwar. Then, after obtaining¹ reinforcements from Hāji Khān Alwārī,² he again set about³ accomplishing his own objects, and Himūn detailed⁴ his brother's son named Thar Yāl⁵ with a fully equipped army to pursue him. Thar Yāl⁶ marching with restless haste pursued Ibrāhīm for two stages, and joined Himūn; Hāji Khān was not pleased at Ibrāhīm's coming, nor would he send him any assistance. Ibrāhīm being disheartened⁷ turned aside, and bidding farewell to his father, brothers, and all his blood-relations, left them in Hindūn, and, with a small band of followers took the road to Bhatta. Eventually Ghāzi Khān a short time after, fell a prisoner into the hands of Haidar Khān Chaghta in Baiāna, relying upon assurances,⁸ and great and small of his party were put to death, and not a single one of that line was left, as will be related in its proper place,⁹ if God Most High so will it; and now that kingdom and empire, and the independence of that family have become as an idle tale. How wonderful are the ways of God!

Masnavī.

The world is a juggler decrepit and bowed,
 It brings to pass one thing but promises another;
 It calls you with kindness but drives you away with rancour;
 All its dealings are invariably of this nature.
 If it calls you know not whither it calls you,
 If it drives you forth you know not whither it drives you.
 All of us, old and young, are destined to death,
 No one can remain in the world for ever.

Inasmuch as everyone liked Ibrāhīm Khān who was considered by all to have a wonderful fortune in store for him, in a short time large numbers gathered to him from all parts. He fought with the army¹⁰ of Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhatta, but was

432.

کوئمک کوئفتہ ^۱. MS. (A) reads کوئمک گرفتہ.

^۲ MS. (B) omits الوری. ^۳ MS. (B) reads کرد. ^۴ MS. (A) reads فرمود.

^۵ MS. (B) reads نہر پال. Nahar pāl.

^۶ MS. (B) reads نہر پال. Nahar pāl.

^۷ Read here نا امید. MS. (A) reads تو مید (?). MS. (B) reads نو مید (?).

^۸ MS. (A) reads تعمد. ^۹ MS. (A) reads محکم for مکمل.

¹⁰ Read بفوج. MS. (A), for بقنوچ.

forced to flee¹ and was taken prisoner. Rājā Rām Chand, in accordance with the customs of landholders,² made him a present of a bow, and treated him with the utmost honour and respect,³ and in a personal interview⁴ presented him with a royal tent, with the apparatus of royalty, and attendants: then seating him upon the throne, standing humbly as a servant, performed the offices of attendance.

Ibrāhim Khān⁵ spent some time there, till Bāz Bahādur the son of Sazāwal Khān, Ruler of Mālwa, who eventually read the *Khutbah* in that country, became involved in a quarrel with the Miyānī Afghāns, who summoned Ibrāhim Khān⁶ and raising him to the supreme command, sent him against⁷ Bāz Bahādur. Rānī Durgāwatī the ruler of the country⁸ of Kara Katanka also, who was embroiled with Bāz Bahādur on account of the proximity of her kingdom, rose up⁹ to assist Ibrāhim, and went out to fight against Bāz Bahādur, who made overtures for peace¹⁰ and dissuaded the Rānī from assisting Ibrāhim. She, accordingly, returned to her own country, and Ibrāhim, not considering it advisable to remain there any longer, went off bag and baggage to Orissa, which is the boundary of Bangāla, and lived on good terms with the *zamīndārs*. Suleimān Karrānī, when he took possession¹¹ (of Orissa), made terms with the Rājā, and sending for Ibrāhim with assurances of safety, slew him treacherously in the year 975 H.

Verse.

Fix not thy heart on this world, for it has no foundation,

Speak not of life, for that too is ruined.

The tent of life which thou placedst at first,

Death¹² will surely uproot, were it of solid steel.

1 MS. (A) omits فرار نموده.

2 MS. (B) reads اسٹت for میباشد.

3 MS. (B) omits و اکداب. MS. (A) reads اکداب.

4 MSS. (A) (B) دید.

5 MS. (A) omits خان.

6 MS. (A) omits خان.

7 Read سردارندہ. MSS. (A) (B), for سپردندہ (Text).

8 MS. (B) omits ولایت.

9 MS. (A) براخاست و.

10 MS. (A) reads استیلا.

11 MS. (B) reads wrongly در مقدمات.

12 اجل. MS. (A) reads حل.

Himūn proceeded by rapid marches till he joined 'Adli.¹

'Adli and Muhammad Khān Gauria were at that time sitting down over against one another, with the river Jamna between them, at a place called Chhappar Khatta, fifteen *krohs* from Kalpi.

433

Gauria, confidently relying upon his superior force to overcome the forces of 'Adli, had drawn up his cavalry and infantry and elephants to a number surpassing all computation, and was every moment² expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Himūn swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna,³ than he swooped down upon the army of Gauria, taking them unawares as does the army of Sleep, and making a night-assault gave no one time so much as to lift his hand.

They were in such utter confusion⁴ that no man knew his head from his heels, nor his turban from his shoes. The greater part of his Amīrs were slain, while the remnant who escaped chastisement took to flight. The wretched Gauria was so effectually concealed that up to the present not a trace of him has been found, and all that retinue and paraphernalia of royalty⁵ and grandeur became "like the scattered moths and like flocks of carded wool,"⁶ and became in a moment the portion of the enemy. The kingdom is God's, the greatness is God's.

Verse.

In one moment, in one instant, in one breath,⁷

The condition of the world becomes altered.

After this heaven-given victory and unforeseen triumph, 'Adli proceeded to Chinhār and appointed Himūn,⁸ who was the commander-in-chief of his army, with abundant treasure and a countless host, elephants of renown, an ornament to the army.

¹ MS. (A) عدل. ² MSS. (A) (B) read ممدد. The text reads در میدان.

³ MS. (A) omits باب.

⁴ Literally : Crying, where shall I put the cup, where shall I put the case ?

⁵ MS. (A) omits سلطنت و.

⁶ Qur'ān II. 4.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read بیک ساعت بیک لحظه بیک دم بیک لحظه لمحه. MS. (B) reads بیک لحظه لمحه.

⁸ MS. (A) هیمون را.

and a terror to the enemy, to repel the forces of the Mughul which had taken possession of the country as far as Itāwa and Āgra, as will be presently related if God Most High so will it.

Just at this juncture Khizr Khān, the son¹ of Muḥammad Khān Gauria, who had been killed, succeeded his father in Kor,² issuing the currency and reading the Khuṭbah in his own name, with the style and title of Sultān (Muḥammad)³ Bahādur, and collecting a huge army to revenge his father's death, came up against
434. 'Adli, who notwithstanding his distress⁴ fought bravely on that field, and contrary to expectation met with fierce resistance. After fighting manfully 'Adli was killed, and joined Muḥammad Khān whose life-blood was yet freshly spilled, fighting in hot blood. This event occurred in the year 962 H. and *Gauria bikusht*⁵ was its chronogram.

Verse.

My soul, do thou look at the world and take what it gives to thy heart's desire ;

Live at thine ease therein a thousand years like Nūḥ.⁶

Every treasure and every store which kings have laid by,
That treasure and that store seize⁷ and take for thine own.

Every pleasure which the world contains do thou consider as made for thee ;

Every fruit which grows in the world⁸ do thou taste and take.

In the final round which brings the end of thy life,
A hundred times seize the back of thy hand with thy teeth and gnaw it (in despair).

¹ MS. (B) reads وَلَدٌ for وَلَدْ.

² MS. (A) omits در کور.

³ MSS. (A) (B) omit محمد.

⁴ The text reads با وجود آن تنگداری تندگی (sic.) MS. (B) reads تندگی. The meaning is not very clear.

⁵ گوریہ بکشت Gauria *bikusht*. A footnote to the text points out that these words give 963 as the date. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*, p. 416) gives 964 H. as the date of 'Adli's death.

⁶ A footnote variant gives چرخ دست for جنگ دست.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read بدنیا for بعالم.

'Adli was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Miyān Tāusin, the well-known *kalān-wat*¹ who is a past master in this art² used to own to being his pupil, and Bāz Bahādur, son of Sazāwal Khān, who was also one of the most gifted men of his age and had no equal in this life-wasting accomplishment acquired the art (of music) from 'Adli.

Verse.

They owned no rival, but surpassed them all,
May God He is exalted and glorified, pardon them.

One day a performer from the Dakhan brought into his assembly an instrument called *pakhāwaj*,³ which is in length⁴ equal to the height of a man, so large that the hands of no man could reach⁵ the two ends of it, as a sort of challenge to those who were present, and all⁶ the performers of the kingdom of Dihli were unable to play it; 'Adli, however, found out by his knowledge of other instruments how to play it, and placing a cushion on the floor beat⁷ the drum now with his hand and now with his foot. The assembled people raised a shout and all the skilled musicians owned their allegiance to him, and praised him exceedingly; and at the time when he was an Amir, and as a commander of twenty-thousand held a *jāegir*,⁸ a Bhagat boy⁹ handsome and comely who had acquired perfection in this art, used to come to his assembly from some of the villages near Badāon, and used to play.¹⁰ 'Adli was so fascinated by his beauty and skill that he kept him in his own service and took pains to educate him, giving him the name of Mujaḥid Khān.¹¹ When he attained to kingly power

435

¹ See Āīn-i-Akbarī I, (B) 612, note 1. *Kalān-wat* or *Kalāwant* is a Hindi word meaning a singer or musician. MS. (A) reads كلام نوشت *Kalān want*.

² Badāoni uses the word وادی *wādi* a valley or desert, apparently to shew his disapproval of the art.

³ A large kind of drum. See Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 255.

⁴ MS. (B) reads كلاني for دراني. ⁵ MS. (A) reads وسیده.

⁶ MS. (A) omits &ہ.

⁷ MS. (A) omits می.

⁸ MS. (A) reads here احوار *Aḥāwan*. MS. (B) reads اجاون *Ajāwan*. So also footnote variant to text.

⁹ بھگت پسروی. The Bhagatiya are "a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing." Sherring I, 276.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) بازی کرد.

¹¹ MS. (A) خان.

he made him a commander of ten thousand. His natural elegance and refinement were such that one day upon returning from the polo ground of Badāon¹ he said, "I am hungry." Ghāzi Khān Sūr whose tent² was at the head of the road said "What I have ready is at your service." 'Adli, for politeness sake, felt constrained to accept his hospitality; first they brought some fried sheep's liver.³ No sooner had he smelt it than he leapt from his seat, and was so disgusted that he left the company⁴ and drew rein nowhere till he reached his house; they say also that the sweepers used to gather up the remains of camphor of the finest quality two or three times daily from his dressing-room, and whenever a necessity arose⁵ he would first grow red, then pale and livid,⁶ and would faint while his countenance changed. In spite of all this leisure and luxuriousness, his fasts and prayers were never duly performed;⁷ he had entirely given up the use of intoxicants, and the day he left the world the treacherous time even grudged him two yards of cloth, and it was never known where his corpse went.⁸

436.

Verse.

Oh ye lords of wealth beware ! beware !
And you, ye lords of state, beware ! beware !⁹

After him, the kingdom fell away from the race of Afghāns and returned to its original holders, and right once more became established.

¹ The text reads اجاون with a footnote variant بداون. MSS. (A) (B) read بدواون.

² MS. (B) omits ذیروان.

³ MS. (A) قلیہ پوتی بُوئی meaning scraps of meat.

⁴ The text reads ghashyān. MS. (A) reads ghasayān. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

⁵ MS. (A). تفاضلی گرفت

⁶ MS. (A). برمی آمد

⁷ MS. (A). قضانشہد.

⁸ He was, as has been described, killed in battle.

⁹ MS. (A) reads خداوند مال in the first line, and حاں in the second. MS. (B) reads حاں مال in the first and مال in the second.

NASIRU-D-DIN MUHAMMAD HUMAYUN PADSHAH GHAZI,

Returning from Kâbul, a second time fought a fierce battle with Sikandar, and being favoured by fortune¹ with victory and conquest, restored to the imperial throne fresh lustre, glory and fortune. The following is an epitome of these events: After that the kingdom of Hindûstan slipped from the grasp of that Pâdshâh glorious as Jamshid, like the ring from the hand of Suleimân,² and the opposition and strife between his brothers was not changed to amity and concord,³ and each one took his own way and sought his own asylum, considering his own interests by consultation with advisers, as has already been briefly related,⁴ Humâyûn crossed from the Panjâb and attempted to seize Bakkar,⁵ making his camp at the township of Lohri,⁶ which is near to Bakkar. Mirzâ Hindâl having left Sind proceeded to the township of Pântar,⁷ which is fifty *krohs* distant from Bakkar, on account of the abundance and cheapness of grain. Humâyûn sent a robe of honour and a horse with a message to Mirzâ Shâh Husain Arghûn, governor of Tatta, saying, "I have arrived here driven by necessity and have fully determined upon the conquest of Gujrât,⁸ and this undertaking is dependent upon your advice and guidance." Mirzâ Shâh Husain spent five or six months⁹ in temporising, and brought Humâyûn by specious pretexts from the Bakkar territory to the neighbourhood of Tatta, with the intention of doing whatever might be advisable later on.

437.

¹ A footnote says that one copy gives مساعدة. MS. (B) has this reading.

² See ante p. 205, note 3.

³ Read ایتلاف for ایلانف, MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MS. (A) omits جو.

⁵ See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz., Ind.*, Vol. III, also Tieff. I, 117, Bukkur. See *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, April, 1895, p. 69.

⁶ See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz., Ind.*, Vol. XI, Rohri. Firishta writes لہری *Lahri*. See Bombay text, p. 409.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read پاتر *Pâtar*. I can find no mention of any place of this name.

⁸ MS. (B) reads فتح گجرات مصمم و این مرقوم الخ. Firishta says "asked for assistance in the conquest of Gujrât," Bombay text, p. 409.

⁹ Omit و, read پنج شش. MSS. (A) (B).

In this year, 948 H.,¹ Humāyūn married Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, and coming to Pāṇtar returned to Lohrī. Mirzā Hindāl started for Qandahār in answer to the summons of Qarācha Beg,² the governor of that district, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā, who had encamped at a distance of ten *krohs* from (Humāyūn's) camp also intended to proceed to Qandahār. Humāyūn thereupon sent Mir Abūl-Baqā,³ who was one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time, Persian commentator on Mir Saiyyid Sharif, and author of other compositions, to advise him and dissuade him from his purpose.⁴ At the time of crossing the river a party sallied out from the fortress of Bakkar and rained showers of arrows upon the people in the boats. The sainted Mir was struck by the soul-melting arrow of Fate, and was drowned⁵ in the ocean of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 948 H. and the chronogram *Surūr-i-kāināt*⁶ was invented to commemorate it.

Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir hearkened to this advice and counsel and remained in Bakkar, and Humāyūn proceeded to Tatta, whereupon many of his soldiers left his camp and joined Mirzā (Yādgār) and spent their days⁷ in comfort by reason of the increased pay they received. In this way Mirzā gathered strength, and Humāyūn crossing the river laid siege to the fortress of Siyāhwān.⁸ Mirzā Shāh Ḫusain kept sending⁹ reinforcements

1 The text reads 947 H. (۹۴۷) نَصْد وَجَهْل وَهَفْت with a footnote saying that one MS. reads 948 H. and another نَصْد وَجَهْل وَهَفْت وَهَشْت ۹۴۷-۹۴۸. MSS. (A) (B) both read 948 H. and this is the correct date.

2 MSS. (A) (B) روَان شَد Firishta, Qarācha Khān, Bombay text, p. 409.

3 MSS. (A) (B) read مِير ابُو ابْقَا MS. (A) omits وا.

4 MSS. (A) (B) add و.

5 MS. (A) دَم.

6 Surūr-i-kāināt. Joy of created things. These words give the date 948 H.

7 MS. (A) گَذَرِيَّدَه MS. (B) گَذَرِيَّدَه.

8 Firishta says سہوان Sihwān. Sihwān or Sehwān is in the Karāchi district of Sind, lat 26° 26' N. long 67° 54' E. The river Indus formerly flowed close to the town but has now quite deserted it. The fort of Sehwān is ascribed to Alexander the Great. See Hanter Imp. Gaz., XII. 305; but Tiefenthaler (I. 123) attributes it to Ḫusain, son of Shāh beg Arghūn.

9 MSS. (A) (B) آزوفَه.

and supplies¹ to the garrison² and embarking on a boat, and³ coming near to the camp blocked the avenues of supplies (to Humāyūn). The siege lasted for seven months, and victory seemed as far off as ever, while great distress was felt from scarcity of **438.** grain⁴ and want of salt.⁵

Verse.

Every feast which is prepared⁶ by the hand of heaven
Is either altogether without salt or is altogether so salt (as
to be uneatable).

The soldiers were reduced to such extremities,⁷ that they were forced to give up grain and content themselves with the flesh of animals, and finally⁸ they had to abandon the hope of even this.

Verse.

The hungry-bellied fastened his eyes on skins,
For fur is the near neighbour of flesh.

Then he sent messengers a second time to Bakkar to summon Mirzā⁹ Yādgār Nāṣir, so that in conjunction with him he might repel Mirzā Shāh Husain and gain possession of the fort. He sent a reinforcement, which was however of no service,¹⁰ and hearing of the distress which prevailed in the camp he saw no good in going there, so remained in Bakkar.¹¹ Mirzā Shāh Husain played upon his ambition by false promises of the rule of that kingdom, and of having the *Khuṭbah* read and the currency issued in his name; he also promised to obey him, and also that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and thus misled him into

۱ MS. (B) فوستاد.

۲ This is the statement of one author, but Firishta says "The siege lasted for seven months. Mirzā Shāh Husain Arghūn also came with boats and blocked the road by which supplies of grain came, in consequence of so great scarcity of food ensued that they had to live on the flesh of animals." Bombay text, 409.

۳ MSS. (A) (B) و.

۴ MS. (B) غله قطعی.

۵ بی نمکی.

۶ Footnote variant دست ساز.

۷ MS. (A) omits مه.

۸ Text reads اکثرے را. MS. (B) reads most of them.

۹ MS. (B) omits میرزا.

۱۰ MSS. (A) (B) read نیاید.

۱۱ Footnote variant بهکر Bakkar.

opposing Humāyūn.¹ He further took possession of all² the boats belonging to Humāyūn, who, in consequence of all these obstacles, any one of which was a sufficient reason,³ seeing the distress and misery of his army, abandoned the siege⁴ of the fortress, and all unwillingly saying, " Retreat is the wisest course," turned back towards Bakkar, and remaining several days inactive for want of boats, at last by the help of two *zamīndārs* recovered two boats which Mirzā had sunk, and reached⁵ Bakkar. Mirzā, as a means of covering⁶ the shame he felt, before he came to pay his

439. respects,⁷ marched by forced marches against Mirzā Shāh Husain, and putting to death or taking captive large number of the people of Tatta, who in ignorance of his intentions had left their boats,⁸ did a good deal to repair⁹ his former defections. Then with shame and confusion he came and had an interview (with Humāyūn) and brought in countless heads of the enemy. His faults were overlooked, but in consequence of certain events which occurred, he again became rebellious, and being deceived by the wiles of Mirzā Shāh Husain, prepared for war. Mun'tim Khān who eventually became *Khān-i-Khānān* also meditated¹⁰ flight. Both of them, however, became¹¹ aware of the folly of their design, and realising its heinousness abandoned their iniquitous intention. The men of Humāyūn's force were day by day going over to the side¹² of Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir. In the meantime Maldeo, Rāja of the kingdom¹³ of Mārwār, who was distinguished above all the *zamīndārs* of Hindūstān on account of the strength of his following¹⁴ and his exceeding grandeur, again sent letters of summons. Humāyūn not thinking it advisable to remain¹⁵ any longer in the vicinity of Bakkar and Tatta, proceeded by way of Jaisalmir towards Mārwār. The Rāja of

بایاد شاه مخالفت ساخت

¹ MS. (A) reads بتمام.

² کدام علتي مستقبل بود از برای ویرانی لشکر

³ Thus the text: MS. (A) reads لشکر رسید

⁴ MS. (A) از سر قلعه.

⁵ MS. (A) (B) دفع.

⁶ Footnote variant بدفع.

⁷ MS. (B) reads تلاذی از کشتی یدر آمدہ بودند

⁸ MS. (B) reads مطلع شد.

⁹ MS. (B) reads اراده.

¹⁰ MS. (B) reads مطلع شد.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads جانب.

¹² MS. (A) (B) ملک.

¹³ Omit and read قوت جمعیت MSS. (A) (B).

¹⁴ MS. (A) omits خود after بودن.

Jaisalmir blocked the road by which his army was to pass, and fought a battle in which he was defeated. In that waterless desert Humāyūn's army suffered terrible distress, so much so that¹ around the wells blood was spilled in place of water among his followers, and most of them² from the violence of their thirst cast themselves into the well as though they had been buckets, till it became choked.

In this state of affairs Humāyūn quoted the following *matla'*, whoever is the author of it:—

Verse.

So many rents did the heavens make in the garments of the afflicted ones,

That neither could the hand find its sleeve, nor could the head find its opening.

From Jaisalmir proceeding by forced marches to Mārwār he sent Atka Khān to³ Mäldeo, and halted for several days in the vicinity⁴ of Jodhpūr, awaiting his arrival. Inasmuch as in those⁵ days, Nāgor had fallen into the hands of Sher Shāh, and⁶ had inspired Mäldeo with the utmost awe of the majesty and power of Humāyūn; accordingly Mäldeo, fearing the wrath of Sher Shāh,⁷ was afraid to obey that summons, and detaining Atka Khān by some trick, sent a large force under the pretence of welcoming him, with the intention of treacherously attacking Humāyūn and taking him prisoner.⁸ Atka Khān [becoming

440

¹ MS. (A) چنانکہ

² A footnote reads: بحدی کہ تشنہ لبان از فرط عطش خود را الخ To such a height (did their sufferings rise) that the thirsty-lipped ones from excess of hunger (cast) themselves (into the wells). MS. (B) has this reading omitting the word لبان.

³ MSS. (A) (B) نزد.

⁴ MS. (B) omits نواحی.

⁵ MS. (A) omits ین writing در ایام.

⁶ MS. (A) و.

⁷ A footnote variant to the text, agreeing with MS. (B) runs thus:

از خوف غذب شیر شاه ملاحظه نموده ازان طلب

This is the reading adopted: it seems preferable.

⁸ This is according to the text. A footnote variant (and MS. (B)) reads

بقصد غدر و مکر کمر عناد صحکم بسته بطلب پادشاه فوستاد

Sent...with treacherous design, and girding the loins of rebellion."

aware of their treachery from its outset]¹ returned without asking permission, and informed Humāyūn of the real state of affairs. He on the instant started with all haste for Amarkot. It so chanced that two of Mäldeo's spies had arrived at that same place, and Humāyūn gave orders for them both to be put to death. In their despair one drew a knife, and the other a dagger,² and fell upon (their enemies) like boars wounded by arrows, and killed³ a large number of living things,⁴ men, women and horses, whatever came in their way.⁵ Among the number was Humāyūn's charger : Humāyūn thereupon asked Tardi Beg for a few horses and camels,⁶ he however behaved meanly, and Humāyūn mounted a camel. After a while⁷ Nadim, his foster-brother,⁸ gave the horse which his mother was riding to the king, he himself going on foot in his mother's retinue through that bare desert, which was like an oven for heat.⁹ His mother afterwards rode on the camel, and they traversed that road¹⁰ which was so terribly difficult, amid constant¹¹ alarms of the attack of Mäldeo, [and with intense labour and distress].¹² In the middle of the night they reached a place of safety ; by chance the Hindūs of Mäldeo's army]¹³ pursuing them through the night, missed their

441.

¹ The words in brackets are not in MSS. (A) (B).

² Read کاریکی و خنجر دیگری کشیده. MS. (A).

³ هلاک ساختند و بقتل رسانیدند. MS. (A). This is the preferable reading.

⁴ Read معاندان for جانداران. MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ هرچه پیش می آمد. MS. (B) آید. MS. (A).

⁶ This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads شیر (sic).

Firishta says that Humāyūn's horse shewed signs of tiring, (ستی نمود) so that he asked Tardi Beg for a horse, who unkindly refused, and as every moment tidings kept arriving that Mäldeo's army was near at hand, Humāyūn had no alternative but to mount a camel (Bo. Text, p. 410.)

⁷ Text قاتمکه. MS. (A) omits. Firishta writes با گلکه whereupon.

⁸ Firishta writes نبیم کوکه خود.

⁹ Firishta gives a slightly different version of this: stating that Nadim himself went on foot and placed his mother on his own horse leading it, afterwards mounting her on a camel. (Bo. text loc cit).

¹⁰ MS. (A) را کن. MS. (B) reads روز.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit و هردم. ¹² Omit را after مشقت. MS. (A).

¹³ All this passage from بود to شاشب is omitted in MS. (B).

way,¹ and in the morning, in a narrow pass, came upon the rearguard of the army, who were two and twenty in number. Mun'im Khân and Roshan Beg² Koka, and another³ party of men who belonged to that side having arrived, a battle ensued. In the very first onset the leader of the Hindus went to hell from an arrow-wound, and a large number were killed. They could not withstand the attack, and many camels fell into the hands of the Muslims. This victory was the occasion of great rejoicing.⁴ Marching from thence and being without water,⁵ after three days they arrived at a halting-place, where, on account of its depth⁶ a drum had to be beaten at the mouth of the well, so that its sound might reach the place where the oxen for drawing the water were.⁷ For lack of water, a crowd of people in their distress were lost, and⁸ disappeared like water in that sandy plain, which was a very river of quicksand, while many horses and camels

¹ According to our author's account it seems as though Mâldoo's men lost their way, but Firîghta's account is as follows: "When the tidings of the approach of the infidels arrived Humâyûn ordered certain of his officers who were with him to follow him in close succession, while he himself started with a small party of not more than twenty-five; when night came on the officers lost their way and went in another direction; towards morning the ranks of the enemy's army became visible, and in accordance with (Humâyûn's) orders Shaikh 'Ali and the rest who were in all not more than twenty-five men repeated the creed, then turned and with stout heart gave battle. Fortunately the very first arrow struck the leader of the infidels in the breast, he fell headlong to the earth and the rest fled. The Muslims pursued them and captured many camels. Humâyûn returned thanks to God and alighted at a well which contained a little water where the Amirs who had lost their way came up."

² MS. (A) omits بیگ

³ MS. (A) omits دیگر

⁴ MS. (A) reads خوشقی

⁵ آب برداشتہ ⁶ آب برداشتہ is the reading of the text and both MSS. (A) (B) but it does not tally with Firîghta who writes "Marching thence, for three stages water was absolutely un procurable, and the people were in great distress, on the fourth day they reached a well, &c." Perhaps we should read آب برداشتہ. Putting up with the want of water.

⁷ MS. (A) omits آب.

⁸ The rope was so long that before the bucket reached the mouth of the well the oxen used to draw it up, had gone so far that the sound of a drum was necessary to warn their drivers that they must stop. MS. (A) reads دھلی also دلہ دلہ بود میومند گاو آبکش بود میومند.

⁹ MS. (B) omits و غائب

drinking water after their long and unaccustomed drouth, died¹ from surfeit of water. And inasmuch as that desert, like the midday mirage,² was as interminable as the troubles of the hapless wretches of the army, perforce they turned aside by a circuitous route³ towards Amarkot, which lies at a distance of a hundred *krohs* from Tatta. The governor of Amarkot, named Rānā, came out to meet them accompanied by his sons, and did all in his power⁴ to render fitting service.

Humāyūn bestowed⁵ all that he had in the treasury upon his followers, while to supply the party who had not yet arrived,⁶ he borrowed from Tardi Beg and others by way of assistance, and gave it them. He also made presents of money, and sword-belts⁷ to the sons of Rānā, who, for the reason that his father had been put to death by Mirzā Shāh Husain Arghān, collected a large force⁸ from the surrounding country,⁹ entered the service of Humāyūn, and leaving his baggage and camp equipage in¹¹ Amarkot under the care and protection of Khwāja Mu'zam, the brother of Begam,¹² he (Humāyūn) proceeded towards Bakkar.¹³

42. On Sunday, the fifth of the month Rajab, in the year 949 H. the auspicious birth of the Khalifah of the age Akbar Pādshāh occurred in a fortunate moment at Amarkot. Tardi Beg Khān conveyed this joyful tidings to Humāyūn at that halting-place, who after giving (the child) that auspicious name,¹⁴ proceeded

¹ MS. (A) هلاک گشندہ. ² MS. (A) reads سراب. ³ MS. (A) reads سیراب.

⁴ بل دید گان اردو. The calamity-stricken of the army.

⁵ رواه گوئندانید. I can see no other meaning for this expression.

⁶ حسب المقدور. MS. (B) reads حسب المقدر.

⁷ MS. (A) (B) فرمودند. ⁸ MS. (A) نرسید. ⁹ MS. (A) (B) omit *i.*

¹⁰ کمر خیچر. MS. (A). ¹¹ MS. (A) (B) omit *i.*

¹² از اطراف کرده اورده. MS. (B). The text is correct.

¹³ MS. (A) (B) در. ¹⁴ MS. (A) (B) omit پادشاه.

¹⁵ It was now that Akbar was born, according to Firishta, before Humāyūn left for Bakkar. See Bo. text, p. 411. Briggs, II. 95; but from our author's text it appears that Humāyūn had left Amarkot before his son was born, and only saw him at Chanl.

¹⁶ The text and both MSS. (A) (B) read فوجام ماندہ which is not capable of satisfactory interpretation. It is suggested that we should read ماندہ نیا instead of ماندہ.

with all haste towards Bakkar. At the camp of Chaul¹ he sent for the Prince of auspicious-mien, and was rejoiced by the well-omened sight of his son. His soldiers, in whose nature the craft of unfaithfulness was as firmly planted as is deceit in the nature of the times, were one by one, including even *Mun'im Khân*, deserting.² At this time *Bairâm Khân*³ came from Gujrât and tendered his allegiance. Considering it unadvisable to remain in that country *Humâyûn* determined to make for Qandahâr. *Mirzâ Shâh Husain* thinking this an opportunity not to be lost, in accordance with a requisition⁴ sent thirty boats and three hundred camels, and *Humâyûn* crossed the river Indus. At that time *Mirzâ Kâmrân*⁵ had taken Qandahâr⁶ from *Mirzâ Hindâl* and had left it in charge of *Mirzâ 'Askari*, and having given *Ghaznîn* to *Mirzâ Hindâl* had read the *Khuâbah* in his own name. After some time, however, he changed that also.⁷ *Mirzâ Hindâl* having given up all royal dignity in Kâbul used to live like a *durvegh*,⁸ and *Mirzâ Kâmrân* yielding to the instigation of *Mirzâ Shâh Husain* wrote to *Mirzâ 'Askari* saying, "Seize the road by which the Pâdshâh will proceed and take him prisoner in any way you can contrive." Accordingly when he arrived at the camp of *Shâl Mastâng*,⁹ *Mirzâ 'Askari*¹⁰ marched by forced marches from

چول¹ *Chaul* or *Chore*, a village situated on the route from Amarkot to Jaisalmir, eight miles north-east of the former place. See Thornton's *Gazetteer*, I. p. 143, and map. Lat. 25° 25' Long. 69° 51'. See also Keith Johnston's *Atlas*.

با منع خان نیز بگان یکان فراري نمودند². So also *Firîghtâ* who says "But after a short time the army began to scatter and nothing could be accomplished, *Mun'im Khân* also fled, &c."

³ See *Ain-i-Akbarî*, I. (B) 315, No. 10.

⁴ MS. (B) omits حسب.

⁶ MS. (B) omits میرزا کامران.

⁵ MS. (A) omits ب.

⁷ MS. (A) reads آنرا نیز تغیر نموده. MS. (B) reads آنرا تغیر نمودند.

⁸

⁹ The text reads شال مشانگ *Shâl Mâshâng*, but both MSS. (A) (B) read سال مسنان *Sâl Mâstân* منقول اوردو بود. *Firîghtâ* Bo. text, p. 411, line 10 reads سال و مسنان *Sâl Wahsanân*, which is probably a copyist's error for شال و مسنان *Shâl-o-Mâstân*. We should therefore read *Shâl-o-Mastâng*, understanding by it *Mustung* which lies S. S. W. of Quetta or *Shâl*, at a distance of about 25 miles. See Thornton's *Gazetteer*, II. pp. 68 and 188. The distance from Qandahâr to *Shâl* is about 150 miles.

¹⁰ A footnote variant reads میرزا هندل *Mirzâ Hindâl*. Not in MS. (A) or (B).

Qandahār and sent Chūlī¹ Bahādur Uzbaki to reconnoitre.² He however, went straight off and informed Bairām Khān, whose camp he reached at midnight, and Bairām Khān went with all
443. haste behind the royal tent and represented the state of affairs. Accordingly he gave up all idea of Qandahār and Kābul, and in opposition to his brothers, uttering the formula³ of separation, took the road to Irāq, accompanied by twenty-two men, among whom were Bairām Khān and Khwāja Mu'azzam. These two he sent to bring the Queen-consort and the young prince, asking Tardi Beg for the loan of a few horses, who, however, again branding himself⁴ with the stigma of meanness and disgrace, refused to comply with this request, and further declined to accompany him. Humāyūn left the young Prince, who was an infant of only one year, in the camp under the charge⁵ of Atkah Khān⁶ on account of the great heat and the scarcity of water along his route, but took the Queen-consort⁷ with him and journeyed by way of Sistān.

Mirzā 'Askarī just then arrived at the royal camp,⁸ and alighting and tearing the veil of humanity from the face of modesty, set about appropriating the valuables. He also placed Tardi Beg⁹ in rigorous confinement, and carried off the young

¹ Footnote variant جوکی Jūkī.

² MSS. (A) (B) فرستاده. MS. (B) omits گبری.

³ MS. (A) omits کلمة. See Qur'ān xviii. 77.

⁴ MS. (B) reads کشیده for کشوده.

⁵ اتابکی atabakī. The word atabak or atabek is a Turkī word signifying "grand-père, précepteur, instituteur du fils des Sultāns." (Pavet de Courteille),

⁶ Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgah Khān. See Āin-i-Akbarī I. (Bl.) 321. No. 15, where we learn that it was he who assisted Humāyūn to escape drowning after the defeat of Qanauj. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (*anāgah*) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Anāgah."

The word لی anā means a mother in Turkī, while لی anākah or اناکه anākah means a nurse, as لی atā means a father; the word لی atākah would mean foster father, and this is probably the name given to Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, not Atgah or Atka.

⁷ MS. (B) omits پادشاه after بیکم. MSS. (A) (B) read بودنه for گرفته.

⁸ دیوان خاندان عالی Dīwān Khāna-i-'Alī.

⁹ The words حکم do not seem to convey any definite meaning, we should perhaps read بِحِلْمٍ be-hilm.

Prince¹ to Qandahār, and handed him over to Sultān Begam, his own wife, with injunctions to take every care for his kind treatment and protection.² In that journey important events took place,³ which, although they were fully and elaborately detailed in the original,⁴ do not admit of relation in this place; and must be rapidly passed over as he did that long stretch of road. These events took place in the year 950 H. (1543 A.D.). In short, leaving Sistān and journeying to the city of Khurāsān, he had an interview with Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā, the elder son of Shāh Tahmasp, who held the rule of that country under the tutelage⁵ of Muḥammad Khān Taklū,⁶ and receiving all the necessaries of royalty, and requisites for his journey,⁷ with all honour and ceremony reached the sacred city of Mashhad (Meshed); and at each successive stage, by order of the Shāh, the governors of the provinces hastened to welcome him, and made all preparations for entertaining him and shewing him hospitality, escorting him from stage to stage. Bairām Khān proceeded to do homage to the Shāh, and brought with him thence a letter congratulating Humāyūn upon his arrival. The two monarchs met at Pulāq-Suriq⁸ and exchanged the customary honours and courtesies.

In the course of conversation the Shāh asked what had led to his defeat; Humāyūn incantiously⁹ replied ‘The opposition of my brothers.’ Bahrām Mirzā, the brother of the Shāh, who was

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit طا.

² Omit و MS. (A) (B).

³ در روى داد MS. (A).

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) در نسخه اصل. That is to say, in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See Elliot and Dowson, V. 217, et seqq.

⁵ اتالیقی Atāliqī. The termination *liq*, *līgh*, *lūq*, or *lūgh*, indicates either relationship, as in this instance; an abstraction, as in چو قلوق chūqlūq, abundance; or possession. See Pavet de Courteille s. v.

The word *patronage* would more etymologically represent *atāliqī*, but in modern usage this word has become perverted from its true sense.

⁶ Called by Nizāmu-d-Din, Ahmad Muḥammad Khān Sharfu-d-Dīn Ughlī Taklū (E. and D., v. 217). The word *Taklū* means “eau qui coule d'une vallée et des flancs d'une montagne; lieux humides et verdoyants” (P. de C.).

⁷ MS. (B) reads دیده و ما بحاج سلطنت گرفته This reading is also given as a variant in a footnote to the text.

⁸ The text has تپلاق سورق (Sic) *Talāq Sūrq*, but both MSS. (A) (B) read پلاق سورق *Pulāq Sūriq*.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) omit the article, reading خالي ذهن.

444.

present, was grieved at this speech, and from that day¹ forth sowed the seeds of enmity against Humāyūn in his heart, and set himself to overthrow his enterprise, [nay more to overthrow Humāyūn himself as well],² and impressed upon Shāh Tahmasp, saying, "This is the son of that self-same father who taking so many thousand Qizilbāsh soldiers to reinforce his army, caused them to be trampled under foot by the Ōzbaks, so that not one of them escaped alive."³ This was a reference⁴ to that affair in which Bābar Pādshāh took Najm-i-Awwal from Shāh Isma'il⁵ with seventeen thousand Qizilbāsh cavalry,⁶ and led them as an auxiliary force against the Ōzbaks, and at the time of the siege of the fortress of Nakhs̬hab, otherwise known as Kash,⁷ (?) wrote the following verse upon an arrow and discharged it into the fort:

Verse.

I made Najm Shāh to turn the Ōzbaks from their path,
If I did wrong, (at any rate) I cleared (my own) path.

The following day when the two armies met⁸ he withdrew⁹ to one side, and the Qizilbāsh troops met with the treatment which was in store for them; that circumstance¹⁰ is notorious.

However, to return from this digression, Sultān Begam¹¹ the sister of the Shāh, whom he regarded as an adviser equal to the

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read از ان روز باز.

² MS. (B) omits the words in brackets. MS. (A) reads ممایع ساختن cf. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Elliot, v. 218.

³ MSS. (A) (B) بدر نیمامد.

⁴ The text is correct تلمیح MS. (A) reads یلمخ.

⁵ In the Memoirs of Bāber, (Erskine, p. 243), he is called Nijim Sani Isfahāni. (Najam-i-Sāni Isfahāni).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit سوار.

For an account of this see Erskine (Memoirs of Bāber), pp. 242, 243.

⁷ MS. (A) reads کس kas (?).

⁸ نخسب Nakhs̬hab. "In Mawarān-u-nahr between the Jaihūn and Samār-qand, but not lying on the road to Bokhārā, is kept on the left in journeying from Bokhārā to Samārqand, also called Nasaf, situated three stages from Samārqand." See Yāqūt, s. v.v. نخشب and نصف. In Bokhārā, see Kesh (Keith Johnston's Atlas), or Shehr-i-Sabz.

⁹ MS. (B) reads تلafi for التقى.

⁹ MS. (A) كشیده.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) قصيبة. Text reads قص.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads سلطانیم Sultānam. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

promised Mahdi,¹ (who in the belief of the Shi'ahs lies concealed in a subterranean dwelling in the city of Sāmirah, otherwise known by the name of Surra-man-rā'², and when necessity arises will emerge from thence and inaugurate an era of equity), and with whose opinion and advice all the affairs³ of State were bound up,⁴ dissuaded him from that mistaken step,⁵ and by the use of rational argument brought him back⁶ to an attitude of kindness and manhood, and induced him to help and assist. His Majesty (Humāyūn) wrote a *ruba'i* (quatrain) of which the following is the last verse.⁷

445.

Verse.

All kings desire the shadow of the Humā,⁸

Behold ! the Humā has sought thy shadow.

On a certain occasion he interpolated this verse into a fragment from Salmān,⁹ and sent it to the Shāh.

¹ The promised Mahdī, or Leader who is to appear before the Resurrection. See *Mīshkātū-l-Maṣābiḥ*, xxiii. also Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, 305.

² Sāmarrā', in 'Irāq. Founded by Al Mu'tasim b'Illāh eighth Khalifah of the house of Abbās. See *History of the Caliphs* (Jarrett), p. 350.

Its name was changed by Al Mu'tasim for the sake of good augury into Surra-man-rā' meaning "Who sees it rejoices." Sāmarrā' was at one time the capital of the Caliphate, but became once more merely a provincial town when the seat of government was removed to Baghdaḍ, remaining however a place of pilgrimage to the Shi'a Muslims, for here were to be seen the tombs of two of their Imāms, also the Mosque with the underground chamber, from which the promised Mahdī, Al-Qāim is to appear. See J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 36, for the article from which this note is abridged, a translation from the Arabic of Ibn Serapion, by Mr. Le Strange.

³ MS. (A) مهمات.

⁴ MS. (B) omits بود.

⁵ Text ازان وادي گردانید. MS. (A) reads گراندند. (?)

⁶ MS. (A) اورد.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) بیت آخرين این است.

⁸ همای Humā, see p. 57 of this work, and note 2.

There is an allusion here to the name Humāyūn in its etymological sense of relation to the Humā or bird of royal augury.

⁹ Read قطعه سلمان را. MS. (A).

Salmān Sāwājī. Jamālu-d-Dīn, a native of Sāwah. Shaikh 'Alāu-d-Daulah of Samnān said, "I have never seen in all the world the equal of the verses of Salmān or the pomegranates of Samnān." He died in the year 669 H. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā*, II. 19. See Beale O. B. D., p. 235, where Salmān is said to have died in 779 A.H. See also H. K. 8946 *Firāqnāma*. The date of his death given in the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā* must be incorrect, as Salmān was the panegyrist of Amīr Shaikh Hasan and of his son Sulṭān Awais Jalāyer the latter of whom died in 776 A.H. See Āin-i-Akbarī, I. (B) 100 n. 6.

Verse.

I hope that the Shāh will out of kindness treat me,
As ‘Ali treated Salmān in the desert of Arzhan.¹

The Shāh was extremely pleased, and after innumerable banquets and associations in travelling, and hunting expeditions,² arranged all preparations on a scale of regal magnificence in Humāyūn's honour, and took much trouble in giving his assent to the religious tenets of the Shī‘ahs, and to that which the later writers of that persuasion say regarding the blessed companions of Muḥammad, *may God be pleased with them*, and Humāyūn after³ much ado said “Bring them written upon a sheet of paper.” Accordingly they wrote down all their religious beliefs, and Humāyūn read them with a view to copying them, and gave precedence⁴ in the Khuṭbah, after the custom of ‘Irāq, to the recital of the twelve Imāms.⁵ Shāh Murād, the son of the Shāh, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand⁶ cavalry under the command⁷ of Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār,⁸ was nominated⁹ to reinforce Humāyūn, and it was determined that the Qizilbāsh should march

¹ One day Salmān was in the desert of Arzhan which is between Bushire and Shirāz and swarms with lions. Suddenly a lion confronted him, and in his helplessness he called upon ‘Ali for aid who appeared and drove away the lion. There is a spot known to this day as the *Muqām-i-Salmān*. He is buried at Madām. See *Isābāh*, II. p. 224. Salmān Abū ‘Abdi-llah al Fürsi, called in Persian Rūzbih.

MS. (A) reads instead of the first line given in the text

هست آمید آنکه لطف با ما آن کند. MS. (B) reads أَصْبَحَ وَارِمَ.

² Omit ترتیب داد و and read بعدها و المتبقي.

³ Read here نقل نمودند for قبل نمودند. MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ The Shī‘ahs apply the term *Imām* to the twelve leaders of their sect whom they call the true Imāms. They are on this account called the *Imāmiyah* and the *Isnā Asharīyah*. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, 203 and 572.

⁵ MS. (B) reads دوازده هزار 12,000.

⁶ Bidāgh Khān was according to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* the Prince's tutor. Hence apparently the use of this word.

⁷ See *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī* (Elias and Ross), p. 214 n. Afshār is the name of one of the seven Turki tribes who had been the chief supporters of Shāh Ismail, and whom he distinguished by a particular dress, including the red cap from which the Qizilbāsh derive their name.

⁸ MS. (A) و شد نامزد.

by one route and Humāyūn by another,¹ and that Humāyūn should, after gaining the victory, hand over Qandahār to Shāh Murād. Taking leave, and marching rapidly through Ardabil and Tabriz, (Humāyūn) again went to Mashhad the holy city,² and succeeded in visiting the shrine of the fountain-head of light.³

At the time when one night he was walking alone in that sacred enclosure, one of the pilgrims said in a low voice⁴ to his fellow, "This is not Humāyūn Pādshāh."⁵ The other replied "Yes it is." Then coming close, he said in the ear of Humāyūn "So! you are again laying claim to omnipotence!" This was a reference to the circumstance that Humāyūn used generally in Bangāla to cast⁶ a veil over his crown, and when he removed it⁷ the people used to say, Light has shined forth! He also washed his sword in the river and said⁸ "Upon whom shall I gird the sword?" When he arrived at Āgra he imposed upon the populace a new self-invented form of salutation, and wished them to kiss the ground (before him). At last Mir Abūl Baqā with the Amirs and Vazirs paid the due respects, and the Amirs of the Qizilbāsh coming (by another road)⁹ arrived at Garmisir and took possession of the whole of that territory, and had encamped within view¹⁰ of Qandahār, when¹¹ after five days Humāyūn arrived, and Mīrzā 'Askarī was besieged, and for three months continuously¹² fighting was kept up, and a large number were daily killed on both sides. Thereupon Bairām Khān was sent to Kābul as an ambassador to

¹ MS. (A) reads تواریخ افغانستان میں مذکور ہے کہ پادشاہ قندھار را گزارنے۔ It was settled that Humāyūn should hand over Qandahār (to Shāh Murād).

MS. (A) omits مراد.

² MS. (A) inserts مقدس.

³ At Mashhad (Meshed) is the tomb of 'Alī, son of Mūsa ar-Rezā. See Meynard Dict. de la Perse, p. 396 s. v. طویل. See also Āin-i-Akbarī, (J.) III. 86. Firishṭa reads (Bo. Text, p. 212).

منوجہ مشهد مقدس امام علیہ الاف التحیۃ.

⁴ Insert آهستہ after دیگری instead of after زیران MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ MS. (A) reads این سمت for نیست.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) می انداختند Read برمی داشتند MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ Supply کے. MSS. (A) (B). ⁸ از راه دیگر MS. (A).

¹⁰ MS. (B) reads در ظاهرو and ساختند. ¹¹ Omit اثنا درین MS. (A).

¹² Insert پیاپی after نامہ ملا. MSS. (A) (B).

Mirzā¹ [Kāmrān in whose behalf Mirzā 'Askari was fighting and Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā] Suleimān Badakhshī and Mirzā Yadgār Nāsir² who had arrived from Bakkar in a wretched plight;³ and [since]⁴ the idea of the Qizilbāsh was that no sooner would Humāyūn arrive than the Chaghatai would submit to him⁵ and would all come in.⁶ This, however, did not happen, and the siege became very protracted, and a large⁷ number were killed. It was also currently reported that Mirzā Kāmrān was coming to the assistance of Mirzā 'Askari, they accordingly lost heart and meditated a return to their own country.⁸ It so happened that just at that very time certain Amirs deserted from Mirzā Kāmrān, namely, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Mirzā Husain Khān with other noted commanders, and offered their services to Humāyūn.⁹ Mu'yad Beg, who was a prisoner in the fortress of 447. Qandahār, escaped⁹ from the fort and had an interview with him, meeting with very kind treatment. Mirzā 'Askari in his alarm, sued for quarter, and joined¹⁰ the ranks of Humāyūn's followers; his faults were pardoned and he was distinguished by especial marks of favour.

¹ The words within brackets occur in both MSS. (A) (B) which read

میرزا کامران که میرزا عسکری از جانب او مخاربه

می کرد فرستادند و میرزا هندال و میرزا سلیمان انج

This also tallies with the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See Elliot and Dowson, V. 219.

² MS. (A) reads ہنڈل but it seems to be in error.

³ Omit فرستاد in this place, MS (A). ⁴ MS. (A) omits چون.

⁵ ایل شدن - چغتیہ ایل خواهند شد. ⁶ *Il shudan*. To become submissive.

See Pavet de Courteille, s. v. ایل.

⁷ Read here. وهمه خواهند در آمد MSS. (A) (B). The word seems unnecessary and tautological; possibly it is an interpolation by a scribe who failed to understand the word ایل *il*, taking it in its ordinary sense of "tribe."

Regarding the Chaghatai, see *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī*, (Elias and Ross, pp. 2, 3.)

⁸ MS. (A) omits می before خواستند and reads

گھ بدلار خود مراجعت نمایند.

⁹ The text read پایان آمدہ having come down. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says "managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope." E. and D. loc cit.

¹⁰ MS. (A) شدن.

Verse.

There's a sweetness in forgiveness which there is not in revenge.

He also ordered the Amirs of Qizilbāsh that for the space of three days they should abstain from interference with the families of the Chaghtā tribe,¹ and the inhabitants of the city, so as² to allow of their all coming out; and although Humāyūn had no territory in his possession, yet on account of the promise which had gone forth he brought Bidāgh Khān and Mirzā Murād into the fort and made over the whole of that country to them.

Verse.

If a man fulfils the obligation of his promise
That man rises superior to any estimate you may form of
him.

With the exception of Bidāgh Khān and two or three other Amirs,³ no one remained in the service of Mirzā Murād, while the remaining Amirs of the auxiliaries, all returned to 'Irāq.

Humāyūn was induced by the coming on of the winter winds, to ask Bidāgh Khān to provide shelter for the followers of his army within the walls of the city, but that inhuman being invariably sent strangely rough answers.⁴ On this account some of the Chaghatai Amirs began⁵ to take to flight towards Kābul; among them was Mirzā 'Askarī, who was seized in the way and brought to Humāyūn, who imprisoned him. Many stirring events⁶ happened in those days, which⁷ led to the delivery of Qandahār from the hands of the Qizilbāsh. First among these was this, that the Chaghatai Amirs urged upon Humāyūn the necessity of seizing Qandahār, on account of the coldness of the weather, saying

¹ الْرَّسُوْلُ چِغْتَأْ *Ulüs-i-Chaghtā*. The word *Ulüs* is a Turkish word, it is not found in Redhouse's dictionary. In Fazlu-llah Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary its meaning is given as قبیلهٗ بزرگ *qabilâ-i-buzurg*, a large tribe.

The title of *Ulüsbegi* "chief of the tribe" was a very old one among the Mughuls. See *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross), p. 132 n. 1.

² MS. (A) reads wrongly ل for ل.

³ Bidāgh Khān, "Abūl-Fath Sultān Afshār, and Shūfi Wali Sultān Kadāmū." *Tabaqat-i-Akkari* E. and D., v. 221.

⁴ Read سخنار نادر MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ MS. (B) reads کردند.

⁶ MS. (A) reads از قضایا چند.

The text is correct.

⁷ Omit بعضی MS. (A).

that after the conquest of Kābul and Badakshān he ought¹ to bestow the greater portion of that place again upon the Qizilbāsh as compensation, so that due requital might be made them.

Secondly, the passing of Mirzā Murād on that very day,² by a natural death, from the world of existence and trouble.

Thirdly, the tyranny and oppression inflicted by Qizilbāsh *canaille* on³ the inhabitants of the city, and their preventing the Chaghatai from entering the fōrt, upon any pretext whatever.⁴

Fourthly, this incident, that a fierce⁵ *Tabarrā*, in accordance with

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit باید but it seems to be necessary.

² MS. (A) inserts قرارداد روز after "the very day of the agreement."

³ Omit نسبت MS. (B). ⁴ MS. (B) omits مطلقاً.

⁵ MS. (A) reads تبری تندی. The word here seems to mean one who is anathema, i. e., a Sunnī.

The following long note is necessary as no book I can find explains the word تبری *Tabarrā*. This word means enmity (as opposed to تولا *Tawallā*, affection) and is a technical term in use among the Shī'ahs. In defining *tabarrā* a distinction is to be made between مخالفت *mukhālafat* opposition, and عداوت 'adāwat enmity, the former not necessarily involving the latter, for instance two men may be in opposition (*mukhālafat*) on worldly matters, and yet be in thorough amity (*maḥabbat*) in matters of faith, or may be opposed to one another in questions of philosophy and yet be unanimous in religious questions. Thus enmity includes opposition, but opposition does not necessarily imply enmity. And yet it is held that محبت *maḥabbat*, affection, and عداوت 'adāwat enmity may occasionally co-exist: for the reason that عداوت 'adāwat is of two kinds, *religious*, as for instance the 'adāwat of Muslims and Infidels, who regard each other as enemies on the ground of the fundamental differences in their faith: and, *worldly*, as the 'adāwat between one Muslim and his fellow Muslim on account of some conflict of worldly interests. Thus it is conceivable that 'adāwat and *maḥabbat* may co-exist. Or again one Muslim may have an affection for another Muslim *qua* Muslim, but entertain a hatred for him as an adulterer, while he may love even a kāfir (Non-Muslim) for his good works such as alms, &c., while he hates him as an Infidel: his love being merely of a worldly nature in no way connected with religion.

The co-existence of 'adāwat and *maḥabbat* in one person due to one consideration is however impossible.

Again, the 'adāwat which true believers entertain against each other on account of worldly considerations is not injurious to the faith, however reprehensible it may be.

Moreover, the essential origin of 'adāwat in religious matters is *kufr* (infidelity), therefore one must consider every *kāfir* as an enemy: thus although there may be lawful ties of worldly affection (*maḥabbat*) between a

Muslim and a Kāfir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood or other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations must be cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and 'adāwat must be based upon their *kufr*. Again religious affection is centred in *īmān* (faith of Islām), we must therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

Mahabbat and 'adāwat between a true believer and an unbeliever (Kāfir) has different degrees, just as there are differences of degree in the love which any reasonable being entertains for his different relations. So also in religious love there are degrees The highest is that for the Prophet Muḥammad, next to this love for the assembly of believers who have close connection and intimate relation to the Prophet; and that assembly is confined to three parties: First, the children and relations of the Prophet who are his members, secondly, his pure spouses who are in a way his members, thirdly, his companions who elected to serve him and gave their lives for his cause.

If among the believers there be any devoid of faith (*īmān*), or guilty of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'ān become worthy of 'adāwat (واجب العداوة) they are excepted (from the rights of *mahabbat*) and enquiry should be made into their faith or absence of faith. Inasmuch as فسق *fisq* (immorality) does not necessarily exclude إيمان *īmān* (faith), it is not lawful to curse such an one, nor to display تبرأ *tabarrā* against him, but rather to pray for his pardon; as long as he retains *īmān* it is lawful to entertain *mahabbat* for him, and 'adāwat on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as *tabarrā* and سب *sabb* (reviling) are only justifiable when *mahabbat* for a person no longer remains, which is restricted to death in infidelity.

Now we must consider the words of the Shī'ah divines who consider opposition to and contention regarding the *Khilāfat* of 'Ali as *kufr*, according to the words of Khwāja Naṣir Tūsi " *Mukhalifuhu fasanah wa muhāribuhu kafarah.*" "Those who oppose him are immoral and those who fight against him are infidels."

Accordingly a section who have contented themselves with opposition are not deserving of *tabarrā*, because their extreme fault is *fisq* (immorality) and the *fāsiq* (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the *Tuhfa-i-Īmān 'aghāriyyah* of Shī'ah 'Abdu-l-Āzīz of Dihli.

The gist of the matter appears to be this that *Tabarrā* is not justifiable for immorality, but only for infidelity. It seems therefore to take the place in Muslim Theology of the ḥarābātū of the Christian Code. It is more than excommunication, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of *tabarrā* which thus implies final separation and curse.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet would be held to be less of إيمان (*īmān*) and hence to render the reviler liable to تبرأ *tabarrā* provided he died in that state. As the person referred to in the story was killed by Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir he is called تبرائی *tabarrā* accursed.

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRĪKH

BY

‘ABDU-L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADĀONI.

VOLUME I.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

AND EDITED BY

GEORGE S. A. RANKING, M.D. (CANTAB.), M.R.A.S.

SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

Secretary to the Board of Examiners, Fort William,

Fellow of the Calcutta University.

Printed for the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

CALCUTTA :

BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.

1898.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IN presenting this translation of the first volume of Badaoni's *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh* (Selections from Histories) I cannot but be conscious of its many defects.

No one who has not attempted to translate from Persian into English can form the slightest idea of the special difficulties of the task.

The inherent differences of idiom in the two languages, the rich expansiveness of the one, and the rigid inflexibility of the other, render the attempt to fitly represent the glowing colours of Persian in the dull monotone of modern English, all but hopeless. It has been said that the test of a translation is not its literalness but its truth: that is to say, not its fidelity to the author's expression, but its response to his inspiration. It must not merely reproduce the letter, it must embody the spirit of the original composition.

How great is the demand thus made upon the translator must be evident to anyone who is acquainted with both Persian and English: and the difficulties which appear so formidable in prose translation, become insurmountable in the case of poetry.

The various metres of Persian poetry are so entirely characteristic and essential in their nature, that it has appeared to me futile, if not impertinent, to attempt similar metrical renderings in English.

Even where it is possible to reproduce by conjunction of English words, the rhythm and accent of any Persian metre, such a composition no more recalls the original, than does the skeleton of the anatomical museum summon up the living and breathing animal.

For this reason, the poetical portions of Badaoni's work have, in the present translation, almost without exception

been rendered, not in verse but in prose, thus preserving the substance while sacrificing the form, as the transparent cube of salt may be crushed so as to be unrecognisable by its crystalline form, but still retains its chemical composition. To render poetry satisfactorily a translator must be both linguist and poet; if he be only a linguist he should not tamper with the finished work of the poet; he can, at best, only hope to outline the subject, leaving the colour-scheme untouched.

I am aware that a high authority* has expressed himself in favour of the translation of Persian poetry into English verse, but the qualifications which shall render a translator competent to undertake such a task must fall to the lot of very few.

With this full knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered, the present translation was undertaken, and it is presented in the confidence that those who are the best judges of the nature of the task will be the first to make allowances for defects in its performance.

قدر زر زرگر شفاسد قدر جوهر جوهري

CALCUTTA : } GEORGE RANKING.
July 18th, 1898. }

For a life of Bādāoni reference should be made to page 117 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. III, 1869, where an excellent biography will be found written by the late Professor Blochmann.

The sources from which this translation has been made are the following:—

1. The “*Muntakhab Al-Tawārikh*,” edited by Maulavī Ahmad Ali, printed at the College Press, Calcutta, 1868, and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, referred to in the translation as the Text.

* Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., “on Translations from and into Persian.” *Transactions of Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, 1892.

2. Manuscript No. 1592 of the Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh of 'Abdu-l-Qādir Mu'lūk Shāh Badaoni, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Written by one Muhammad Saiyyid (?), in the year 1255 H. (1839 A.D.). This is referred to in the translation as MS. (A).

3. Manuscript No. A. 44, also from the above library. This is referred to in the translation as MS. (B). The transcriber of this Manuscript is one Muhammad Nāzim. It bears no date.

The printed text has been carefully collated with these two manuscripts, and all variant readings noted.



Muslim and a Kâfir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations must be cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and 'adâwat must be based upon their *kufr*. Again religious affection is centred in *imân* (faith of Islâm), we must therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

Mahabbat and 'adâwat between a true believer and an unbeliever (Kâfir) has different degrees, just as there are differences of degree in the love which any reasonable being entertains for his different relations. So also in religious love there are degrees The highest is that for the Prophet Muhammad, next to this love for the assembly of believers who have close connection and intimate relation to the Prophet; and that assembly is confined to three parties: First, the children and relations of the Prophet who are his members; secondly, his pure spouses who are in a way his members; thirdly, his companions who elected to serve him and gave their lives for his cause.

If among the believers there be any devoid of faith (*imân*), or guilty of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'ân become worthy of 'adâwat (واجب العداوت) they are excepted (from the rights of *mâhabbat*) and enquiry should be made into their faith or absence of faith. Inasmuch as فسق *fasq* (immorality) does not necessarily exclude إيمان *Imân* (faith), it is not lawful to curse such an one, nor to display تبرأ *tabarrâ* against him, but rather to pray for his pardon; as long as he retains *Imân* it is lawful to entertain صحبت *mâhabbat* for him, and 'adâwat on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as *tabarrâ* and سب *sabîl* (reviling) are only justifiable when *mâhabbat* for a person no longer remains, which is restricted to death in infidelity.

Now we must consider the words of the Shâ'âir divines who consider opposition to and contention regarding the Khilâfat of 'Ali as *kufr*, according to the words of Khwâja Naâîr Tûsî "Mukhalifuhu fasaqah wa muhâribuhu kafarah." "Those who oppose him are immoral and those who fight against him are infidels."

Accordingly a section who have contented themselves with opposition are not deserving of *tabarrâ*, because their extreme fault is *fasq* (immorality) and the *fâsiq* (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the *Tuhfa-i-Îsnâ 'âshariyah* of Shâh 'Abdu-l-'Azîz of Dihlî.

The gist of the matter appears to be this that *Tabarrâ* is not justifiable for immorality, but only for infidelity. It seems therefore to take the place in Muslim Theology of the ἀνάθεμα of the Christian Code. It is more than excommunication, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of *tabarrâ* which thus implies final separation and curse.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet would be held to be loss of إيمان (*Imân*) and hence to render the reviler liable to تبرأ *tabarrâ* provided he died in that state. As the person referred to in the story was killed by Mirzâ Yâdgâr Nâîir he is called تبرائی *tabarrâi* accursed.

their notoriously brutal manner, in the presence of Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā¹ [who had fled in concert with Hindāl Mirzā from Kāmrān Mirzā] and come thither, uttered foul² and improper abuse against the companions of the Prophet,³ *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, and may God be pleased with them*; Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir could not endure this, and struck him such a blow with an arrow which he had in his hand that the arrow penetrated his chest up to the wing, and passing through him struck the ground.⁴ Hājī Muḥammad Khān Kūki with two servants first of all entered the fortress of Qandahār together with a train of camels laden (with supplies), and put the guards to the sword; a second party following him, came up, Mirzā Ulugh Beg and Bāirām Khān were of that number.⁵ The Qizilbāsh were astounded,⁶ and utterly confounded,⁷ and the proverb was exemplified,⁸ “Qāzi, I am an old woman,⁹ and if you don't believe me, I can scream just like one, listen!” Their haughtiness was humbled, and Humāyūn¹⁰ entering the fort¹¹ allowed Bidāgh Khān, who had come to him¹² in trepidation and anxiety, to proceed towards ‘Irāq. Notwithstanding this, all the inhabitants of the city, who were heartily sick of them, killed the Qizilbāsh in every street. After he had settled Qandahār to his satisfaction,¹³ he made over charge of that district to Bairām Khān and determined to attempt the conquest of Kābul. Mirzā Kāmrān also came out to meet him with the intention¹⁴ of fighting. Every day one or two¹⁵ of his noted Amirs deserted and joined the army of Humāyūn. In very truth the greater

¹ MS. (B) omits the portion in brackets.

² MS. (A) omits فاحشی. ⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omit اللہ آزاد بیفتاد وسید.

⁴ MS. (A) reads از اور بزیعین وسید. MS. (B) reads آزاد بیفتاد وسید.

⁶ ازان جماعت ازان جملہ

⁶ Omit و MSS. (A) (B). ⁷ Literally, lost their hands and feet.

⁸ بکار آمد MSS. (A) (B).

⁹ The text reads قور بقاہ ام قور بقاہ ام a footnote gives two variants قازی من قوز بقاہ and قاری من قور بقاہ ام. The latter is the reading of MS. (A). I read for بقاہ qurbāqa, the word *qurtaghā*, which is Turkī for ‘an old woman.’ See Pavet de Courteille.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits پادشاه

¹¹ MS. (B) insert دید کے مدد after مدد

¹² MS. (A) omits و دید

¹³ MS. (B) omits خاطر

¹⁴ MS. (B) تعزیمت جنگ باستقبال برآمدہ

¹⁵ MS. (A) یک دواز

part of the inhabitants of the world¹ are like a flock of sheep, wherever one goes, the others immediately follow.² Mirzā 44 Kāmrān, losing the clue of all independent action, availed himself of the services of the *Shaikhs* and ‘Ulamā to sue for pardon. Humāyūn, upon condition of personal submission, effaced the record of his transgressions from the page of his mind with the water of forgiveness. Mirzā, in accordance with the saying “*The traitor is a coward,*”³ would not consent to an interview, and took refuge in the citadel of Kābul, where he entrenched himself, and fled thence in the dead of night to Ghaznī. The whole of his army⁴ came over to the camp of Humāyūn, who appointed Mirzā Hindāl to pursue him, and came himself to Kābul, and the hidden meaning of the sacred word “*Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur’ān for thee will restore thee to thy returning place*”⁵ was revealed, and he refreshed to the full his eyes with the sight of the noble Prince his son. This victory was gained on the tenth of the month of Ramazān the blessed,⁶ in the year 952 H. (A.D. 1545),⁷ and the following hemistich was written as a record of the date:—

*Be jang girift mulk-i-Kābul az wai.*⁸

“He took the kingdom of Kābul from him without fighting.” And inasmuch as others are responsible for the relation of these events, and the compiler of this *Muntakhab* has only adapted his record from them, now however much he may desire to epitomise,⁹

¹ MS. (A) مردم عالم ; MS. (B) omits حکم عالم

² MS. (B) می اورندہ

³ Al-khāinu khāif. MS. (B) reads الخاین و الخایف خنیف

⁴ MS. (A) reads سپاهیانش

⁵ Qur’ān xxviii. 85. ⁶ MS. (A) omits المبارک.

⁷ The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Elliot and Dowson, v. p. 222) says: “The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramazān, 952 H. when the Prince was four years, two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952: but God knows the truth.” A footnote (I, page 223) states that the *Akbar-nāma* (vol. I. p. 823) makes the date 12th Ramazān, 952.

⁸ بی جنگ گرفت ملک کابل ازی. These words give 952 H. Firīghta also gives this same hemistich. (Bo. text, p. 448).

⁹ که طناب اطناب را کشیده دارد. Lit. to draw tight the tent cords of prolixity. MSS. (A) (B) omit را ; MS. (B) reads سخن for اطناب.

the thread of his discourse¹ has involuntarily become lengthened (in accordance with the saying). *Narration has many bye-paths.*¹

To make a long story short when Mirzā Kāmrān proceeded to Ghaznī and was unable to enter it,² he departed towards Bakkar, and Mirzā Shāh Husain, who had given him his daughter (in marriage), came forward to assist him.

450. Humāyūn put to death Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir who was meditating flight, and proceeded with the intention of conquering Badakhshān. Suleimān Mirzā gave him battle, and was defeated, and Kāmrān Mirzā coming up in Humāyūn's absence took possession of Kābul, placing guards over the ladies³ of high degree, and over the young Prince.

Humāyūn, after relieving Mirzā Hindāl of the government of Badakhshān, wrote a patent conferring it upon Mirzā Suleimān, and making over⁴ the government of that country to him returned with all speed to Kābul. Mirzā Kāmrān, after the defeat of his forces, remained entrenched in Kābul, and when he found himself in straits, out of sheer cruelty several times gave orders for the young Prince to be placed upon the ramparts of the fort within range of both artillery and musketry fire, but Māham Ānka⁵ made her own body a shield for him against the arrows of calamity.

Verse.

If the sword of the world leaps from its sheath,
It can sever no vessel till God permits.

¹ MS. (A) omits بى اخچيار سخن MS. (B) omits رشقة سخن.

The proverb is الحدیث ذو شجون Al-hadīth zu-shujūn, and is used to express one story reminding the narrator of another, see *Arabum Proverbia*, Freytag, I. p. 350, n. 29.

The text reads wrongly الحدیث شجون and a footnote calls attention to the correct reading. MS. (B) reads شبغون.

² MS. (A) و در آنجا.

³ بى حضرات عاليات بىگمان Bar hażarāt-i-‘āliyāt-i-Begamān.

⁴ MS. (B) reads تقویض فموده سپرده for سپرده.

⁵ Māham Ānka (or Anagah) was one of Akbar's nurses and attended on Akbar from his cradle to his accession. See Āin-i-Akbari, I. (B) p. 323.

Anākā or Anāka in Turkī signifies *nurse* (P. de C.) Fazlu-llāh Khān gives the name Anagah in the meaning of foster-mother شیر مادر shir mādar. Read the account given by Niẓāmu-d-Dīn. (Elliot, v. p. 227).

The Sardārs and Amirs, on account of the heat of the contest in which they were engaged, began to traffic in hypocrisy,¹ and kept coming backwards and forwards, now in one direction now in another. Many of them on both sides were killed. At last,² Mirzā,³ having made a hole in the wall of the fort, came out in disguise,⁴ and when Hāji Muḥammad Khān, who had been detailed with a party of men to pursue him, came up with Mirzā,⁵ Mirzā said to him "What if I have killed your father Bābā Qashaqa?" Hāji Muḥammad Khān, who was a veteran soldier, energetic and experienced, pretending not to understand him, returned, and the Prince reached his father Humāyūn safe and sound, and the party returned to the whole.⁶

Mayest thou live a thousand years, and a thousand years⁷
beside,

For in the prolongation of thy life are a thousand advantages.

And Mirzā Kāmrān took refuge with Pir Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Balkh, and asking his assistance⁸ seized certain of the provinces of Badakhshān without a struggle from Suleimān Mirzā and his son Ibrāhim Mirzā, and took possession of them; and Qurācha Khān,⁹ who had done notable service, together with certain other grasping¹⁰ Amirs, entertained extravagant expectations from Humāyūn, and when their iniquitous desires were not realised betook themselves to Badakhshān and Kābul.

451.

Within those few years the earth had quitted its accustomed state of repose, and had undergone tremblings and agitations. A certain witty writer¹¹ says with reference to this :

¹ MS. (A) omits را ; i.e., to make feints.

² Read تا آخر مرزا MS. (A)-

⁸ Mirzā Kāmrān.

⁴ Text بصورت ناشئنا مان MSS. (A) (B) read بصورت ناشئنا سا.

⁶ MS. (A) بميرزا وسید.

⁶ Text reads . و جزء به کل رجوع نموده جزو بکل رجوع نمود

⁷ A footnote variant reads هزار معنی را for a thousand objects, so also MS. (A).

⁸ Text مدد طلبیده (B) مدد خواسته (A). MS. (A) reads جان.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads خام طمع شد نمودند و اغراض MS. (A) reads

¹¹ Text ۋە ئۇرىقىي دىران باب كىفەتى This admits of translation also "a certain

The fortress of Kābul which in height surpasses the seventh heaven;¹

Like the Kite which is six months female and six months² male.

On several occasions it happened that Mirzā Kāmrān came to pay his respects to Humāyūn and had a personal interview with him. Humāyūn, out of natural kindness and innate good-will pardoned his shortcomings, and cleared his heart of all rancour against him,³ and after he had sought permission to leave to make the pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, bestowed upon him the country of Badakhshān,⁴ and himself going up against Balkh, fought with Pir Muḥammad Khān and ‘Abu-l-Aziz Khān, the son of ‘Abdu-llah Khān,⁵ the Ozbak king, and defeated them after a sharp engagement. But following the bad advice of his Amirs, who were treacherous hypocrites,⁶ and in alarm about Mirzā Kāmrān, he turned back and came to Kābul.⁷ Mirzā Kāmrān⁸ once more broke⁹ his treaty obligations, and inasmuch as the untrustworthy leaders on both sides began to practise unfaithfulness, and led him out of the way,¹⁰ and he had to fight numerous battles,¹¹ he eventually sought

Zarif.” There was a poet of that name, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Iṣpahān
See *Mujma’u-l-Fuṣḥā*, II. 345.

کیوان *Kaiwān*. The planet Saturn which is in the seventh heaven.

و سینه صاف شدند ^۳ See *ante p. 352 n. 1.*

۴ See Elliot, v. 229, 230.

۶ MS. (A) reads **عَبِيدُ اللَّهِ خَان**, ‘Ubaidu-llāh Khān.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* calls him ‘Abid Khān, Elliot, v. p. 230.

۶ MS. (A) reads **صرای مُرائی مُنافق**.

7 The account given by our author is explained by that of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which says that on the night before Balkh would have fallen, some of the Chaghatai chiefs whose wives and families were in Kābul, became alarmed because Mirzā Kāmrān had not joined the army, so they met together and advised Humāyūn not to cross the river of Balkh, but to fall back upon Darra Gaz taking up a strong position: then, after a short time the garrison of Balkh would surrender. Humāyūn agreed to this, and both friends and foes imagined that a retreat to Kābul was intended. The Ozbaks took courage and followed in pursuit. A battle ensued in which Humāyūn was personally engaged, but cut his way out, and reached Kābul in safety. See Elliot, v. p. 231.

۸ MS. (A) omits **گامروان**.

۹ MS. (A).

۱۰ او از را میبرند.

۱۱ Read **نمودند** for **نمود**. MS. (A).

aid from Islem Shāh, but, meeting with disappointment,¹ and returning thence, was delivered into the hands of Humāyūn by the machinations of Sultān Ādam Ghakkār at Pashālā.² Notwithstanding all his repeated rebellions his life was spared, but the jewel of sight was taken from him,³ (as has already been stated), and he was permitted to depart for the sacred Makka. He had the good fortune to make the *Hajj* four times, and thus made amends for his past evil deeds, and there delivered up the life that had been entrusted to him.

452.

Verse.⁴

Never in the garden of Faith has a blade fulfilled its promise,
Never has a shaft aimed by Heaven failed to strike the mark.
The tailor of Fate has never clothed any man in a garment
which it has not afterwards torn from him.

The Age has never given any coin which it has not changed.
The Time has never played any piece without practising
deception with it.

Whom has the Heaven placed in safety beneath the Sun,
That it has not made short-lived like the shining dawn.
Khāqānī! cast dust into the eyes of the world,
For it has caused thee pain in the eyes and has given thee
no remedy.

¹ MS. (B) reads شاه مایوس گشته از اسلیم.

² Our author is very brief in his recital of this portion of the history, for a fuller account see Elliot, v. 232 to 234. MS. (A) reads پرها له Yarhala.

³ Mīrzā Kāmrān was blinded by the stroke of a lancet, see Elliot, v. 146 and 235 in the year 960 H. Firīshṭa gives the *tārikh* written to commemorate it چشم پوشید ز بیداد سپهر Chashm poshīd zi bedād-i-sipīhr. He closed his eyes to the injustice of heaven. It is clear that Humāyūn in destroying his brother's eyesight was only choosing the lesser of two evils, the Chaghatai leaders clamouring for his death. Firīshṭa also says that he made the pilgrimage (*Hajj*) three times, dying on the 11th of Zū Hijjah 964 H. (Bo. Text, p. 455), October, 1557 A. D.

⁴ Khāqānī, whose name was Afzalū-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī an-Najjār, a famous poet, was originally a pupil of Abūl-'Alā Ganjawī; he took the name Haqqāiqī, as his *takhalus* and entered the service of Shirwān Shāh the great Khāqānī Manuchihr, from whom he received the title of Khāqānī. Having absented himself without permission, he was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Shādarwān, where he wrote many poems. After his release he hastened to Makka and wrote the *Tuhfatu-l-'Irāqain* while on the way. He

¹ Maulānā Qāsim Kāhi wrote this *tārīkh*.

Verse.

Kāmrān,⁷ than whom no man has been found more fitted for sovereignty,
Went from Kābul to the Ka'bah, and there committed his soul
to God, and his body to the dust.
Kāhi spake this as a *tārīkh* to commemorate his death,
Pādshāh Kāmrān died at the Ka'bah.⁸

And the poet Waisi⁴ wrote:

Verge.

Shāh Kāmrān the renowned **Khusrū**,
Who in majesty raised his head to Kaiwān.
Faithfully served the holy temple four years
And entirely freed his heart from worldly bonds.
After performing his fourth pilgrimage
In pilgrim garb, he yielded up his soul to his Lord.

453.

died soon after his return, and was buried in the cemetery of Surkhāb in Tabriz in the year 582 H.

Majma'u-l-Fuṣaha, I, p. 200. See also Beale, *O.B.D.* s.v. *Khāqānī*.

¹ MS. (B) reads مولا قاسم کاتبی. MS. (A) reads مولا.

² This also means, Happy is he than whom &c.

⁸ *Pādshah Kāmrān baka'bah bimurd.* The letters of this line give the date 968 H. instead of 964 H.

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhi otherwise known as Miyān Kāli Kābuli. Our author (see vol. III. p. 172 of the text), stigmatises his poetry as crude and wanting in originality, although he acknowledges that it possesses a peculiar quality unshared by any other author. He was skilled in astronomy, as well as in rhetoric and Sufism, and had also some skill as a composer of music. Bādāoni laments the fact that notwithstanding all his advantages Kāhi spent his life in infidelity and impiety. The *Atash-Kada* (p. 190, Bombay Edition) says, that he sprang from the Gulistānā Saiyyids; one of his ancestors came out of the city to pay his respects to Timūr and joined his army, whose fortunes he followed until the birth of the Saiyyid aforesaid in Turkistān. He was brought up in Kābul whence he acquired his name. He went to Hindustān in the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, where he held a position of trust and honour. No date is there given for his death, which occurred in 988 H. See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I. 566 n. 1; also Beale, O.B.D., p. 144.

* MS. (B) reads دبسمی Dabsī for ویسی Waisī (Text).

One night as Waisi was holden with sleep,
He visited him and called him towards himself,
And said, " If they ask thee concerning my death
Reply, " The pardoned Shāh remained in Makka."¹

Mirzā Kāmrān was as a king, brave and ambitious, liberal and good-natured, sound of religion and clear of faith. He used always to associate with the 'Ulamā and learned doctors. His poems are well-known. At one time he held such strong views of probity that he gave orders to exterminate grapes from his kingdom, but afterwards became such a slave to wine that he was not ashamed of the after effects of debauch; eventually he left the world penitent and devout. All's well that ends well.²

This event took place in the year³ 964 H.

Mirzā 'Askari, after Qarrācha Khān was slain in the last battle before Kābul, fell a prisoner into the hands of Humāyūn's soldiery, and Khwāja Jalālu-d-Dīn⁴ Māhmūd Dīwān conveyed him to Badakhshān and made him over to Mirzā Suleimān. He was kept in confinement for some time,⁵ and then was released, and Mirzā Suleimān despatched him to Balkh, by which route he purposed journeying to the two sacred cities.⁶ When he reached a valley which lies between Shām⁷ and the sacred city of Makka, without accomplishing his object he hastened from⁸ that desert to the true Ka'bāh which is the bourn of all mankind. The following is the *tārikh* of that event:—

'Askari *yādshāh-i-daryādil*.⁹

Verse.

Why dost thou soil thy fingers with the blood of the world ?
For honey is oft mingled with deadly poison.¹⁰

1 Shāh-i-marhūm dar Makka mānd. This line gives the date 964 H.

2 الامر بالعاقب. Al umāru bil 'awāqib. Lit. Events are according to their terminations.

3 MS. (A) omits مل. 4 MSS. (A) (B). 5 MS. (A) بوده.

6 حرميin شرقيين. Haramain-i-Sharifain. Mecca and Medina.

7 Syria. Nizāmu-d-Dīn Ahmad says: "in the country of Rūm," Elliot v. 234.

8 MS. (A) reads از را.

9 i.e. 'Askari the bountiful king. These letters give the date 922 H.

10 In the *Mishkāt* (xxi. Part I) we read that honey was prescribed by Muhammad. "A man came to his majesty and said: 'Verily my brother has a

454. The end of Mirzā Hindāl was on this wise, that after Mirzā Kāmrān had suffered defeat in the final engagement, and had taken refuge with the Afghāns, and Hāji Muḥammad Khān¹ Kūki was executed² on account of his numerous misdeeds, one night Mirzā Kāmrān made a night attack upon the camp.³ By chance that night the dart of death struck Mirzā Hindāl in a vital spot, and he drank the draught of martyrdom. This event took place⁴ in the year 958 H. and Shabkhūn was found to give the date.⁵

purgings.' And his highness said : ' Give him honey to drink' and it was done. Then the man came to his highness and said : ' I gave him honey to drink, which has increased the purging,' then his majesty said to him thrice : ' Give him honey.' And the man came a fourth time and said : ' it increaseth the purging.' And his highness said : ' give him honey.' Then the man said : ' I have and it increaseth the purging.' Then his highness said : ' God has said truly, there is a cure for man in honey, and your brother's belly lied, by not accepting of the cure.' Then the man gave his brother honey to drink again and he got well.'

Honey was held in high estimation as a drug among ancient physicians. The poisonous qualities of honey gathered from certain plants is well known; for instance, we find in the *Makhzanul-Adwiya* that honey shed by bees which have lighted in the herb Absantin (*Absinthium*) and the like acquires a bitter taste, and causes diseases of the stomach and liver, while another kind of honey causes fainting and cold sweats and loss of consciousness. So also the poisonous honey of Heraclea, supposed to owe its poisonous properties to the aconite plant.

Quite recently well authenticated cases of honey poisoning have been reported in the United States. The honey in one instance was found to be impregnated with gelsemine. It is generally believed that two varieties of aconite, *Kalmia latifolia* some Rhododendrons *Azalea pontica* and certain other plants of the N. O. Ericaceæ, have poisonous properties which are communicated to the honey of bees lighting on them. It is said that the *Azalea pontica* was the plant which yielded the poisonous honey noticed by Xenophon in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand. The active poison *andromedotoxin* has been found in many Ericaceæ. The symptoms of honey poisoning are briefly described as vomiting, purging, acute gastric and abdominal pain and cramps, with surface coldness and pallor, and the general signs of collapse. See *Ind. Med. Gaz.*, January, 1897, p. 27. See also *Med. and Surg. Rep.* September, 1896.

¹ MS. (A) omits خان. ² MSS. (A) (B) omit after میاست پادشاهی.

³ Read شبخون برواردوی آورد. ⁴ MS. (A) روی نمود.

⁵ شبخون. Shabkhūn. Night assault. The letters of this word give the date 958 H. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī* gives another *tārikh*. See Elliot, v. 234, which however gives 959 H.

Verse.

When Fate made such a night attack¹ with the forces of the world
 That the zenith became red like the twilight from bloodshed,
 Hindāl the world-conqueror left the world,
 And abandoned the world to Shāh Humāyūn ;
 The young plant-like stature of that shapely palm-tree
 Was like a lamp to the sleeping-apartment of the sky.
 Wisdom sought for a *tārikh* of his death,² I said,
 Alas ! a lamp has been extinguished by reason of a *night attack*.

Mirzā Amāni also wrote³ the following :—

Shāh Hindāl the cypress of the rose-garden of beauty,
 When he left this garden for that of Paradise,⁴
 The wailing ring-dove uttered this *tārikh*,
 “ A cypress has gone from the garden of glory.”⁵

And Maulānā Hasan ‘Alī Kharās⁶ wrote :

Verse.

Hindāl Muḥammad Shāh of auspicious title
 Suddenly was martyred by Fate in the heart of the night ; 455.
 Since a night assault (*shabkhūn*) caused his martyrdom,
 Seek the *tārikh* of his martyrdom in *shabkhūn*.

Humāyūn bestowed the horses and retinue of Mirzā Hindāl upon the young Prince, the asylum of the world, and confirmed to them Ghaznin with its dependencies as *Iqtā’* grants.⁷

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read شبا خروزی.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit و.

³ MS. (A) reads مانی Māni for مانی Amāni (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read مانی for یافندی (Text).

⁴ Read بخت for بخت.

MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ سروی از بوستان دولت رفت.

Sarve az būstān-i-daulat rafat.

To arrive at this *tārikh* we take the value of the words *Būstān-i-daulat* which is 959, and then take from this the value of the *sarve* (a cypress) used here for the letter Alif, which is straight and erect like the cypress, and has the value, 1, thus we obtain 958 H.

⁶ MS. (A) reads گلشیخ.

⁷ See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 115.

The Afghāns could no longer protect Mirzā Kāmrān, and it so happened that Mirzā went to Islem¹ Shāh; in the meanwhile the hidden purposes of Heaven were made manifest, so that after hearing the tidings of the death of Islem Shāh, and of the occurrence of extreme confusion and turmoil between the Afghāns of Hindustān and the tribal chiefs, Humāyūn definitely determined upon the attempt of the conquest of Hindustān.² In the meantime the lovers of contumacy, that is to say, the envious and riotous, so distorted the appearance of the sincere loyalty of Bairām Khān, in the clear mirror of the mind of Humāyūn, that it was inverted and he was represented by them as hostile. Accordingly an attack was ordered in the direction of Qandahār. Bairām Khān came out in person to receive³ Humāyūn and with all ceremony offered due service. Thereupon the disloyalty of his traducers became apparent. On this occasion Humāyūn was furnished, by the good offices of Bairām Khān, with the opportunity of meeting that Scion of the Walis, the offspring of the Saints, the seal of the Shaikhs of the Naqshbandī⁴ sect, Maulānā Zainu-d-Din Maḥmūd Kamāngar.

The following is a fuller account:—

The aforesaid Maulavi was from Bahdā,⁵ which is a village of the dependencies of Khurāsān,⁶ and had attained to the companionship of many of the Shaikhs, *may God sanctify their spirits*, especially Maulavi Makhdūmī ‘Ārif Jāmī, and Maulavi ‘Abdu-l-Ghafūr

- 456.** Lārī, *may God He is exalted⁷ sanctify their spirits*, who supported themselves by giving instruction and making illustrations, and Bairām Khān having opened tutorial relations with him, used to go to take lessons from him, and now and then when he was reading Yusuf and Zulaikha and other books, they used to say,

¹ MS. (A) reads سلیم شاہ Salim Shāh. ² MS. (A) مددستان.

³ MS. (A) بارگان برآمد.

⁴ The Naqshbandī Shaikhs were the followers of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn Naqshband of Bokhārā. See Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 423 n. 2 where the meaning of Naqshband is said to be the occupation of this man and his parents, who used to weave Kamkhābs adorned with figures (*naqsh*). See also for a long account of the Naqshbandī School. Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 358, et seqq.

Kamāngar means a bowmaker.

⁵ Footnote variant پوداین Bahdāyan.

⁶ MS. (A) reads قندھار Qandahār.

⁷ MS. (B) omits تعالیٰ.

"Oh, Bairām what is your wish! You yourself are as Yusuf and Zulaikha¹ in the world." And Humāyūn having ordered a banquet in honour of the sacred illuminated spirit of the asylum of the seal of prophecy, *may the blessing and peace of God be upon him*, invited the Ākhūnd,² and with his own hands took the ewer, while Bairām Khān took the basin, intending to pour the water over his hands; seeing this the Ākhūnd indicated Mir Habibullāh, the grandson of Mir Saiyyid Jamālu-d-Din the traditionist, and said,³ "Do you not know who that person is?" Humāyūn thereupon perforce carried the ewer to the Mir, who, with the utmost confusion, poured half of the entire contents of the ewer over his hands, after which the Ākhūnd without scruple washed his hands, to their heart's content. At this time Humāyūn enquired,⁴ "How much water is enjoined by the *Sunnat* to be poured over the hands?" They replied, "so much as is necessary to clean the hands;" then first Bairām Khān poured water over the hands of the remainder of the assembly, and was followed in this service by Husain Khān the relation of the Mahdi, son of Qāsim Khān. At last the food was eaten, and Humāyūn found very great delight in their society, and was much benefited thereby. Afterwards he sent a piece of coined gold by the hand of Bairām Khān, saying, "This is a present."⁵ Inasmuch as it was his custom not to take a present from anyone, after great deliberation he accepted it, with excessive reluctance and disgust, and in return for it sent into the presence of the king several bows of his own fashioning, with something over and above (the value of the gold) saying, "Presents⁶ must be given on both sides."

The story goes that one day Bairām Khān caused a garment to be made of handsome Kashmīr *shals*,⁷ and brought it to him. He took it in his hand and praised it⁸ saying, "What a valuable thing this is!" Bairām Khān said, "As it is a suitable garment for a darvesh, I have brought it as an offering for you." He thereupon made a sign⁹ with two of his fingers, as much as to say I have two of them, come give this one to some one more

457.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit دیگر و میتوانید.

² a tutor, teacher, preacher.

³ MS. (A) reads میدانید.

⁴ MS. (A) reads پرسیده.

⁵ MS. (A) reads این نذر است.

⁶ MS. (A) omits مددیه.

⁷ Shawls.

⁸ Text گردہ MS. (A) فرموده. MS. (B) گفتہ.

⁹ MS. (A) omits اشارت.

deserving of it than I. Many¹ miraculous acts are related of him. Some few of these Shaikh Mu'inu-d-Din, the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in Wāiz, who by the order of the Khalifah of the time was for some time Qāzi of Lāhor, wrote in a separate treatise: among them this is written, that when archery practice was going on, he used in opposition to his usual habits to come every day² to the butts, and give instruction in archery. The youths used to urge and incite Bairām Khān to practise³ archery, saying that it would surely be useful to him some day. As a fact, the very first⁴ defeat of the Afghāns occurred in the fight at Māchiwārā,⁵ when the victory was entirely gained by the archers and in all probability that eagerness and instigation had this very end in view.

In that collection of stories also is the following, that when Bairām Khān, after making over Qandahār to Bahādur Khān the brother of 'Alī Quli Khān Sistānī, came to Kābul, he appointed on his own part a tyrannical Turkomān, so that the people groaned under his oppressive hand, and made many complaints to the Ākhūnd, till he became ill as they desired, and they enjoyed a few days' respite from his oppression, and used to bring tidings of him every day to the assembly of the Ākhūnd. At last one day, as one of them was⁶ saying "He has risen from his bed," the Ākhūnd also, looking him in the face, said angrily, "Perhaps he may rise on the morrow of the resurrection." Three or four days afterwards he again fell ill, and removed the disgrace of his tyranny from the world. It is a saying of theirs that the Turk when sleeping is an angel, but when he sleeps the sleep

458. of death he is superior to the archangels.⁷

¹ MS. (A) reads خیلی منقول است.

² MS. (B) reads هر روز و هر روز. ³ Read for روش ورزش. MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read مارچی واره که شکست.

⁵ Māchiwārā. On the banks of the Sutlej in the Ludhiānā District of the Panjab. See Tieff. I, 112. Āin-i-Akbarī (J.) II, 310; III, 69.

At page 315 of Blochmann's Āin-i-Akbarī (I), we read "The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairām. He gained the battle of Māchhī-wārah and received Sambhal as jāgīr."

⁶ MS. (A) omits جو. The hint given by the Ākhūnd was in true Oriental fashion.

⁷ MS. (B) reads میهن for میهن for بہتر از فرشند خواهد بود. MS. (A) reads بہتر and omits بہتر.

Verse.

I saw a tyrant sleeping at mid-day
 I said, this is a calamity; It is best that sleep should take
 him
 And that man who is better when sleeping than when waking
 For such an evil liver death were preferable.

Humāyūn, at the time of his return, had some intention of taking Qandahār from Bairām Khān and giving it to Mun'im Khān. Mun'im Khān, however, represented that now that the conquest of Hindustān was on the tapis a change of governors would be a source of dissension in the army, and it would be better to wait till after conquering Hindustān, and then to act as circumstances might demand. Accordingly Qandahār was confirmed¹ to Bairām Khān, and Zamindāwar to Bahādur Khān. Then coming to Kābul he prepared his army with transport and commissariat, and in Zū Hijjah 961 H. set out from Kābul to march against Hindustān.² And the following *qīṣā'īh* was written which gives the date in two ways.

Qīṣā'īh.

Khusrū Ghāzi Naśiru-d-Din Humāyūn Shāh
 Who without question excelled all former kings,
 Advanced from Kābul for the conquest of Hind;
 The date of his advance is *nuh ṣad wa shast wa yake*.³

At the halting-place of Parshāwar⁴ Bairām Khān arrived from Qandahār⁵ and presented himself before the king. By continuous marches they crossed the river Indus⁶ and Bairām Khān and Khizr Khwāja Khān, with Tardi Beg Khān and

¹ MS. (A) مقرر ملأند.

² MSS. (A) (B) عازم هند گشتند.

³ نھیڈ و شست و یکی. Nine hundred and sixty-one. The value of the letters taken separately also gives 961. This is the explanation of the statement in the text that this *qīṣā'īh* gives the date in two ways. Footnote to the text says یعنی صوری و معنوی that it is both in form and in literal value.

⁴ The text reads پر شادر *Parshādar*, in error. MSS. (A) (B) read *Parshāwar*.

⁵ MS. (A) omits پر.

⁶ MS. (B) omits دین.

459. Iskandar¹ Sultān Osbak forming the advance party, went forward² and Tātār Khān Kāsi, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, evacuated the fort³ and fled. Adamī Ghakkar did not present himself on this occasion.⁴

When they arrived at Lāhor, the Afghāns of that place also not being able to withstand him dispersed, and the commanders of the vanguard⁵ started off towards [Lāhor and Thānesar]⁶ Jalandhar⁷ and Sirhind. That country was taken possession of without any trouble; Shahbāz Khān and Naṣir Khān Afghān however fought a battle near Dipālpūr with Shāh⁸ Abū-l-Mu'āli and 'Ali Quli Shaibānī, who was eventually Khān-i-zamān,⁹ and was defeated. So great was the terror inspired by the Mughuls that thousands¹⁰ upon thousands of Afghāns would flee at the sight of ten of the huge-turbaned horsemen (even although they were Lāhoris), and never looked behind them. Before Humāyūn's army crossed the river Indus, Sikandar Afghān Sūr gained the upper-hand of Ibrahim Sūr, and having conquered him¹¹ formed the intention of leaving Itāwa and marching to attack 'Adlī. Suddenly, however, tidings arrived that Humāyūn had crossed

¹ MS. (B) adds خان.

² MS. (A) reads پیش می آمدند. MS. (B) reads پیش می کردند.

³ Read قلعہ omitting the hamza.

⁴ The *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri* says "Adam Ghakar although he owed service, did not join the army." Elliot, v. 237.

⁵ اصرائی منقلایی *Umarā-i-Manqalāi*. MS. (A) reads *Umarā-i-mutafarrīq*. The text is correct. ⁶ منقلایی *manqalāi* منغلایی *manghalāi* or *māngalāi* is a Turkī word signifying forehead (*front*) or advance-guard of an army. See P. de C. s. v. so also Faizullāh Khān who gives only the meaning بیشانی *pīshāni* forehead.

⁷ These words in brackets should be omitted apparently. They are absent from MS. (A) and also from the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which mentions Jalandhar and Sirhind. Besides the commanders were already in Lāhor.

⁸ MS. (B) omits جلندر *Jalandhar*.

⁹ MS. (A) reads شاہپور شاہ ابوالمعالی in error.

¹⁰ 'Ali Quli Khān was the son of Haidar Sultān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, who had been made an Amir in the Jām war with the Qizilbāgh.

It was in the early days of Akbar's reign that he obtained the title of Khān-i-Zamān. See Badāoni, Vol. II, p. 12. Lowe's Translation, p. 5. He had defeated Himūn near Pānipat. See *Ain-i-Akbarī*, I, (B), p. 319.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads هزار هزار. ¹² MS. (A) reads غالب شدہ.

the Indus, and the Afghāns, wherever they were, set about planning how to save their wives and children; however one did not help the other, each one occupied himself with his own necessities, and they knew well that it was only Islem Shāh who could successfully contend against the Mughuls, no other person had the power. Notwithstanding this however, Sikandar, in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar, first¹ appointed² Tātār Khān Kāsi with Habib Khān and Nasib Khān Taghūchi with thirty thousand cavalry, to oppose the troops under Humāyūn which had been collected in that district, and he himself came on in their rear.

The Chaghātai Amīrs³ crossed the river⁴ Sutlej, and the Afghāns followed them; at sundown the two lines met and a fierce battle ensued.⁵ The Mughuls set their hands to their bows with such effect that every arrow which they freed from the bowstring bore the message of death to the ears of one or other of the enemy, and the Afghāns, whose weapons of offence ran short,⁶ took refuge in⁷ a ruined village; and with the object of gaining a better view of the Mughul troops⁸ they set fire to the roofs.⁹ The result, however, was the very reverse¹⁰ of what they desired, and their stratagem had this result, that the Afghāns remained in the light, while the Mughuls were in the darkness and riddled the Afghāns with arrows. A cry went up from among them, and shouts of Fleo! Fleo!¹¹ rose on all sides, and the victory was gained with such ease that but few Mughuls were

¹ MS. (B) omits اول.

² MS. (A) نامزد کردو.

³ MS. (A) امیر چغتای. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. Text reads **صرای حصار**.

⁴ MS. (B) omits آب.

⁵ MS. (A) واقع شد.

⁶ که لوتاہ سلاح بودند. *Ki kotāh silāḥ būdānd*. A footnote variant reads ملاح *salāḥ* which would mean "who were ill-advised" this is the reading of MS. (B) but the other is preferable.

⁷ Text در. MS. (A) و دیگری.

⁸ Read نظر بد. MS. (A) (B) for در نظر.

⁹ The true reading is a little uncertain here. The text reads **چنبرہ** *chambarā* which may be taken in the meaning of a roof; MS. (A) reads *chambarā* which may be taken in the meaning of a roof; MS. (A) reads **چندریا** (?) *chanbarā*, while MS. (B) reads **چینریا** (?) *chinbarā*.

The account given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Elliot, v 237-238) differs, and makes it appear as though the Mughul troops used fire-arms or fire-arrows. Our author's account appears more reasonable.

¹⁰ Omit وی. MS. (A) (B).

¹¹ MS. (B) omits الفرار.

slain, and horses, elephants, and spoil beyond all computation fell into the hands of Humāyūn's troops. The news of this victory reached ¹ Humāyūn in Lāhor; thus the whole of the Panjab and Sirhind and Hissār Firūza was entirely ² subjugated. Thence he marched by forced marches straight for the environs of Dihli, and Sikandar Sūr with eighty thousand cavalry, and elephants of note, and a strong force of artillery, collected round him the Afghāns from every direction, and came to Sirhind, digging a trench round his camp ³ after the custom ⁴ of Shīr Shāh. This he fortified, and took up his position; the Amirs of Humāyūn's army holding a council of war, fortified Sirhind, and as far as they could, shewed they were prepared to defend it, and sending despatches to Lāhor begged Humāyūn to come in person, and then awaited his arrival. Humāyūn with all speed ⁵ marched and came to Sirhind, ⁶ and every day fierce contests ⁷ took place between the more venturesome spirits on both sides. Sometime passed in this way, till the day when the command of the advance-guard of the army fell to the turn of the young Prince of the world; ⁸ seizing his opportunity he drew up his line of battle. On one ⁹ side was the Prince, the Asylum of the world; and on the other side Bairām Khān, Sikandar Khān, 'Abdu-llāh Khān Osbak, Shāh Abūl-ma'āli, 'Alī Qūli Khān and Bahādur Khān made manly onslaughts. The Afghāns also, as far as they were able, ¹⁰ behaved with due bravery and valour, ¹¹ but could not contend ¹² against an adverse fate, and after a conflict beyond his strength Sikandar turned and fled.¹³ The victorious hosts pursued the enemy for a long distance, reaping a rich harvest of slaughtered Afghāns; wealth and booty beyond all bounds, together with horses and countless elephants fell into their hands: then they turned back and erected with the heads of their enemies a column

¹ Supply شاه رسید after پادشاه. MSS. (A) (B). ² MS. (A) بسطور بطرز for لشکر. ⁴ MS. (B) reads مختار for مختار. ⁵ MS. (A) (B) omit تمام.

⁶ The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* states that Humāyūn sent Akbar.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read مختار for مختار. Text.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read جهانیان. ⁹ MS. (A) omits بیک.

¹⁰ MS. (A) حسب امکان (Dād-e-Māngī) for دادنہ. ¹¹ MS. (B) reads دادنہ for مختار.

¹² MS. (B) reads بونیامندہ (Rūy-e-Baqraar) for نهاد و (B).

¹³ MS. (A) روی بفراز نهاد (Rūy-e-Baqraar) for دادنہ.

to which Bairām Khān gave the name¹ of Sar Manzil, which (name) is in existence at the present day; Time has many memorials of this kind and still more will follow.²

Verse.³

On the road on which thou seest those particles of dust,⁴
Thou seest (it may be) the dust of Suleimān⁵ brought
thither by the wind.⁶

Another says :

Verse.

Every particle of dust which the whirlwind carries away
May be either a Fāridūn or a Kaiqubād.⁷

The words *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn*⁸ were found to give the date of this victory, as they say in this *Rubā'i*.

The wise writer sought for an auspicious omen,
He sought for the writing of speech from his well-balanced
nature;
When he came to record the conquest of Hindustān,
He sought the date in the words *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn*.

Sikandar then proceeded towards the Siwalik hills, while Sikandar Khān Osbak turned towards Dihli, and the royal camp went by way of Samana to the direction⁹ of the capital of Hindustān, and a party of the Afghāns¹⁰ who were in Dihli, fled hot-foot¹¹ for their lives, and were scattered on all sides like a flock of sparrows into whose midst¹² a stone has fallen, and every one was saying to himself, "He who escapes with his head, verily he is fortunate;" and the hidden¹³ meaning of the words "the day

462.

¹ MS. (A) نہاد نام.

⁸ MS. (A) adds هنوز مه after هنوز.

² MS. (B) reads مندوی نظم for مندوی (Text).

⁴ A footnote to the text recites the reading of MS. (B) و زرهای گرد.

⁵ MS. (A) reads سلیمانی. ⁶ MS. (B) reads باد for باد.

⁷ Cf. The dust of Alexander turned to clay

May stop a hole to keep the wind away.

⁸ MS. (B) شمشیر همایون. The sword of Humāyūn. These letters give the date 962 H.

⁹ MS. (B) reads پای تخت هند بچای پای تخت هند. ¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) omit از.

¹¹ Read پا. MSS. (A) (B) instead of the reading in the text.

¹² MS. (B) inserts دک after دعوی. ¹³ Supply مه MS. (A).

*when man shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father and his spouse and his sons"*¹ became evident.

Shāh Abū-l-Ma'āli was detailed² to pursue Sikandar, and in the month of Ramaḍān the blessed, in the year 962 H. the city of Dihli became the seat of the imperial glory and majesty, and most of the regions of Hindustān for the second time enjoyed the honour of the *khuqbah* and *sikkah* of Humāyūn. No king before this time had ever been so fortunate as to attain to the glory of imperial power a second time,³ after having suffered defeat; whereas in this case the power of God whose glory is supreme was plainly shewed. And in this year Humāyūn apportioned the greater part of his territories⁴ among his faithful adherents, and vowed the *pargana* of Muṣṭafaābād, the revenue of which reached the sum of thirty or forty *laks* of *tankas*, as a votive⁵ offering to the Spirit the author of victories, the guardian of prophecy *on him and on his family be blessings without end*. He also gave Hissār Firūza as a reward⁶ to the Prince, just as Bābar Padshāh also had conferred it, in the commencement of his victories, as a reward,⁷ upon Muḥammad Humāyūn, and the whole of the Panjab he bestowed upon Shāh Abū-l-Ma'āli, and nominated him to oppose Iskandar the Afḡhān, who, not being able to stand against him, shut himself up in the northern hills, and Shāh Abu-l-Ma'āli having reached high rank⁸ was living in great pomp in Lāhor; on this account the crow of conceit made its nest in his brain, and brought matters to this pass⁹ that after the affair of (the king) whose dwelling is in Paradise, the queen shewed signs of contumacy and rebellious-

¹ Qur'ān lxxx, 84-35.

² MSS. (A) (B) نامزد گشت.

³ The reading of MS. (A) is preferable to that in the text. MS. (A) reads. مرتبة دیگر بغير سلطنت برسد. A footnote variant reads بمقرب سلطنت رسد.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) ولایات را.

⁵ Text مقدمة MS. (A) نذر.

⁶ Faizullah Khān gives this word as جلد Childū in the sense of انعام *In'ām*. In the Farhang-i-Anāndrāj the word is given as *jildū* or *juldū* in the same sense. Pavet de Courteilles does not give the word.

⁷ MS. (B) omits بانعام محمد.

⁸ MS. (B) reads بشوكت تمام مرتبة تمام.

⁹ Text بانجام رسید MS. (B) reads بانجما رسید.

intentions,¹ as will shortly be described, if God He is exalted² so will it. And since Abū-l-Ma'āli had treated badly the Amirs who had been sent to support him, and had (occasionally)³ interfered in their *Aqtā's*, and not only in these but even in the public treasury and in the government lands, the Amirs became disheartened, and Sikandar daily waxed stronger; Bairām Khān was appointed⁴ to the office of tutor (*Atāliq*) to the young prince, and was sent to oppose Iskandar. Shah Abū-l-Ma'āli was appointed to Hissār Firūza, but had not yet started when Qabā Khān Gang was appointed to Āgra, 'Ali Quli Khān to Mirāt and Sambal, and Qambar Diwāna to Budāon, and Haidar Muhammad Khān Akhta Begī⁵ to Baiāna. Haidar Muhammad Khān kept Ghāzi Khān Sūr,⁶ the father of Ibrahīm Sūr, for sometime besieged in the fortress of Baiāna.⁷ And inasmuch as the good fortune of the Afghāns was, like their good sense, on the decline; although before the siege and after it also, thoughtful and experienced men urged him to march on Rantabhor and thence to Gujrāt, he would not listen to them, and fell like a fish into the net.

Verse.⁸

God carries the vessel whithersoever He will.

Though the ship master rends his garments on his body.

The *zamīndārs* of the fortress of Baiāna sued for quarter, and had an interview with Haidar Muhammad Khān, binding themselves by oaths⁹ to certain treaty conditions, and bringing Ghāzi Khān with his family and relations out of the fort, bestowed him in a safe place in the camp,¹⁰ and¹¹ the following day having made a careful examination of the wealth and treasures,¹² put all the

أَنَّارَ خَلَفَ وَتَخْيِلَاتَ فَامْدَهُ اَزُو بِمَنْصَهُ طَهُورَ شَتَافَتْ ۖ
خَلَفَتْ ۖ MS. (B) reads قَعَالِیٰ ۖ

¹ MS. (A). ² MS. (B) reads مَكْرُورٌ فَرَصُودَنَدْ وَبَدْفَعْ اِسْكَنْدَرْ تَعِينْ نَمُونَدْ.

³ MS. (B) reads مَقْرَرْ فَرَصُودَنَدْ وَبَدْفَعْ اِسْكَنْدَرْ تَعِينْ نَمُونَدْ.

⁴ MS. (B) omits آخَذَهُ بِيَكْيَيْ. Haidar Muhammad Khān Begī was an old servant of Humāyūn who had given the Emperor his horse when Humāyūn's horse had been shot in the defeat near Balkh. See Āin-i-Akbarī, (B) I, 384.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B). ⁶ MS. (A) omits قَلْعَهُ and reads حَضُورٌ for حَصُورٌ.

⁷ MS. (A) reverses the order of these two lines.

⁸ MS. (B) reads بَايَانْ for بَيْمَانْ. ⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read معین کرد.

¹⁰ MS. (A) (B) reads اَهْوَالْ وَدَفَائِنْ here. ¹¹ The text has a superfluous و here. ¹² MS. (A).

463.

inhabitants to death from the full-grown man to the babe at the breast,¹ sending² the heads to the Emperor, who, however, was displeased with this;³ accordingly⁴ he despatched Mir Shihābu-d-Din⁵ Nishāpūri *Bakhshī*, who received the title of Shihābu-d-Din

464. Ahmad Khān, to Baiānā to verify the wealth of Ghāzi Khān. Haidar Muḥammad⁶ concealed the valuable jewels and shewed only ordinary⁷ things. Qambar Diwāna had collected a large following in the vicinity of Sambal and was saying ‘What has Qambar to do with Sanbal, while ‘Ali Quli Khān has a lien on the revenue of Sanbal? It is as though the land belonged to one man and the trees to another.’⁸

And before that ‘Ali Quli Khān could go to Sanbal Qambar Diwāna went to Badāon, and from thence passing by Kānt o Gola⁹ he fought with Rukn Khān Afgān, and gained the day, occupying the country up to the vicinity of the township of Malāūn?,¹⁰ but was subsequently defeated by the Afgāns, and having given up a large number to death in that fort¹¹ arrived at Badāon, where he exercised great cruelty and oppression; and although ‘Ali Quli Khān sent to summon him,¹² he refused to yield to him and said, “My relations with the Pādshāh are more intimate than yours,¹³ this head of mine is twin brother of the imperial crown.” ‘Ali Quli Khān upon his arrival besieged Badāon, and that madman

¹ MS. (B) reads همگی را تا اطفال شیر خواره. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.

² MS. (B) reads فرستادند.

³ MS. (B) reads این معنی پسند نیامد.

⁴ MS. (A) omits بناع و.

⁵ MS. (B) reads میر شهاب.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ اشیای سهل را نمود.

MS. (A) omits را.

⁸ Read here سنبل و قنبر چه. MSS. (A) (B). The reading in the text has no meaning.

⁹ Shāhjahānpur. MS. (B) omits کانت.

¹⁰ The text reads مالانواه Malānwah (?) MS. (A) reads لاوہ (?) Malāwah. MS. (B) reads مالوہ Malāwah. I am quite uncertain as to the correctness of the suggestion in the translation. Malāūn (See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* ix. 237) is a hill fort in the Panjab lat. 31° 12' N. long 76° 52' E.

Firishta makes no mention of this.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads جا. MS. (B) omits کس.

¹² MS. (B) omits نزد خود. MS. (A) reads طلبیده.

¹³ MS. (B) reads زیاده از آنست.

(Diwāna)¹ who knew no moderation, was at that very time preparing to tyrannise over the people even more than before, taking by force the daughter of one and the property of another; and in consequence of his want of trust² in the people of the town, used himself to go the rounds by night³ from bastion to bastion, and see to the proper state of the defences. In spite of this his imagination used to run riot,⁴ and his ideas, in consequence of his infatuation, were excited to such a degree, that he used to go for half the night into an empty⁶ room and lay his ear upon the ground, and going on⁶ from there a few steps would spy about, and then return to his original post; suddenly he called the pioneers and said, "A noise has reached my⁷ ears, dig up⁸ the ground in this spot." When they excavated they discovered a mine⁹ which 'Ali Quli Khān had laid from outside the fortress. The people who saw those¹⁰ mines said that from the side¹¹ of the fort in whatever direction they struck¹² into the mine they found the foundation of the wall of the fort reached the water, with iron rods, and pillars and baulks of *sāl*¹³ wood arranged under its foundations, bound together¹⁴ for the purpose of strengthening them, with the sole exception of this place which had been excavated.

465.

In fact, had not Qambar been vigilant, the men under 'Ali Quli Khān would have blown down the wall by sheer force and have effected an entrance by way of that breach. 'Ali Quli Khān was

¹ The word دیوانہ. *Diwāna* means a madman.

² MS. (B) reads اعتمادی. The text reads اعتنیدی. an incorrect form by *imāla*.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read after خود ب شبها میگشت شبهای before.

⁴ This appears to be the meaning, though the word فراست is used in a somewhat strained and unusual sense. A footnote variant to the text says that the textual reading is found in one MS. and in two others مستوجب.

Both MSS. (A) and (B) are the same as the text which seems correct.

⁵ A footnote variant reads بقل for حاری. The text is correct.

⁶ MS. (A) omits پیشتو.

⁷ MS. (B) omits من.

⁸ MS. (B) reads بکارند.

⁹ Text. MS. (A) reads نفت.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits آن.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads طرف for اطراف.

¹² Text. شروع در نقاب نمودند. MS. (A) reads گردند for نمودند.

¹³ MS. (B) چوبهای سال. *Chubhā-i-sāl*. ¹⁴ Read بود. MS. (A).

astonished at this degree of vigilance,¹ and the people of the city by common consent despatched a message to 'Ali Quli Khān saying, "On such and such a night let the besiegers make an attack² up such and such a bastion, so that we may bring them into the fort by the help of nooses and scaling-ladders." Accordingly this they did, and having admitted the soldiery of 'Ali Quli Khān, Shaikh Ḥabib Badāoni, who was one of the most notable men³ of the place, took his place at their head, and leading them to the bastion of the Princes,⁴ who were the relations of Shaikh Salim Chishtī of Fathpūr, set fire to it. On the morrow when the sun rose, the sombre-fated Qambar, wearing over his head a black blanket which was an emblem of his wretched fate,⁵ came out of the city. They seized him as one would a jackal and brought him in, and although 'Ali Quli Khān spoke gently to him,⁶ saying "Bow thy head," that I may spare thy life," that madman, fed on dog's brains gave him an abusive answer, so that he was sent to join the dogs of hell. His tomb is well-known in Badāon. He used to spread plentiful feasts and say (to his guests) "Eat! for wealth is the wealth of God, and life is the life of God, and Qambar Diwāna is the cook of God."

When the despatch from 'Ali Quli Khān reached the Court together with the head of Qambar, the king, whose refuge is the mercy of God, was extremely annoyed. Just about this time, on the seventh of the month of Rabi'u-l-Awwal, in the year 963 H., when⁷ Humāyūn had ascended to the roof of the library which he had built in the fortress of Dīpanāh in Dihli, as he was coming down, the *mu'azzin*⁸ uttered the call to prayer, and he knelt out of

1 MS. (B) omits اور.

2 MS. (A) reads حملہ for حملہ.

3 Text از مشاهیر از اعیان. MS. (A) reads از اعیان.

4 MS. (A) reads شیخزادہ.

5 باو بعلیت گفت.

6 Text reads ۴۵ از گلیم بخت وی نشانه بود، but it seems as though we should read کلیم in the sense of wounded, stricken. MS. (B) omits بود.

7 Text فرود اور. MS. (A) reads فرود آور. 8 Supply مک MSS. (A) (B).

9 مودن *Mu'azzin*. The crier whose duty it is to utter the *azān* or summons to prayer. The *Azān* was instituted at first when the Moslims came from Makka to Madīnah; some proposed the lighting of a fire, others the blowing of a trumpet, but the former was objected to as being a Jewish custom, and

respect for the *Azān*; and as he rose his staff glanced aside and his foot slipped, and he rolled down several steps¹ to the ground. When he recovered a little,² *Nazār Shaikh Jūlī*³ was sent to the Panjāb⁴ to summon the Prince and to tell him exactly what had happened, and on the fifteenth⁵ of the same month (*Humāyūn*)⁶ bade farewell to this inconstant world and took his way to the abode of eternity;⁷ and this *tārīkh* was written to commemorate the event.

Since by the mercy of God he passed to his rest within the garden of Rīzwān

Bihisht āmad maqām-i-pāk-i-ū gives the date;⁸

and Maulānā Qāsim Kāhi wrote as follows :—

Humāyūn, Pādshāh of the kingdom of reality,
No one remembers such an Emperor as he ;
Suddenly he fell from the roof of his palace,
And from that fall his precious life was lost.

Kāhi made a calculation for the *tārīkh* of that event,
*Humāyūn Pādshāh az bām uftād.*⁹

the latter as being the custom of the Christians. Then Billāl was ordered to repeat *Allāhu Akbar* twice in a loud voice as a signal for prayer.

The forefingers were ordered to be put into the ears while repeating the *Azān* to strengthen the voice; probably this was due to the subjective sensation of increase of sound of the voice when the external meatus is closed. The *Azān* has special virtues attached to it, for those who uttered it. Thus it is said “The callers to prayer may expect paradise on the day of the resurrection,” and again “Whoever acts as Mu’azzin seven years to please God, will be redeemed from hell-fire.” See also Hughes’ *Dict. of Islam*, s.v.v., see *Mishkāt* iv. Chapter 5, 6.

1 MS. (B) omit **بِرْجَلٍ**. 2 Firīshṭa says that he was taken up unconscious.

3 Footnote variant **جِمِعَالِي** *Jumā’ālī*. 4 MS. (A)

5 Firīshṭa says the eleventh. (Bo : Text. 459).

6 MSS. (A) (B) omit **بِنَاءً**.

7 MSS. (A) (B) **دَارِ بَقَاءً**.

8 **بِهِشَّتْ كَمَدْ مَقَامْ بَاكْ او** These words give the date 963 H. The meaning is, Paradise became his pure resting-place.

9 **هَمَّا يُونْ بَادْشَاهَ ازْ بَامْ افتَنَادْ**. The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is, *Humāyūn Pādshāh* fell from the roof.

The following was also found to give the date :¹

Be not ignorant of the year of his death—See !
*Humāyūn kujā raft wa iqbal-i-ā.*²

The following *tārikh* was also found :

*Ai ! Ah ! Pādshāh-i-man az bām uftād.*³

Verse.

That capital city of the kingdom which thou sawest is laid waste,

And that Nile of whose bounty thou hearest has become a mirage,

The sky gave the head of Muhammad Yahya to ruin,

467. And calamity attended Sinjar the lord of slaves.

The fourth heaven became a house of mourning

The spirit of sanctity came to condole with the Sun.

His age was fifty-one years, and the duration of his reign ⁴ was twenty-five years and a fraction. He was a man of kingly proportions, adorned with all excellencies and perfections, both of appearance and reality, unequalled in the sciences of astrology and astronomy and all abstruse sciences.⁵ He was the preceptor of the followers of excellence and perfection, the refuge of the seekers after piety and rectitude. Fond of poetry and ⁶ of poets, he used himself to compose good verses; he never remained for an instant without the *wuḍū'*,⁷ nor did he ever

¹ MS. (A) reads here ایضاً.

² همایون کجا رفت و اقبال او . The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is “What has become of Humāyūn and his good fortune.”

³ MSS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding *tārikh*. Its value is also 963 H. and its meaning is ‘Alas ! Alas ! my king fell from the roof.’

We must read اقتاد as in Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has افتاد.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) سلطنتش . ⁵ MS. (B) reads غریبہ و دیگر فنون .

⁶ MS. (A) omits و .

⁷ وضوٰ *Wuḍū'*. Ceremonial washings before prayer. There is a saying attributed to Muhammad “Wuḍū’ is half the prayers,” and another “When a Moslim uses Wuḍū’ it washes from his face those faults which he may have cast his eyes upon; and when he washes his hands, it removes the faults they may have committed; and when he washes his feet it dispels the faults

take¹ the name of God nor of the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, without *Tihārat*;² and if it chanced³ that the necessity arose for mentioning a name⁴ compounded of this word ‘Abd, or one of the *Asmān-l-ḥasna*⁵ such as ‘Abdu-llāh or the others, in such a case he would confine himself to the word ‘Abd (servant), for example he would call ‘Abdu-l-Haiyy, ‘Abdul simply. In this same way in writing letters in place of the word “*huwa*”⁶ when the necessity arose he used to write two Alifs side by side

towards which they may have carried him; so that he will rise up in purity from the place of ablution.” Again “The key of paradise is prayer and the key of prayer is ablution.” The prophet also said “Verily my sects will come on the day of resurrection with bright hands and feet because of *Wuḍū’*.

For a full account of *Wuḍū’* and the acts requiring its performance, see *Mishkātu-l-Muqābiḥ* II, 34, also see Hughes’ *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Wuḍū’*.

¹ MS. (A) بحسب اتفاق.

² طهارة *tihārat*. This term includes all the various methods of purification enjoined by Muhammadan law.

See Hughes’ *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Purifications*.

³ MS. (A) بر زبان براندی.

⁴ The text here gives some verses which are not found in MS. (A).

They are given here as they interrupt the continuity of the text:

* قطعہ *

اعتقادی درست دار چنانکه - اعتمادت بدان نگردد سست

بنده را بی شک از عذاب خدای - نرهاند جز اعتقاد درست

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,
Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a
lively faith.

MS. (B) reads

نامی اعتمادی درست دار چنانکه - اعتمادت بدان نگردد سست هرگاه

⁵ *Asmān-l-ḥasna*. The best of names. See *Mishkāt*, xxii. 8. Verily the best of names, in the sight of God, are ‘Abdu-llāh (the servant of God) or ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān (the servant of the Merciful One).

⁶ هو *Huwa*. The name of the Almighty, written at the commencement of a document by devout Muslims, meaning, *He alone is God*. It is the third person of the Arabic personal pronoun. By some commentators the word is supposed to stand for the *Ismul-azam* or most holy name, which according to Muslim divines is known to God alone. See Qur’ān III, 1. *La Allāha illa Huwa*. There is no God but He.

thus (II), whose letters thus arranged¹ have the same value as those of the word " *Huwa*." [In all matters he observed the same reverential caution which was as it were a part of his nature].² He always spent his evenings in company and was never niggardly in entertainment, the revenues of the whole of Hindustān would not have sufficed for his expenditure. His *rakīls*, for fear of (being thought to be greedy for) reward, would never mention the name³ of gold in his presence, and like his father he was not engrossed in amassing wealth; no improper word or term of abuse ever passed his lips, and if he were ever very wrath with any person he used just to say 'You stupid,' and not a word more.

Whether in the house or in the mosque even by mistake he never placed his left foot down before the right, and if any one placed the left⁴ foot in his house he would say, "It is the left foot," and would make him turn back and bring him in again. From his excessive reserve he never opened his lips in a smile, nor did he ever cast an angry glance at any one. They say that Shāikh Ḥamid, the commentator of Sanbal, on the occasion of the conquest of Hindustān, for the second time went to Kābul to receive him, and in spite of the extreme confidence which Humāyūn had in him, one day he fell into a passion and said "My king, I see the whole of your army are Rāfiṣī⁵ (heretics)." Humāyūn replied, "Shāikh, why do you say such a thing, and what have you to say about it?" He answered "Everywhere the names of your soldiers are of this kind.⁶ I find they are all Yār 'Ali (Friend of 'Ali), or Kafsh 'Ali (Shoe of 'Ali), or Ḥaidar 'Ali (Lion of 'Ali), and I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other Companion." Humāyūn was indignant at this, and dashing his drawing pencil⁷ upon the ground in anger, said "The

¹ The value of ئ being 5 and of ئ being 6, the word **عو** is equivalent to eleven; Two Alifs placed side by side (II) also stand for eleven.

² M.S. (B) omits the sentence in square brackets.

³ MS. (A) omits نام and reads **نیوردی**. ⁴ MS. (B) omits **چھ**.

⁵ رافضی *Rāfiṣī*. This term was originally applied to the Shi'ahs who joined Zaid ibn 'Ali but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Sunnī *Khalifahs*: but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shi'ahs. MS. (B) alone reads **راقضی**. The Text and MS. (A) have **راقضی**.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read **ابن صربہ** omitting **در**.

⁷ تحریر *Qalam-i-taṣwir*. Text and MS. (A) MS. (B) has *tahrīr* writing, instead of *taṣwir* (drawing), so also a footnote variant.

name of my grandfather himself was ‘Umar Shaikh¹ and I know no more than this,” then he rose and went into the *haram* and returning, with great gentleness and kindness informed the Shaikh of the purity of his faith.²

Verse.

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,

Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith.

And in order to recount the many virtues of that monarch who has obtained pardon and remission, *may his resting-place be happy*, a separate record would be necessary. Countless³ poets, the wonder of the age, sprung from under the skirt of his auspicious reign.⁴ Among these, in Badakhshān was Maulānā Junūnī⁵ 469. Badakhshī the enigmatist, who composed a *qaṣīdah* made up of thirty-eight couplets in honour of that⁶ monarch, whose refuge is the pardon of God, during the time that he was a *Mirzā*; and certain *tours de force* which had escaped the net of the *qaṣīdah* which Mir Saiyyid Zū-l-fiqār Shirwānī composed in honour of Khwāja Rashid Vazīr, and the *qaṣīdah* of Salmān Sāwajī which he wrote in honour of Khwāja Ghīās Vazīr, this poet⁷ seized, for example the *mu’ammā*,⁸ and *Iżhār-i-mużmar*,⁹ and the *tārīkh*,¹⁰ and other (tricks) of this kind, and in very truth that work of art is a veritable *kāruāma* (record of deeds), a miracle in the world of speech. The following are the opening couplet and another, taken from it:

بِمَلَيْمَتْ وَرْفَقْ شِيْخْ رَا بِرْ حَسَنْ عَقِيْدَةْ خُورْشِدْ اطْلَاعْ دَادَنْدْ
١ ‘Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, second son of Timūr, was the father of Būbar. See *Āin-i-Akbari* (B) I. 299.

بِيَشْمَارْ دَولَتْ اوْ (A) بِيَشْمَارْ جَنْوَبِيْ
So also MS. (B) except that **او** is omitted.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read **بِيَشْمَار**. ⁴ MS. (A) **از داعن دولت او**.

⁵ Text reads **Junūbī**, but MS. (A) reads **Junūnī**.

⁶ MS. (B) omits **کن**. ⁷ MS. (B) omits **او**.

⁸ **معما** *Mu’ammā*, Enigma. A saying of which the meaning is hidden. See Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie*, p. 165.

⁹ See Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.* p. 191.

¹⁰ **تَارِيخ** *tārīkh*, chronogram. Several examples have been given, see page 601, n. 8.

Verse.¹

Shahanshāhā rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrīn lab-i-tū jān
Hami binam lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangīn shuda khandān
Namī gūyam khatt-i-tū salza o raihān khad-i-tū gul
Shavad zāhir qudd-i-tū fitna-i-durān dam-i-jaulān.

And by taking all the verses of this *qasīda* after the manner of an acrostic,² the following opening couplet is formed :—³

Shahanshāh-i-din pādishāh-i-zamān
Zi bakhsh-i-Humāyūn shuda kāmrān.

While again, if the *hašhw*⁴ of the two first couplets are written in red ink, the following opening couplet results, which may be read in three different metres.⁵

¹ MS. (A) **قصيدة** *qasīda*.

The following is the translation of these lines which are given in the original in the text, as the whole sense of the passage following turns upon the form and not upon the meaning of the couplets.

King of kings, thy cheek is the tulip and jasmine, thy lip is the life.

As I look, thy lip like the bud in its redness, expands in a smile

I say not, thy bloom is the verdure and perfume, thy cheek is the rose

Life itself, from thy figure entrancing, appears in thy gait.

² **توشیح** *Taušīḥ*. The initial letters of each verse when taken together from the couplet given. Thus in the four lines given the initial letters are

ش *sh* **ه** *h* **ن** *n* **ش** *sh* forming Shahanshāh. See Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

³ The couplet when translated, reads :

Emperor of the faith, Pādishāh of the age,
 From thy good fortune thou hast become prosperous.

The play on the words Humāyūn and Kāmrān will be observed.

⁴ The first foot of the first *mīrā'* (hemistich) is called *sadr*, while the last foot of the same hemistich is called *'urūz*; similarly the first foot of the second hemistich is called *ibtidā*, while the last foot of this hemistich is called *zarb*. All the feet intervening between the *sadr* and the *'urūz*, or between the *ibtidā* and *zarb*, are called *hašhw* which means literally the stuffing of a pillow (*Āgīn-i-bālīsh*). In the above the *hašhw* of the verses is printed in red ink.

The scansion is as follows :—

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| <u>Shahanshāhā</u> | rukh-i-tū lā | la-o-nasrīn | labitū jān |
| Mafā'i lun | Mafā'i lun | Mafā'i lun | Mafā'i lun |

The metre is thus *Hazaj-i-Mugamman*.

⁵ The three metres in which these lines may be read are—

(i) *Hazaj-i-musammāu*. See note 4 above.

Rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrīn khatt-i-tū sabza o raihān
Lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangin qadd-i-tū fitua-i-daurān.¹

And if they be read in reversed order a couplet is formed which may also be referred to three several metres,² and with a change of *qāfiyah*³ and *radīf*⁴ in the following manner :⁵—

470.

Khatṭ-i-tū sabza o raihān, rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrīn
Qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān,⁶ lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangin.

And from that which remains. in black letters, a distinct opening couplet remained.⁷ Other *tours de force* also existed in this opening couplet, which are explained in the marginal notes to the work.

(ii) Ramal-i-musamman makhbūn, and the scansion is :

| | | | |
|------------|----------|------------|----------|
| زه و ریحان | خط تو سب | له و نسرین | د خ تولا |
| فعلاً تن | فعلاً تن | فعلاً تن | فعلاً تن |

(iii) Mujtas-i-musamman makhbūn : and the scansion is :

| | | | |
|------------|---------|------------|---------|
| زه و ریحان | خطی تسب | له و نسرین | رخی تلا |
| مغا علن | مغا علن | فعلاً تن | مغا علن |

See Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody (Ranking) pp. 49, 67, 90.

¹ MS. (B) reads مستان in place of دوران so also footnote variant.

² The three metres are those given in note 5, on the preceding page.

³ قانیہ Qāfiyah. This signifies the rhyme, of which the essential letter is called the *rawī*, which may have also other letters preceding it and four following.

⁴ دیف Radīf is the name given to a quiescent *alif* following a *satha*, a *wāw* quiescent following a *zamma* or a *ye* quiescent following a *kasra*, in other words it is one of the letters ل, و, ی placed as a letter of prolongation before the *rawī*. It is more accurately called دف Ridf.

Thus in the lines now cited the *Radīf* is the letter *ye* in the words *rangin*, and *nasrīn*, whereas in the former verses the *radīf* was *alif*, as in the words *raiḥān* and *dauran*. MS. (A) omits و دیف. See also Garcin de Tassy, op. cit., p. 370.

⁵ MS. (B) omits طریق.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read بوستان būstān.

⁷ For example, we can read

| | |
|--|--|
| Shahanshāhā lab-i-tū jān Hamī binam shuda khandān, Namī gūyam khad-i-tū gul Shavad zāhir dam-i-jaulān | King of kings thy lip is life As I look it wreathes in smiles ; I say not thy cheek's a rose Blooming as thou paskest by. |
|--|--|

And from the four¹ couplets of a *qasidah*² some of the words of which are written in red ink, the following *qita'h*³ containing the conquest of Badakhshān may be obtained, and the *qita'h* also has a hidden meaning, the explanation of which is obtained from certain verses extracted from these two *qasidahs*.⁴

Qita'h.

Tū-i Shāh-i Shāhān-i daurān ki shud
Hamīsha turā kār fātū o zafar.
Girifti Badakhs̄ān o tārīkh shud.
*Muhammad Humāyūn Shah-i-bāhr o bar.*⁵

Rubā'i.

Until the weak body of the beggar became the dust of his threshold,
His heart on account of his sorrow and vexation, fell desolate.
The life of this helpless one left him because of desire for the beloved,
His love exceeded all bounds, if haply at that time that king might summon him.

¹ MS. (A) reads **لَهُ**.

² MS. (A) **قصيدة**.

³ The **خطبہ** *qita'h*. Must contain not less than two couplets nor more than a hundred and seventy. The first two hemistiches need not rhyme, but the second hemistich of every verse must rhyme with the final hemistich of the opening verse.

The **قصيدة** *qasidah* In this form of poem the two opening hemistiches must rhyme. It must consist in Persian of not less than twenty-five couplets and not more than a hundred and seventy. See also Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie* for an explanation of these and other terms, and Gladwin, *Dissertations*.

* The reading in the text and in both MSS. (A) (B) is unintelligible, we must evidently read این دو for **گزند**. The footnote to the text merely states that the reading in the text is found in all three MSS., but makes no attempt to explain the true reading.

محمد همایون شہ بھر بر. These words give the date 927.

The translation of these verses is :

Thou art king of the kings of the age,
Whose continual object is conquest and victory.
Then didst seize Badakhshān, and its *tārīkh* was
Muhammad Humāyūn king of sea and land.

⁶ MS. (A) adds **خطبہ** *muzhar*.

*Gūshwāra.*¹

Tell the good tidings² of the victory of the king of my faith.
And if my life should obtain a few days grace from that exacting creditor³ Death, this *qaṣīdah*, together with all the *qaṣīdahs* and such useful information as I have written down in a separate note-book in the course of my travels, shall, should opportunity offer, be included among the contents of the second volume of the *Najātu-r-Rashīd*⁴ which I am anxiously longing to complete, should God, who facilitates our undertakings, so will it.

Another poet⁵ is *Wafā'i*, by which *tukhallus* *Shaikh* *Zainu-d-Din* *Khāfi*⁶ is commonly known, who was *Sadr-i-mustaqill* (Judge-plenipotentiary)⁷ during the reign of *Bābar* *Pādishāh*. There

471.

گوشوارہ¹ *Gūshwāra*. Lit., earring. The first line of a *ghazal* or *qaṣīda*, following immediately upon another.

گو خبر فتح شے دین ما Read. MS. (A) ماء دین نامه and دین ما A footnote variant reads.

و اگر عمر روزی چند از غریم متنقانی اجل مهلت یافت این قصیده
مع سایر قصاید و فواید که در مدت ایام سیاحی در بیانی علیحده نوشته شده
آن فواید فراید را الخ - MS. (A).

نجات الرشید⁸ *Najātu-i-Rashīd*. There is a MS. of this work of *Bādiyānī*, belonging to the College of Fort William, in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 204. (See J. A. S. B. xxxviii. p. 136). The title of the work gives the *tārīkh* of its composition on the second and last pages. The "second daftār" here mentioned by our author does not appear ever to have been written, though from his statement it would seem he had commenced the work.

* MS. (A) reads دیگرو فناشی ۸۵.

⁵ One *Zainu-d-Din* *Khāfi*, was a famous saint. His life is given in the *Nafahātu-l-Uṣa*, Calcutta edition, p. 569; but the one meant in this passage is the *Shaikh* *Zain* who read the *khutbah* in Dihli in *Bābar*'s name after the battle of Pānipat, see *Firishta*, Bo. Text, p. 381 and Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*, p. 308.

Khāfi or *Khawāfi* means 'coming from *Khawāf'* which is a district and town in *Khurāsān*. Our maps have *Khāff* or *Khāf* due west of Herāt. See 'Ain-i-*Akbari* (B) I. p. 445 and footnote, also p. 592 and footnote.

*صدر مستقل*⁶ *Sadr-i-mustaqill*. The *Sadr* was an officer of justice whose power appears to have been almost unlimited, his edict was necessary to legalise the accession of a new king.

is a mosque in Agra to his memory,¹ and a school situated on the other side of the river Jamna. He was the possessor of excellencies both bodily and mental, and in the construction of enigmas and chronograms, and in extempore versification, and in all the minutiae of poetry and prose, and in rhetoric, he was unapproachable in his own age.

They say that in the very first assembly in which he made homage to Bābar Pādshāh, he asked, what is your age? Without premeditation he answered, *Qabl azīn ba panj sāl chil sāla būdam, wa hālān chihal sāla am, wa ba'd az dū sāl-i-dīgar chihal tumām mī shavad.*²

It should moreover be known that (Bābar Pādshāh) also asked (a riddle) of the author of this *Muntakhab* saying: *Pish azīn ba yak sāl panjāh sāla būdam, wa hālān panjāh sāla am, wa ba'd azīn ba dah sāl panjāh sāla mī shavam.*³

It is well known that one day Shaikh Zain went to visit the brilliant resting-place of Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya may God sanctify him, and having heard that story of the Shaikh about “*Al Hidāyā mush̄tarak wa tanhā khus̄tarak*”⁴ repeated this *qīṣ‘ah* on the spot :

His duties were to enquire into the circumstances of persons before grants were made to them. Under his orders were the *Qāzī* and the *Mir ‘Adl*. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, (B) I. 268–270.

1 MSS. (A) (B) read اورا مسجدیست instead of مسجدیست (Text).

2 That is to say “Five years ago I was *chil* (چل) years of age and now I am *chihal* (چھل) years of age, and two years hence my *chihal* (forty) years will be complete.

چل (chil) stands for 33 thus چ = 3 ج = 30

چھل (chihal) stands for 38 thus چ = 3 ح = 5 ج = 30

while چھٹھ chihal is the Persian for forty.

MS. (B) completely loses the point by reading چھل chil throughout.”

3 That is, A year ago I was fifty (*panjāh*) years of age, now I am fifty-one (*panjāh* with the addition of Alif) years of age, ten years hence I shall be (پنجھو) *panjāh* years of age.

پنجھو (Panjāh) stands for 60: thus

پ = 2 ن = 5 ج = 3 ح = 5

Apparently we should read پنجھا (Panjāh) which would give 61.

4 This refers to a visit paid by Amir Khusrū of Dihli to Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya, when he saw another visitor who had brought a present for Nizāmu-d-

Qit'ah.

Oh our Shaikh ! may there come to thee from God gifts without ceasing,

What am I that I should say “ *Al Hidāyā mushtarak* ”

Thou sayest “ *Tanhā khushtarak* ” as thou didst say before
Make it “ *Mushtarak* ” if thou dost not say

“ *Tanhā khushtarak*. ”

Verse.

Grief has seized me by the sleeve, why should I hide my head
in my sleeve ?

Desire has grasped my skirt, why should I withdraw my foot 472.
within my skirt ?

Ah ! my sleeve in desire for thee and my skirt also are torn
to rags,

Why should I hide my head in my sleeve and withdraw my
foot within my skirt without thee ?¹

He wrote a *tārikh* dealing with the circumstances ² of the con-
quest of Hindūstān, and explaining its wonders, in which he did
full justice to the claims of erudition.

His death occurred near Chinhār in the year 940 H. and he
was buried within the precincts of a college which he himself had
founded.

Another (poet) was Maulānā Nādirī-i-Samarqandi, who was one
of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities, and a compen-
dium of perfection.³ He had a strong attachment for a beautiful
youth named Nizām, and the following well-known solution of an
enigmatical meaning, was composed for him :

Verse.

I the broken-hearted toll the praises of Nizām the famous,

Din Anliyā. Amīr Khusrū exclaimed “ *Al hidāyā mushtarak*. ” “ The gifts are
in common ; ” whereupon Nizāmu-d-Din Auliyā replied.

“ *Al hidāyā mushtarak lākin tanhā khushtarak*. ”

“ The gifts are truly in common, but I should be better pleased to enjoy
them alone.”

¹ M.S. (A) transposes the last two lines.

² M.S. (A) omits احوال.

³ M.S. (A) reads جامع بود و فاضل. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, (B) I. 605 n.

For my heart, when absent from him, lies disordered¹ and enfeebled.

Ruba'i.

I am grieved, and in my heart on thy account I hold a hundred sorrows,

Without the rubies of thy lips, I am matched against pain hour by hour;

I am in despair for this life, I the poor, the dejected,
I hope that the road of annihilation may become my refuge.

Gushwāra.

I sing the praise of the locks of my beloved.

And the following verses are part of the fruit of his fertile genius.

Ghazal.²

How wondrous graceful is my loved one's form,

I yield myself a slave to that figure and carriage ; .

My loved one would not look towards me with compassion,

Perhaps she displayed an inclination towards strangers.

Nādirī ! go towards the wineshop

And pledge thy head and turban for wine.

Verse.

473. Though I remained my whole life-long there at the head of thy street,

I swear by my life, that I never enjoyed a moment's peace ;

Wherever I bowed my head with the intention of obeisance
Thou wert there the Ka'bah³ towards which I turned.

A whole world was admitted to intimacy, and yet I remained forlorn,

¹ نظامي *Nizāme*, lit. a governor, one who orders and directs. The play upon the word cannot be preserved.

² غزل *Ghazal*. The ghazal or ode must consist of at least five couplets but must not exceed fifteen. Its first two hemistiches must rhyme.

³ سجدة *Sajdah*, commonly pronounced *Sijdah*, means a prostration in which the forehead touches the ground : as a religious observance the prostration, is on seven members : on the forehead, the two hands, the two knees, and the toes of both the feet ; women must touch the ground with the elbows, men on the contrary must keep the elbows up. The palms of the hands

All were accepted there but I was rejected ;
 Why do you ask Nādirī, what is thy condition in that road,
 At one time I am unhappy, at another I was happy¹ there.
 He also wrote this *Qasīdah* in honour of the deceased Emperor.

Qasīdah.

Thanks be to God that with a settled mind
 Intimate² friends sat together in pleasure ;
 The rose-garden is the pleasure-resort of people, for there in
 the presence of the rose, the nightingale sorrowful at the
 absence of his beloved became rejoiced by its presence.
 It may be that the beloved one of the garden had been
 stripped naked by Autumn,
 So that she has woven a patchwork garment of the hundred
 petals of the rose.
 The rose and the jasmine, the spikenard and the basil are in
 one place,³ .
 See ! the Emperor of Spring has come with his retinue and
 troops.
 The birds are singing the praises of the Emperor of heavenly
 grandeur⁴ .
 On the branches of the trees, like the preachers from their
 pulpits.
 The glorious Khāqān, the Emperor of dignity like Jamshid,
 Humāyūn,
 Who has a powerful hand and a sturdy heart by the decree
 of the Almighty.
 From his intelligence springs the wisdom of the learned,
 From his insight arises the perception of the men of acute
 vision.

must be placed upon the ground, with the fingers in the direction of the Qiblah, which was originally Jerusalem, but was afterwards changed to the Ka'bah. *Mīghkātū-l-Maqdībīh*, Cap. xv. part i.

See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, art. *Ka'bah*.

¹ MS. (A) مخشنودم آنچا.

² The text reads معاصر contemporany, but MSS. (A) (B) read معاشر intimate.

³ MS. (A) reads يك جانب. ⁴ Text فلك مرتبه. MS. (B) reads مرتبه.

Since prohibited things are unlawful by the statutes of religion,
He hastens to perform the deeds for which there is divine
sanction.

474. There have gathered together, to secure the victory of the army of Islām,
The unrivalled warriors of his army, the brave men of his troops,
Beneath his victorious standard, on the field of Fortune,
May the favour of the Everlasting be his protector and ally.
Oh thou by the generosity of whose hand all things have their being,¹
By the sharpness of whose sword all properties both accidental and essential² obtain permanence.
In the first day of eternity, the object of creation for the Lord of the world was the evolution of thy form from this revolving sphere,
Should Gabriel a second time be the bearer of revelation,
Pure passages³ will be revealed in thy glory.
Every subtilty of science which thy ruby lip pronounces
Has become as famous in the world as the uninterrupted tradition.⁴
It is well-known that this is a commentary on the books of mathematical science, this wonderful composition of thine on the discovery of circles.
How can any one deny the vastness of thy knowledge ?
None but a stubborn disputant⁵ will deny self-evident truths.

1 قوام *qiwām* is the stay or support of any thing, that in virtue of which it subsists.

2 عرض *A'rāz* او اعراض *o jawāhir*. By عرض 'Arazun, is meant in the conventional language of Muslim theologians, a thing that is not permanent, "an accident," as opposed to جوهر *jauharun*, "an essential," see Lane, s. v. جوهر also *kashshāf*, s. v. v. عرض and طواهر *tarawīh*.

3 آیات طواهر for ايات طواهر MS. (A) reads preferably.

4 These two lines commencing هر تکه حکمت occur in MS. (A) before the line commencing در درز ازل as well as in this place.

5 مبنی. Founded on certainty, equivalent to مسلم.

6 مکابر *mukābir*. One who contentiously upholds a proposition which he knows to be false.

I cannot estimate thy perfections, for in every art thou hast become perfectly skilled ;

When compared with thy philosophic intellect and good fortune, the angelic essence becomes as one of the common material¹ objects.

Thy generosity is of such a nature that at the moment of **475.** bestowing

Thou knowest without asking all the hidden desires of the mind.

This enigma upon the name of Kibār² is also by him :

Verse.

That face³ is the Qur'an, and that down on the cheek is the sign⁴ of tyranny and oppression ;

The cheek of that heart-ravishing one has no endowment of the mole of fidelity.⁵

¹ Read احسان اجتنام for احسان اجتنام. MS. (A).

² MS. (A) reads كبار MS. (B) reads كبار.

³ The text reads آنرو with a footnote saying that all three MSS. are the same. MS. (B) reads آبرو.

⁴ The text reads آيت، MS. (B) reads آیت.

⁵ The verse in the original runs thus :

Mushaf ast ānru wa ān khatt̄ āyat i jaur o jafā st

'Ariz i ān dil-sitān bī bahra az khāl i wofā st

The word مصحف mushaf here has two meanings, (1) a collection of pages مصحف suhuf, written upon, and placed between two boards, hence a copy of the Qur'an, (2) affected by *tashīf*, which is a technical expression for so altering a word by changing diacritical points and altering the order of its component letters, that it acquires a different signification.

In accordance with this second meaning, in the word آنرو the letter و, wāw is first dropped leaving آنر then r is changed into ب b giving آبرو ābrō, by transposing these letters we get بار bār.

The word بخ khatt̄ has also two meanings, (1) down on the cheek, (2) a letter or character. Hence we may translate "that letter is the sign of tyranny and oppression." Now کافتون kāftan, cutting or cleaving, is such a sign, and may be represented by its root کاف kāf, which is the letter of the alphabet required, and when prefixed to the syllable بار bār above found gives the word كبار kibār, thus completing the mu'ammā or enigma.

The death of the aforesaid Maulānā took place in the year 966 H. and Mir Amāni Kābuli wrote the following *tārikh*¹ of the event.

Verse.

Alas ! the pity of it, that the discerner of subtilties Nādirī
has departed,
That rare poet² who did full justice to eloquence in the world ;
I sought to express the date of his death by way of enigma,
Wisdom answered one has gone from among the masters of
speech.³

Another is Shaikh Abul Wāhid⁴ Fārīghi, who was deeply imbued with the feelings of a darvesh and was⁵ renowned for his sweet singing ; the following is taken from his poems :

Verse.

So great is the habitual oppression of that seeker after tyranny
That a morsel of mercy from him, seems a great beauty.
And in his impassioned style he says :

Verse.

Praise be to God that I am freed from the love of an ill-conditioned sot,
Who used to fall, as did his eyes, from drunkenness in every road,
Who, like the cup, for the sake of a draught, was lip to lip with every man,
Who like the flagon bent himself to every cup in every place.

¹ MS. (A) reads در تاریخ.

² & ³ آن نادیری کی This we may read *An Nādirī ki*. That Nādirī who : or, *An Nādīre ki*.

⁴ سخن وران رفت یکی از سخن وران ⁵ Raft yake az sukhun warān. If from sukhun warān the value of which is 967, we remove یکی that is one, we have left 966.

⁶ Footnote to text says that the *Nafdhisu-l-Ma'rif* reads Abūl Wājid
MS. (B) reads ابوالوجد Abūl Wajd.

⁵ MSS (A) (B) omit بود after شرب and insert it after مشهور.

The following is also by him.

Verse.

At that time when my heart was blest with thy companionship,

It did not seem that such a blessing could be expressed ;
In short, the whole of my life's reckoning had passed in separation from thee,

Who can count the joy of meeting ! what a store of happiness it was !

Strangers last night were near you, while Fārīghi at an immense distance was burning like rue¹ upon the fire of disappointment.

This is also his :

Verse.

Oh my intimate companions do not break the bond of union
In dispersion is distraction, do not break it and depart.

And again he writes :

Verse.

When thou drewest out thine arrow from my breast leave its point there,

Grant me my heart to yield my life in thy service manfully.

His death occurred in the year 940 H., and he was buried in the monastery² of Shaikh Zainu-d-Din³ at Agra, and in consequence of the extremity of their unanimity and concord both left the world in the same year. It is said that at the time when these two eminent men went to Hindūstān, owing to their excessive profligacy they possessed nothing but an old *postīn*⁴ between them. Shaikh Zainu-d-Din⁵ said to Shaikh Abūl-Wajd,⁶ "I will take this to the bāzār of Kābul upon the condition that you won't come and indulge in any pleasantries." He agreed, and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure

¹ دیده Sipand. Rue is said in the *Ghiṣāṣu-l-lughāt* to be burned to avert the evil eye. Rue was called "herb of grace" from its supposed efficacy in exorcism.

² Omit پیش MSS. (A) (B). ³ MS. (A). ⁴ A sheepskin coat.

⁵ MS. (A). ⁶ MS. (B). MS. (A) reads ابوالوحش.

was ready to give five *shahrukhs*¹ but Shaikh Zain kept demanding more. At last Shaikh Abūl-Wajd came up in a disinterested way and was acting as broker, after a deal of haggling he said, 477. "Ah! you cheat! why this door mat² itself contains³ five *Shahrukhs* worth of fleas and lice"! so the bargain was at an end, and Shaikh Zain was annoyed and said, "What sort of time was this for the stupid jokes you are so fond of? We wanted the price of a loaf, and this is the way you're going to pay for⁴ it"! Shaikh Abūl-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter.

Another is Jāhi Yatmān,⁵ who was from Bukhārā, and having acquired a reputation on this account in Kābul, offered his services at the time when the late Emperor proceeded towards Hindustān⁶ obtained great favours from Humāyūn, and rose to a confidential position, and at the time when Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sālū⁷ was left in Kābul as revenue commissioner,⁸ he treated⁹ the Mulla just like the rest of the people, and caused him serious annoyance. The Mulla accordingly composed an elegant *tarkīb*

¹ The *Shahrukhi* was a coin equivalent to 16 *dams*, or 2½ to a rupee. They were so called because they were first coined by Shāh Rukh the Mughal Sultān of Persia, A. H. 807-850. Thomas, *Pathan kings*, p. 381. The purchaser was thus willing to give about two rupees for the *postīn*. The *postīn* is a jacket made of dressed sheepskin dyed a yellow colour and more or less handsomely embroidered in yellow silk. It is worn like Brian O'Linn's breeches "with the fleshy side out and the woolly side in." They cost about thirty or forty rupees, according to their embroidery.

² Text reads بَتِيلْ. *Batil*. In the text this word is followed by a (?) MS (A) has what may be بَتِيلْ *patal*, in which case the meaning would be "a mat," and this in consideration of the matted condition of a filthy *postīn* seems the true reading.

³ MS. (B) omits باشد. ⁴ MSS. (A) (B) است این شما.

⁵ MS. (A) reads wa dīgari ḥāmi' t̄mān. MS. (B) reads جامی تمبان Jāhi-i-yatmīnān. A footnote to the text gives يقمينان and says that Nafā'isū l-Ma'āfir writes "Jāhi Yatmīyān was from Bukhārā, his father Yatmīyān was a native of that place, for which reason he was commonly known by this name."

⁶ MS. (A) reads سند Sind.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read سالو Sālū. The text reads شاپور Shāhpūr, but in a footnote gives مسالو.

⁸ ba-jihat-i-sazāwali.

⁹ MS. (B) reads تصویریده for نموده تصور.

band lampooning Sälü,¹ and inasmuch as the Emperor had the daughter of Shâh Muhammad Sälü² in his service, he made an exception³ in his favour alone, and erased the names of all the members of his family, male and female, consigning them to ignominy. Inasmuch as Humâyûn was also incensed against that ass⁴ who had been the source of all this mischief, he had that lampoon read⁵ in Sälü's presence by the Mulla in full assembly, and evinced the greatest delight and merriment, and made him give a large sum as a reward. By degrees that lampoon became more and more disgracefully scurrilous, accordingly I have restricted myself to citing one extract from it in this place, which is as follows :—

478.

"I am the poet of Shâh Humâyûn and the dust of his threshold,
The retinue of my poetic worth casts the moon's brightness
into shade.
My poem is the Emperor, and my noble verses are his cavalry
and soldiery,
I experienced oppression from a fool,⁶ without any fault or
crime of mine.
If a fragment of paper has become blackened by my ravings,
If my meditations turn towards⁷ satirizing him,
The object is that that these idiotic asses
May have a regard for the honour and dignity of this class.
Alas, for that man who contends with the tribe of poets,
Whoever contends with me contends against calamity."

The Emperor interfered at this verse saying, "Why do you
not word it thus :

"Whoever contends with me contends with God "

The following verses are also by him :—

¹ MSS. (A) (B).

² MSS. (A) (B).

³ MSS. (A) (B) ساختنی مساختنی.

⁴ The Text reads خر *Khar* but M.S. (A). reads خسور *Khusur*, father-in-law.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) فرموده استماع.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read بخندری *be-khendri*. The text reads قحبہ زنی *qahba-zane*. Whoremaster.

⁷ Text 鮑 with a footnote زد for بوقی *Baqi*.

Verse.

As long as we have existed we have been lovers and have incurred ignominy,
 Yet we have been constant to the true proportions of lovers.
 This is also his :—

Verse.

Ye, beauteous ones, are all devoid of love and faithfulness,
 Ye treat your captives with tyranny and oppression,
 Ye promised to be faithful, but have vowed falsely,
 Say truly, why are ye all thus false ?
 Not in this city alone are we disgraced on your account.
479. Everywhere ye are the cause of our disgrace,
 How often will ye ask what is your object in the world ?
 I say truly that ye are, ye are, ye are.
 Jahi cannot save his life from your hands
 For ye are a calamity of the calamities sent by God.

The following is also by him :

Verse.

Last night the moon of the 'Id appeared in the form of a *misqal*¹
 Because from the vapours of fasting the mirror of the heart
 was clouded.
 Was this the new moon ? or by reason of the leanness of
 their bodies,
 Did the bone of the rib of the thirsty-lipped fast-enduring
 ones appear ?
 Or was it that they had fashioned a saddle² for the camel of
 Laili ?
 Or was it the bowed body of Majnūn who had become pale
 and wan through grief ?
 The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among thy servants,

¹ جَهْوَنْجِر misqal or جَهْوَنْجِر misqalat, called also حَبْرَخَةْ kharazat, is a shell used for polishing swords, mirrors, &c., *Tāju-l-'Arūs*.

MS. (B) reads جَهْوَنْجِر muṣaqqaṭ which suits neither metre nor sense.

² MSS. (A) (B) read طَبْرَبْ for طَبْرَبْ. A footnote variant to the text is طَبْرَبْ.

And for that reason has bent the bow in order to string it.¹
 Moreover thy messenger has bound on his bells,² and has
 placed the feather of distinction on his head,
 He is going from Rūm to bear tidings from Zanzibār.

It must be borne in mind that this verse³ *Khwesh̄ rā dar silk-i-khuddāmi tū mīkhwāhad falak.* (The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among your servants) he has taken from a couplet of the *qasīdah* of Nizām Astarābādī, which runs thus,—

*Şhab nūjūm az majma'-i-mardum nīshān āwarda and
 Waz mah i nau tāza ḥarfe darmiyān āwarda and*
 At night the stars have appeared like an assembly of men
 And have brought into their midst a new idea in the shape of
 the new moon ;
 The Şhāh of Zangbār has taken his seat upon the throne of 480.
 Empire
 And the stars have brought the bow as an offering to him.

Rubā'i.

The down which encircles thy cheek is the cause of my distraction,
 Thy locks are the cause of my helplessness and distress,
 That dusky ringlet is bent upon my undoing,
 All these charms are the cause of my distraction.

The following is also his :

Come, for the sky has prepared for your pastime⁴
 The sun as the golden gourd, and the crescent-moon as the hook.⁵

¹ بھر بھر گدار (Text). MS. (A) reads بھر بھر گدار. MS. (B) reads بھر بھر گدار. ² بستہ زنگ Basta zang. The dāk-runners in the East carry a cluster of globular bells called *Zang* or *rang*, tied to one end of the staff carried over their shoulders, to the other end of which the mail-bag is attached, as a signal to clear the way. *Zang-bastan* has the secondary meaning of acquiring importance. MSS. (A) (B) read زنگ رنگ for زنگ.

³ MS. (A) reads این بیت را که.

⁴ قبق بازی qabaq bāzī. *Qabaq* signifies in Türkî a gourd; in ancient times the Turkomāns used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, but in later times a bowl was substituted for the gourd.

⁵ کچک kajak. The name given to the hook upon which the bowl is suspended in the game of *qabaq andāzī*. (*Ghiāṣu-l-lughāt*.)

Bairām Khān has a well-known *qaṣīdah* with this same rhyme, but in a different metre, of which the following is the opening couplet :—

Verse.

Thy shaft has carried away the loop of the *qabaq*¹ from its hook,

Thy meteor, by the help of the crescent-moon has erased the form of the Pleiades.

These two opening couplets are derived from the opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* by the celebrated Niṣārī Tūni. The death of Mulla Jāhi took place in the year 956 H. and was due to some poison which a servant introduced into his cup.

Another poet is Ḥaidar Tūniā'i, a man of parts, and unequalled in the technicalities of harmony, he had a competent faculty for both poetry and music. He spent the greater part of his life in Hindustān. The lampoon upon the *Maliku-l-munajjimīn*² of the time of Humāyūn Pādshāh, which he wrote at Panjgāh, is one of the marvels of the age, and a rarity for all time.

The following opening couplet which he wrote for his threnody on the death of the saintly martyred Imām,³ accepted of God, murdered by man, offspring of the Prophet, by descent from the pure⁴ Fāṭimah, upon them be peace,⁵ is read during the ‘Āshūrā in the assemblies for the commemoration of the death of Husain.⁶

¹ The text reads كبك kabak and a footnote states that all three MSS. have the word written with kāf-i-kaliman (ك). MS. (A) however has قبّق qabaq. The crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife (محنة).

² Prince of Astrologers.

³ Husain, the second son of 'Alī by his wife Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad, was slain at Karbalā, A. H. 61. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam.

⁴ البَتُولُ Al-Batūl. The word batūl literally means an offset of a palm-tree, cut from the parent tree and independent of it. With the article ال al, in its application to Fāṭimah, it denotes her distinction from other women on the ground of chastity, excellence and religion. See Lane s. v.

⁵ عليه السلام 'alaihimas-salām. MS. (A) The text reads عليه السلام, with a footnote variant رضي الله عنه, and stating that the expression in the text is not found either in the dual or plural in any MS. Clearly the editor had not MS. (A) before him.

⁶ معارك m'aārik lit., battle fields.

Verse.

The month of Muḥarram has come and our eyes are constrained
to weep,
We let fall tears of blood at the thought of Husain's parched
lips.¹

Ruba'i.

Thou art he whom in envy they call the sun and moon,
Thy troops, both horse and foot, they call the moonfaced ones.
Thou art worthy of this, with this grace and beauty of thine,
That all the kings of the age should call thee sovereign lord.

The following is also by him :—

My heart thou hast no friend to compare with sorrow for him,
Thou hast no comfort in life like sympathy for him.

And this :—

Every moment my heart's desire has some fresh allurement,
To bear her coquetry costs my life, what of that ? it is her
life.

How can I liken the lips of my love to the bud of the rose,
The bud is tightly pursed it is true, but is dumb and silent.

The son of this man Ḥaidar Tūnī was an arrant coward and spiritless ;² accordingly in the months³ of the year 985 H. he had 482. entered the service of Humāyūn ; one day he was describing the circumstances of a journey by boat and its terrors, in such a way that the effects of fear were evident from his behaviour.⁴ I asked saying, May be you regret having gone on the Hajj ?⁵ and I repeated as appropriate to the occasion that verse which his rivals said to the poet Qudṣī.⁶

¹ The pathetic story of the death of Husain slain in his attempts to quench his thirst, forms the theme of the annual ceremonies of the Muḥarram. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, artt. Muḥarram, and Al-Husain, where a full account of Husain's death is given.

² MS. (A) reads پسرش. MS. (A) (B) omit و بیدل.

³ MS. (A) omits شہور.

⁴ Text ادھائیں MS. (A) ادھائیں MS. (B) دھانش.

⁵ حج Hajj or greater pilgrimage.

⁶ Mir Husain Qudṣī of Karbalā, see *Ain-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 602.

Verse.

From the hardships of the desert path, and its thorns,¹
Of the coming to the *Ka'bah* you are probably repentant.

He replied instantly, "Yea! verily." The king said, why should he repent of having visited the *Ka'bah*, though he may indeed repent of sitting in a ship. At that same moment Mathin² *Khân*, the elegant and accomplished mime, in accordance with a hint from the king, made himself up³ to represent a mad man bitten by a dog, and began to bark like a dog, and seized Haidar,⁴ and dragged him forward with his turban flying one way and his shoes another. He began running in all directions,⁵ till at last he rolled on the ground, and set them all laughing immoderately. When he learned the truth he was desperately ashamed. The king attempted to console him, but it ended by his being obliged to leave Hindustân. Another is *Şâh Tâhir Khwândî*⁶ Dakkani, the younger brother of *Şâh Ja'far*; the 'Ulamâ of Irâq, however ridicule his pretensions to descent from *Khwândî* stock, and have prepared a document bearing upon this question, to which both his opponents and supporters subscribed their signatures,⁷ as is mentioned in the *Kâmilu-t-tawârîkh* of Ibn Asîr Jazâri,⁸ and also in the *Lubbu-t-tawârîkh*⁹ of Qâzî Ya'âya Qazwîni, and other works. He claimed to be intimately connected with *Şâh Tahmasp*, but

¹ خار مغیلان *Khâr-i-mughailân*. See *ante*, p. 550 n. 1.

² MSS. (A) (B) متهی. *Mathî*. ⁸ MS. (B) reads ساخته.

⁴ MS. (A) reads این چیدر را. ⁶ MS. (A) omits دروس.

⁶ MS. (A) reads *Khondî*. *Şâh Tâhir Junaidî*, See Beale Dict. Or. Biog., p. 250. See also Briggs *Firishta*, vol. iii. reign of Burhân Nizâm *Şâh*.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) خط نهادند. MS. (B) reads نباد.

⁸ The author of this celebrated history which is also called *Al Kâmil fi-târîkh* (the perfect history) or more commonly *Al-Kâmil*, was *Şâikh Abû-l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Abî-l-Karan Muhammâd ibn Muhammâd ibn 'Abdu-l-Karîm ibn 'Abdu-l-Wâhid ash-Sharbâni* commonly known as *Ibnu-l-Asîr*.

He is called Al-Jazâri (the islander) from his birth-place the island of Ibn 'Umar, Jazîrat ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul. He was born 555 H. (1160 A.D.) and died 630 H. (1232 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson, II. 244, and Hâjî Khalifah, 9733.

⁹ اب التواریخ *Lubbu-t-Tawârîkh*. (Marrow of History). The author of this work was Ya'âya ibn 'Abdu-l-La'tîf Qazwîni (*Dimîshqî*) who died 960 A.H. (1552 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson IV. 293 and Hâjî Khalifah, 11076.

eventually he was led, by the abuse which was heaped upon him in connection with the aforesaid claim to relationship,¹ and the excessive annoyance caused him by Mir Jamālu-d-Dīn Sadr Astarābādī, to proceed to the Dakkan, which is famed as the refuge for the oppressed, where he met with a favourable reception from Nizām Shāh, the ruler of that country, and was rewarded with considerable advancement, and attaining the highest dignities² reached the rank of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk* (Chief finance-minister of the State). The Shī'ah tenets spread widely, in fact we may say they were really inaugurated in those regions through the instrumentality of Shāh Tāhir.³ Nizām Shāh Bahri, who was afflicted with an incurable⁴ malady of long standing, was cured by the virtue⁵ of a charm pronounced over him by Shāh Ja'far, and that occurrence, which was in reality was of the nature of *Istidrāj*, he attributed to the miraculous powers (*karāmat*) of Shāh Ja'far,⁶ and acting upon his instigation abandoned the religious

483.

¹ MS. (A) reads نسب و مشار الیه گردیده (B) (B) MSS. (A)

² Shāh Tāhir, by prophesying the recovery of his son 'Abdu-l-Qādir, who was dangerously ill, induced Nizām Shāh to reject the names of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uṣmān, who are the three first Khalīfahs of the Sunnis, from the Khuṭbah, and to substitute those of the Imāms, thus proclaiming himself a Shī'ah. See Firāqta, Bo. text, II. 220 *et. seqq.* Briggs, (III. 228) merely mentions the fact but does not give the story.

⁴ Read ل علاج y. MS. (A).

⁵ بطفيل فعون خوازي. Baṭufail-i-fusūn khwāzī. This is a very strange expression, and although it occurs in the text and MSS. (A) (B), I would suggest we should read بفضل ba-faḍl. The use of spells and charms for the cure of disease was permitted to Muslims provided there was in them no suspicion of شرك shirk, that is, of associating anything with God. We read in the *Mishkāt* that spells were permitted to be used "to counteract the ill-effects of a malignant eye; and on those bit by snakes or scorpions, and for sores in the side." They were also directed to be used for jaundice which was held to be an effect of the evil-eye. See *Mishkātu-l-Maqābiḥ*, XXI. Part II.

MS. (B) reads صحتي مي دار.

⁶ استدراج. *Istidrāj*. In the *Kashshāf* this is defined as follows: "A præternatural occurrence brought about by the agency of an unbeliever or an impious man, and in conformity with his desires." Another definition is also given from the *Shamā'ilu-l-Muhammadīyah*. "*Istidrāj* is a præternatural occur-

tenets of *Sunnat*¹ and *Jamā'at*,² which he held as one of the *Mahdawiyah*,³ and became a fanatical heretic.⁴ What cruel and vexatious treatment as accursed and excommunicate did, not these two ill-starred ones⁵ inflict upon the 'Ulamā and Shaikhs of that land ! So that at last their disgraceful conduct led to the expulsion of the true Muslims, and heresy⁶ from that day again became firmly rooted in that country.

Shāh Tāhir was in natural descriptive poetry comparable to Nizām Astarabādi in astronomical poetry. The following is from one of his *qasīdahs* written in eulogy of Humāyūn Pādshāh. In it he has imitated Anwārī.

Verse.

When the golden litter of the sun enters the resting-place of
 Hamal,⁷

The tulip lights its lamp, and the narcissus its torch ;

rence brought about by the agency of infidels or evil-doers.” It is generally understood that a miracle brought about by one who claims to be a prophet, if it be in accordance with his desires is called *mu'jiza*, while if it be contrary to his intention it is called *Ihānat*. Again that which is brought about by any other than a prophet, if he be faithful, pious, and perfect in the knowledge of God, is called *karāmat*; that performed by the ordinary believer is called *ma'rūnāt*, but that which is performed by infidels is to be called *istidrāj*.

Kashshāf I. 463.

1 The word سُنَّة *Sunnat* means literally ‘a path’ and the Sunnis are known as أَهْلُ سُنَّة *Ahl-i-Sunnat* “the people of the path.” The Sunnis have claimed for themselves this title in virtue of their acknowledging the first four Khalifahs to have been the rightful successors of Muḥammad, and receiving the “six books” of tradition.

2 جماعة *jamā'at*, Assembly. It is here used in its technical sense of مُوَكَّدَةٌ *sunnatun mu'akkadatun* an authenticated traditional practice. The Sunnis are commonly called *Ahl-i-sunnah wa jamā'ah*.

3 For an account of the Mahdawī sect, see *Ain-i-Akbarī* (B.) I., pp. iii. iv.

4 متوفض غالبي *mutarafiz-i-ghālī*. The meaning appears to be “became more of a Shī'ah than the Shī'ahs themselves.” The form of the word *mutarafiz* requires some such translation.

5 مشنوم *mash'ūm* MSS. (A) (B) read ميشنوم.

6 رفض *Rafz* lit. forsaking. The Sunnī Muslims call all Shī'ahs *Rāfi'ī* or heretics.

7 حمل *Hamal*, Aries. The sun enters Aries in Spring.

Now the mountain is freed from the headache caused by
Bahman and Dai,¹

And the spring cloud washes from its forehead the sandal.²

The following *Qaṣidah* in praise of the Prophet³ is also his, although the *guriz-gāh*,⁴ nay even the commencement of the *Qasidah* in its entirety, is not suitable to the dignity of the holy Commander (of the Faithful) *on him be peace*.⁵

484.

Qaṣidah.

Once more the time has come when in accordance with the summons of the sky

The rose spreads its crimson blanket on the couch of the garden;

The clouds of Naisān, with the keen blood-hued dagger of the lightning

Erases the word “ice”⁶ from the pages of the earth’s surface.

The close-eyed darlings the buds, like an army of Ozbaks,⁷

Make a night-attack at early dawn upon the army of Dai,
Behold the forms of bud and of rose with the sky for a branch!

The conical shadow of the earth is the bud, the sun in heaven is the rose.

¹ بهمن و دی *Bahman-o-Dai*. Dai is the tenth and Bahman the eleventh month of the Persian year: they answer to December and January. See Al-Birūnī Chronology, p. 52.

² صندل *Sandal*. Santalum album, N. O. *Santalaceæ*.

The wood ground into powder is much used in India made into a paste with water as an application to the forehead in headaches. The *Makhrzann-l-Adwīya* recommends the addition of a little camphor and rose-water. See Ibn Baitar II, 138. See *ante*, p. 434 n. 1, also Drury, *Useful Plants of India*, p. 383.

³ منقبت *Manqabat*. This word is used to connote eulogy of either the Prophet or holy men (Walis).

⁴ گریزگاه *Guriz-gāh*. Point of departure. This name is given to that portion of a *qaṣidah* in which the poet leaves his original theme to descant upon the qualities of the person eulogised.

⁵ MS. (A) omits - علیه السلام - حضرت - *ta'āli - 'Alīyah al-salām - ḥaḍarat -*

⁶ Text حرف برف *harf-i-barf*. MS. (B) reads *harf-i-harf*.

⁷ The Turks are called *tang-chashm* close-eyed, and the red petals tightly folded in the bud are likened to the “tūj” or red caps of the *Qizilbāsh*.

And for this reason that the assembly of the rose may not be without a minstrel,
 The nightingale has become the lute-player, the rose-branch with its buds are the lute;
 The garment of the rock would have become wet from the moisture distilled from the clouds
 Had not the mountain covered its back with the woollen cloak¹ of verdure.
 • Had not the lightning smitten its goad upon the head of the elephant-like cloud
 It would have laid in ruins the stately edifice of the sky.
 The garden became the table of 'Isā, and the dew lying on it²
 Looked like salt sprinkled here and there upon that table,
 In order that the people may not receive base gold from the hand of the jasmine,
 The tulip cambist carries hidden under his arm the touch-stone.
 Every perfect thing which is not secure from the defects of decay,
 Seems in the sight of the wise and noble but a small thing.
 The beloved of the garden is of perfect beauty but it had been well
 If this beauty and comeliness had not been separated from it.
 Alas! for that moment when at the instigation of desire the army of Dai
 Became emboldened³ to lay waste the garden of roses.
 The time is near at hand when the staff-bearer of the days of Autumn
 Will knock with his staff at the gate of the rose-garden.
 The crow will then hold in derision the impassioned⁴ nightingale,
 And the withered petals will lie blackened beneath the hundred petalled rose (the sun).

¹ Text reads **کپنک**. MSS. (A) (B) read *kapanak*, a felt garment which poor persons wear on their backs in winter. *Ghiāṣu-l-lughāt*.

² Read **وبوی شینم** MSS. (A) (B).

³ Text reads **شیرک** but we should read **سترك**. MS. (A).

⁴ MS. (A) reads **شوریده** for **شوریدة**.

The wind has cast the diadem from the head of the garden-glory,¹

While the Siparak² sets itself up in antagonism to the cheek of the rose.

With a view to the construction of that courtyard of which Dai³ has laid the foundation in the garden,
Everywhere there lie scattered about bricks of ice and mortar of snow,

[For aged people who have experienced the tyranny of Autumn

The optician Dai makes spectacles of the crystal ice.

[Spoon will it happen that from fear of the staff of the watchman of Dai

The people of the sweet herbs will take to flight one after another].⁴

It is better for the wise man that he determine to make the tour of such a garden

Where the autumn cannot be persuaded to go even by force.

That garden is the rose-garden of the praise of a king of so high dignity

That the very angels descend from heaven to frequent his Court.

Murtazā⁵ the king, both of form and reality, inasmuch as he is the source of the union of shadow and substance.

That one who, from the impetuosity of his royal falcon's **486.** talons,

¹ بوستان افروز *būstān afroz*. A red flower without odour, called also Tāj-i-Khurūs (Cockscomb) and Gul-i-Yūsuf. (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*) *Amaranthus candidatus* Love-lies-bleeding or *Celosia cristata* (Cockscomb) N. O. *Amaranthaceæ*.

² سپرک *Siprak* a herb, which when boiled dyes yellow (Steingass). This line may also be translated, Measles has become opponent to the cheek of the rose.

³ MS. (A) reads گل for دی.

⁴ This couplet is in MS. (A), as follows.—

زود باشد که نزیم کنک شنیده دی

گویند رعایت روایین یک یک

The text reads پیش از اندم instead of زود باشد.

⁵ Murtaza. The Chosen. A title of 'Alī.

Breaks the wing of the heavenly Eagle¹ as though it were a duck.

Such a king is he that, in the train of the attendants at his door,

Birjis² bears the name Sa'd, and 'Utārid³ that of Zirak.
The table-steward of the sky, for the use of his lordly table,
Has brought the Pleiades⁴ in his hand as salt-cellar and salt.
The moon has become the censer of his⁵ assembly, and the rays of the moon,⁶

Are the smoke of the aloes-wood which issues from that censer,

From behind the mirror of the heavens, in accordance with the rules of approval,

Whatever he said, Fate repeated the same like a parrot.⁷

[Who else is there whom they can bring into his train,

We recognise his other competitors, each one of them.

He bears no relation to tyranny-loving strangers,

The connoisseur perceives the difference between turquoise⁸ and glass beads ;

نسرین فلك ^۱ Nasrain-i-falak. The constellations Eagle and Lyre.

بر جیس ² Birjis. The planet Jupiter, which is one of the سعدان Sa'dān, or two auspicious planets, the other being Venus.

عطارد ³ 'Uṭārid. The planet Mercury, which is held to rule over intelligence, hence it has the name **زیراک** Zirak, intelligent.

The names Sa'd and Zirak are commonly given to servants.

نربیا ⁴ Suraiyyā. The Pleiades; as being the most beneficial of the planets from its influence on the autumnal rains, is called by the Arabs **النجم** An-najm. The constellation, cf. Job. xxxviii. 31. The poet apparently draws his simile from the form of the constellation itself, and also from the nebula, which he compares to the salt grains. If this latter is really the case it would be interesting, as the nebula of the Pleiades is claimed to have been comparatively recently discovered, first by photography.

⁵ MS. (A) reads تو for نو.

⁶ The expression **جرم قمر** jirm-i-qamar is not very clear, and properly would hardly bear the meaning given to it in the translation. The word **جرم** jirm is said to be used in the sense of the separate members of the body (see Lane s. v.) and on this analogy the word is here translated rays.

⁷ The text has here a footnote saying that in two MSS. there follows here *In maṭla'i u nīz mashhūr ast.* So MS. (B).

⁸ To look each morning upon the turquoise is said to enhance the brilliancy of the eyes. It is also said that the wearer of a Turquoise so set that it

Virtual justice and the decree of courts are mistakes,
For this reason that this question was decided in the case of
Faddak¹

The widow of time, since she was not meet for marriage,
He divorced her openly and irrevocably, then he left her.]²

The following opening couplet of his³ is also well-known :—

487.

Verse.

In this grief-populated world joy has departed from my
sorrowful heart,⁴

We are quite accustomed to grief to such an extent has joy
been forgotten.

Verse.

We have been defamed because of the crime of love, as the
devotee is blamed for his hypocrisy ;

Both of us are defamed, but what a vast difference there is
between us ?

The following is also his :—

Verse.

Come not out, for you will be the calamity⁵ of the age,
We shall be slain and you will be disgraced.

The following *qaṣidah* also⁶ is a very happy production of his :—
Every man who sets his heart upon worldly desires
In the judgment of men of wisdom is not wise ;

touches the skin may fall from any height without injury, as the stone attracts
to itself the whole force of the blow. *Manī Mālā* I., p. 88. It is also sup-
posed to change colour with the state of the wearer's health. The Turquoise
is commonly worn set in an amulet.

¹ Faddak was a village which belonged to the prophet Muhammad. After
his death, when his daughter Fatimah had assumed possession, the Khalifah
took it from her by force, saying, "I have heard the prophet say 'we
prophets will not leave legacies to our heirs but what is left at our death will
be given in charity.'"

² The verses in brackets are omitted from MS. (A).

³ MS. (A) omits او.

⁴ در غم آباد جهان عیش از دل ناشاد رفت. MSS. (A) (B) read
در غم او لذت عشق از دل ناشاد رفت. In grief for her the joy of love has left
my sorrowful heart.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read فتنہ for شہرہ. ⁶ Insert نیز از after قصیدۃ. MS. (A).

His death occurred in the year 952 H. in the Dakkan and for the *tārikh* of his decease the words *Tābi‘u ahl-i-l-bait*¹ were devised.

Another is *Khwāja Aiyūb*² ibn *Khwāja Abūl-barakāt*,³ who was one of the hereditary grandees of Mawarā-an-nahr. Both father and son, in spite of their excellencies acquired⁴ and inherited, have become proverbial for indifference, the one in ‘Irāq and *Khurāsān*, and the other in Kābul and Hindustān. This *Muntakhab* has no room to relate their circumstances in detail, but they are related in many other places, and are well-known. It is said that *Khwāja Abūl-barakāt*⁵ read the following *matla‘*⁶ of one of his own poems on the learned men of the age.⁷

Verse.

The field of my hope became parched, and a famine of faithfulness followed.⁸

488. Either this was from the fire of our heart, or that in the cloud of our eye there remained no rain.

By way of fault-finding some one said to him that the *yā* (ي) in the last hemistich was meaningless, and in its place he should have written *tā* (ت). The *Khwāja* repeated the following *qit‘ah* extempore by way of excuse:

Qit‘ah.

Whatever comes before men of discrimination,
They do not draw lines by way of criticism.

They take the dots either above or below (as may be required).
Wise men are not bound by simple dots.

They read *yā* (ي) and carefully consider,
They do not read *yā* (ي) but make it *tā* (ت) in error.⁹

¹ MSS. (A) (B) تابع اهل البيت *Tābi‘u ahl-i-l-bait*. Follower of the people of the House. See Qur‘ān, xxxiii. 33. The text omits the article ال before بيت, which is correct, as the date required is 952.

² Text reads ایوب. ³ MS. (A) reads ابو البرکة *Abū-l-barakah*.

⁴ MS. (B) reads مكتنبي for مكتبي. ⁵ MS. (A) again reads ابو البرکة *Abū-l-barakah*.

⁶ MS. (A) omits مطلع. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit خود here.

⁸ MS. (A) reads خشک شد کشت ایید ما و شد قحط و فنا.

⁹ There is great cleverness of construction in the original *qit‘ah*, in the last line we should read بکنند *bi-kunand* for نکنند *na kunand*, and in the last but two پیروی for پیروی. MS. (A).

He also wrote a *qaṣīdah* in imitation of Salmān Sāwaji,¹ of which the following is the opening couplet:—

Verse.

I burn with the fever of love, and my head is racked with the pain of separation,

My soul comes to my lips, but my beloved comes not to me;
[Since the fire of my heart burns in my body like the flame in a lamp]

My skirt has been rent and my garment torn upon my head].²

And the following two poems are taken from a *qaṣīdah* which he wrote to satirise the Qāzī of Nishāpūr:—

Verses.

A certain theologian wrote contrary to the religious law of the Prophet,³

There was nothing of that kind written in the books.

He wrote that honey is unlawful and wine lawful to be used because (said he) the latter is the juice of the vine and the former the spume of the bee.

To the wife who went⁴ to complain of her husband to the 489.

Qāzī, saying I get no enjoyment of sense from him,

He replied, If he has become enfeebled and weak,

It is right that he should employ a hireling in his place.

The Khwāja in his poems sometimes uses the *takhallus*⁵ of Ayūb and sometimes that of Firāqī; the following *ghazal* is by him:—

Verse.

Lovely rose-branch, whose stature is straight as the cypress,
Thou hast twined a line of emerald around thy lips,

The last lines also mean—

Either they read and consider carefully

Or they do not read lest they should make mistakes.

¹ Salmān Sāwaji, whose surname was Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad, was a celebrated poet, a native of Sāwa, and flourished in the reigns of Shaikh Hasan Jalāyer and his son Sultān Aweis. He died 779 A. H. (Beale, O. B. D.)

² Not in MS. (B).

³ MSS. (A) (B)

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read for .

⁵ Poetical name, *nom-de-plume*.

Thy form is straight like the letter Alif [may his shadow be lengthened),

And thine eyebrows are extended like the *madda* over the Alif.¹

Thou hast cast the die of acceptance on the words of others,
But through the words of lovers thou has drawn the line of refusal;

Thou endurest troubles, do not attempt to draw her, O painter of Chin,

Wert thou to draw a hundred, never would there come eyes and locks like her's.

Firāqī, be not over-desirous of the wealth of union with her,
Thou hast suffered boundless tyranny and spite at the hands of thy beloved.²

The king, who has now taken refuge in God's pardon, in spite of that unseemly behaviour was excessively fond of the *Khwājah*.

Accordingly, so³ desirous was he of his society that he joined him in the marriage-boud to one of the Begams, in the hope⁴ that he would adopt the manner of life of people of probity and rectitude, but the *Khwājah* was held so close a prisoner⁵ by his evil habits, that he could not abide companionship with the king.

Verse.

When once evil habits have taken possession of the nature
They will never leave it till the day of death.

490. He put forward various flimsy pretexts to that end, and not even contenting himself with this, one day while in the king's assembly he was guilty of a breach of decorum which one blushes to mention. The king, out of the exceeding kindness and goodness of his nature, overlooked his fault, and merely remarked, "My dear *Khwāja* what sort of manners are these!" The *Khwāja* sought permission to proceed to Makka the revered, the blessed,⁶ and after duly setting in order the requisites for his journey and the

¹ An Alif ! with a curved line written across it horizontally ۷ is called *Alif mādūda*. This cross line was originally the word مدد, *madd* which means lengthening or prolonging.

² MS. (B). transposes the two last lines. ³ MS. (A). omits ۲۵.

⁴ MS. (A) reads ۶ شاید که ۵ گرفتاری.

⁵ MS. (A) reads مبارکہ MS. (B) omits ۶ مبارکہ.

requirements for a sea-voyage,¹ he bade him farewell. When he embarked he enquired of his companions, what² are the advantages of going thither? They replied, "Purification from past sins." He rejoined, "I will wait then till I have fulfilled the catalogue of sins, and then be purified, so that I may have no further desire to sin."³ Thus he remained destitute of that grace, and abandoning himself to his desires, gave the rein to his passions. Sultān Bahādūr of Gujrat in consideration of pleasant companionship and good-fellowship, appointed⁴ him a daily allowance of one *aghrafi*⁵ for his expenditure. One day when he was passing through the bāzār of Ahmādābād, seeing the Khwāja in the *Tirpauliya* mosque,⁶ he reined back and with great kindness and *empressement* asked "How is the Khwāja faring?" He replied "On the fare which you have allotted me, one of my limbs even cannot obtain sufficient sustenance, why do you ask such a question?" Sultān Bahādūr notwithstanding this rudeness doubled his allowance.⁷

Just at that time too, Shāh Tāhir Dakkani came to Gujrat with all pomp and circumstance on the occasion of his embassage from Nizām Shāh Dakkani, and having heard such high praise of the Khwāja, arrived at his house, which had neither a mat nor a pitcher of water. A very pleasant colloquy followed, each reciting his own and hearing the other's verses, and on the next

١ ساز سفر و جهاز MS. (A). The text reads اسیاب سفر و جهاز and adds a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. and also suggests that we should perhaps read سفر جهاز. MS. (A.) is however evidently correct here.

٢ چیز است MS. (A) reads چے چیز است.

٣ تا اوصانی نماند MS. (A.), instead of the reading in the text تا اذو باقی نماند.

٤ فرمود MS. (A).

٥ The *Aghrafi* is a gold coin weighing ten *māshas*, which first obtained currency in the reign of Ashraf Pādshāh (*Ghiāṣu-l-lughāt*).

٦ MS. (A) reads بazar for بازار. The word *tirpauliya* is a Sanskrit word, meaning *having three doors*. It does not appear which mosque is meant, but Hunter in the *Gazetteer of India*. Vol. I, pp. 97-98, speaking of the architecture of Ahmādābād, points out the compromise of form between Hindu or Jain, and Muhammadan types. He says "Even the mosques are Hindu or Jain in their details, with a Saracenic arch thrown in occasionally, not from any constructive want, but as a symbol of Islam."

٧ MS. (A) omits ب.

191. day, after arranging all the requirements of hospitality, with a *khil'at*, a horse, and a bag of coin and valuable gifts in his own lodging, sent the *Khwāja* an invitation. In the warmth of their meeting and the enthusiasm of their conversation, suddenly the conversation turned upon¹ religion and sects. The *Khwāja* enquired of the *Shāh*, what is the reason that the *Shī'aḥs* among you say such unbecoming things regarding the companions of the Prophet *on him be peace*? He answered 'Our jurisconsults² have decided that cursing (*la'n*) is an element of faith (*Imān*).'
The *Khwāja* rejoined, 'Curses on a faith of which cursing is an element.' The *Shāh* was astounded at this, and their colloquy came to an end, and that urbanity and courtesy which he had thought to shew remained hidden by the curtain of his anger, and was lost. Finally he departed thence in wretchedness and ignominy to the Dakkan, and had an interview³ with Nizām *Shāh*, who likewise sent all that was necessary to his honourable reception, and received him cordially, but neither there could the *Khwāja* remain, owing⁴ to his perverse temper and his want of self-restraint, till by leaving the world he freed himself from the torment of existence.

Verse.

My heart, be patient for that stern-hearted friend,
Is sitting and grieving sore⁵ at his own unhappy fate.

Verse.

Where was the black horse? whither did I wend?

Who am I, and what words are these? but what can I do, for the rein of my restive, hasty⁶ and audacious pen has been turned in this direction, and words have leapt forth beyond the area of my control. Were it not so, I know that it is no virtue to pry into faults, while to carp at the vices of others, shutting one's eyes to one's own defects is the acme of shortsightedness.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) insert در before مذهب.

² مُجتَهِدين *Mujtahidin*. *Mujtahid* (one who strives) is the highest attainable title among Muslim divines. See Hughes' Dict. of *Islām*, s. v. and *Ijmā'*.

³ ملاقات نووندہ.

⁴ MS. (A) reads انجام for از جهت. MS. (B) reads انجام for از جهت.

⁵ MS. (A) reads روی نشیند for خوبی کشید. ⁶ MS. (A) reads تقد رو.

Verse.

The wicked sees all the vices of others,
From the pitcher that distils which it contains.¹

God He is glorified and exalted, preserves all of us from that which is wrong and improper, and as at this time² the writer has not with him a selection from the anthologies of the eloquent and learned poets, accordingly he has found it necessary to restrict himself³ to the brief mention of these few poets by way of an example.

Should this inconstant and transitory life give a few days respite, and should the days, in opposition to their usual habit afford assistance, and should Fate give its help, he will make mention of the poets of former times, and the contemporary poets of Hindūstān, especially of those whom he has seen or heard and appreciated in his own lifetime, together with extracts from their poems included in their biographies.

Mine is the endeavour, its perfection is from God.⁴ Should this not come to pass, this much will suffice as a memorial of the author.

Qita'h.

If I remain in life, I will repair
The garment which exile has rent;
If I should die,⁵ accept this my excuse,
Many are the hopes which crumble into dust.

¹ This proverb in one form or another is well-known. The Arabic proverb runs كُلَّ إِناءٍ يَنْصُنُ بِمَا نَهَى. Every vessel exudes what it contains.

² MS. (A) درین هنگام. ³ MS. (A) (B) اختصار و اقتضای.

⁴ MS. (A) (B) تَعَالَى وَتَقَدَّسَ مِنَ اللَّهِ.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) بِسُرُورِ دِيم.

INDEX

OF

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRIKH.

VOLUME I.

The numbers refer to the pages; *n* stands for footnote.

A.

- Aaron of Scripture, 302 *n* 2.
Abāhāt, the *nuh abā-i-'ulwiya*, or nine heavens, 176 *n* 2.
Abardhan, town of, 84 *n*. See Bardhan.
Abardīn, town of, 84 *n*. See Bardhan.
Abāward, city of, 30 *n*. See under Abīward.
'Abbās ibn 'Abdu-l-Muṭṭalib, uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad, 74 *n* 2.
'Abbās, Dynasty of, 13 *n* 1. House of, 571 *n* 2. See also under the 'Abbāsides.
'Abbās Khān, the Historian of Shīr Shāh, 461 *n* 10.
'Abbāsides, the, 17, 310. See also above under 'Abbās.
'Abdu-l-'Azīz, one of the Amirs of Bābar, 441.
'Abdu-l-'Azīz Khān, the son of 'Abdu-l-lah Khān, the Ozbak king, 582 and *n* 5.
'Abdu-l-Ghafir Lāri, Maulavi,—a celebrated Shaikh, 588.
'Abdu-l-Haiyy, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Jamāli Kanbāwī of Dihli,—a poet of the time of Islam Shāh, 526 and *n* 7.
'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd ibn Abi-l-Hadīd al-Mu'tazilī, author of the *Sharh-i-Nahju-l-Balāghah*, 458 *n* 3.
'Abdu-l-Ka'bāh ibn Abī Quḥafah, original name of Abū Bakr as-Ṣiddīq, successor of Muḥammad, 106 *n* 1.
'Abdu-llāh, one of the best of names, 603 *n* 5.
'Abdu-llāh Ḫusainī of Baiāna, Shaikh,—one of the learned and holy men of the time of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 424.
'Abdu-llāh Khān Osbak, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 594.
'Abdu-llah Khān, the Ozbak king of Khorāsān, 582 and *n* 5.
'Abdu-l-lah Niyāzī, Miyān Shaikh,—a Niyāzī Afghan who adopted the manners of a Mahdī, 508, 509, 510, 512, 518, 520.

- 'Abdu-llâh of Sultânpur, Mullâ,—
Shaikhul-Islâm and Sadrus-Sâdûr
under Islem Shâh, 506 and **n 2**,
513, 514, 515, 517, 518, 519, 521,
523, 525, 534.
- 'Abdu-llâh Tulumbî of Dihlî. Shaikh,—
one of the great and learned men
of the time of Sultan Sikandar
Lodi, 426 and **n 10**, 427, 429.
- 'Abdu-llâh ibn az-Zubair, sovereign
of Hijâz and 'Irâq, 287 **n 2**.
- 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Marwân, of the
Umayyad dynasty of Khalifahs,
12 **n 1** and 2, 18 **n 1**.
- 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Nûh Sâmânî, Amîr,
—last of the Sâmânî dynasty, 16
and **n 2**.
- 'Abdu-l-Mu'talib, grandfather of
Muhammad the Prophet, 2 **n 5**.
- 'Abdu-l-Qâdir ibn Mulûk Shâh
Badâoni, author of the *Muntaqâhabut-Tawârîkh*, 8. See under al-Badâoni.
- 'Abdu-l-Qâdir, son of Nizâm Shâh
Bâhî, ruler of the Dakkan, 625 **n 3**.
- 'Abdu-r-Râhmân, one of the best of
names, 603 **n 5**.
- 'Abdu-r-Râhmân Jâmî, Mullâ Nûru-d-
Din, 32 **n 2**. See under Jâmî.
- 'Abdu-r-Râhmân ibn Mu'lîjim, mur-
derer of 'Alî, 207 **n 6**.
- 'Abdu-r-Rashîd, son of Sultan Mahmûd
Ghaznawî, Sultan of Ghaznî, 50.
- 'Abdu-r-Rashîd Sultânî, Sa'âdat
Khân,—one of the Amîrs of Sultan
Mahmûd Shâh of Dihlî, 849.
- 'Abdu-r-Razzâq ibn Ahamd ibn
Hasan Maimandî,—Wazir of Sultan
Mandûd Ghaznawî, 50. Same as
Khwâja Imâm Abul-Fath 'Abdu-r-
Razzâq, (*q. v.*).
- 'Abdu-s-sâdr Hâjjib-i-Khâss, Qâzî,—
of the Amîrs of Mubârak Shâh of
Dihlî, 393 **n 3**.
- 'Abid, Qâzî,—a poet of the reign of
Firûz Shâh of Dihlî, 341 and **n 2**.
- 'Abid Khân, the Ozbak king of
Khurâsân, 582 **n 5**.
- Ab-i-Siyâh. See the Kâli Nadî,
378 **n 1**.
- Abîward, a city of Khurâsân, also
called Abâward and Bâward, 29 **n**
6, 43 **n 2**.
- Abîwerd, same as Abîward (*q. v.*).
- Abkand, hill of, 438 **n 7**.
- Abkh, town, 445 **n 3**.
- Abraham, 154 **n 8**, 155 **n**, 207 and **n**
4, 234, 488 **n 5**.
- Absantûn (Absinthium), herb, 586 **n**.
- Abtar, name of a noxious serpent, 426
n 9.
- Abû 'Abdu-llah Muhammad ibn Abi-l-
Hasan Ismâ'il al-Bukhârî, the cele-
brated Imâm, 6 **n 3**. See under
Bukhârî.
- Abû 'Abdu-llah Muhammad ibn Omar
ar-Râzi,—a doctor of the Shâfi'i sect,
73 **n 1**. See under Fâkhrû-d-
Dîn Râzi.
- Abû 'Alî Hasan the Kotwâl of Ghaznî,
and *Diwân* of the kingdom under
Sultan Mandûd Ghaznawî, 47, 48, 49.
- Abû 'Alî Husain bin 'Abdu-llâh, com-
monly known as Ibn Sîna (Avicen-
na), 533 **n 1**.
- Abû 'Alî Sinjûrî,—a contemporary of
Sultan Mahmûd of Ghaznî, 20.
- Abû Bakr, the first Khalifah, **3 n 6**,
59 n 2, 106 and **n 1**, 149 **n**, 156 **n**
5, 157 **n**, 158 **n 1**, 303 **n 4**, 604 **n 5**,
625 **n 3**. See under as-Siddîq.

- Abū Bakr Dolaf ibn Jahdar** (or *Ja'far*) **ibn Yūnus ash-Shiblī**, a celebrated Muhammadian Saint, 59 and *n* 1.
- Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad 'Ali Samarcandī**, Amir Rūhānī,—one of the most learned men of the time of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-Timīsh, 93 and *n* 2.
- Abū Bakr Khān**, a prince of the family of 'Alāu-d-Din Khiljī, 291.
- Abū Bakr Khān**, a relation of Muham-mad Khān the ruler of Nūgor, 423 *n* 11.
- Abū Bakr Khān**, afterwards Abū Bakr Shāh, son of Zafar Khān, the grand-son of Sultān Firoz, 341, **342**, 343, 344, **345**, 346.
- Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya ar-Rāzī**, known as Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 *n* 1.
- Abū Bakr Shāh**. See under Abū Bakr Khān, son of Zafar Khān.
- Abū Bakr Tūsī Haidarī**, chief of the sect of Qalandars, 234.
- Abū Firās Hammām**, son of Ghālib, the poet known as al-Faruzdaq (*q. v.*), 287 *n* 1.
- Abū Ḥanīfah**, Imām,—founder of the Hanafite School of jurisprudence, 57 *n* 1.
- Abū Ḥanīfah**, a poet of the time of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 134 *n* 3.
- Abū Isḥāq**, son of Alptigīn, governor of Ghaznī, 13 *n* 1, 14 and *n* 1.
- Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr**, the 'Abbāside Khalifah, 74 *n* 2.
- Abu-l-'Abbās ibn Māmūn**, Khwārazm Shāh,—a contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 23.
- Abu-l-'Abbās**, al-Qādir billāhi Alīmad ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Muqtadir, the 'Abbāside Khalifah, 17 and *n* 2.
- Abu-l-Ajsād**, Father of bodies, a name for Sulphur, 340 *n* 2.
- Abu-l-'Alā Ganjawī**, master of the poet Khūqānī, 583 *n* 4.
- Abu-l-'Alā'** al-Ma'arrī, the Arab poet, 183 *n* 1.
- Abu-l-Arwāh**, Father of spirits, a name for Quicksilver, 340 *n* 2.
- Abu-l-Baqā**, Amir, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 465, 560, 573.
- Abu-l-Barakah**, 632 *nn* 3 and 5. Same as the next (*q. v.*).
- Abu-l-Barakāt** of Māwarāu-n-Nahr, Khwājā, 632 and *nn* 3 and 5. See the above.
- Abu-l-Faraj Rūnī**, the Ustād, a cele-brated poet of the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, Saiyyidu-s-Salūṭīn, 53 *n*, 54 and **n** 1.
- Abu-l-Fath 'Abdur-Razzāq**, grandson of Hasan Maimandī, Khwāja Inām,—Wazir of Sultān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47, 50.
- Abu-l-Fath**, Miyān Shaikh, son of Shaikh-allahdiyah of Khairābād, 546 and *n* 1.
- Abu-l-Fath** al-Mu'tażid billāhi, sixth of the 'Abbāsi Khalifahs in Egypt, 327 *n* 6.
- Abu-l-Fath** Sultān Afshār, one of the Amīrs of the Qizilbāsh, 575 *n* 3.
- Abu-l-Fath** of Thanesar, Miyān,—a learned doctor of the time of Islem Shāh, 513.
- Abul-Fazl 'Allāmī**,—the celebrated minister of Akbar and author of the *Ain-i-Akbarī*, 26 *n* 2, 27 *n* 1, 52

- n* 3, 384 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 410 *n* 4, 415
n 4, 417 *n* 7, 503 *n* 3.
- Abu-l-Fazl Zangi, of Bust,—a contemporary of Sultan Maudud Ghaznawi, 47.
- Abul Feda, *Annales*, 167 *n* 4.
- Abul Feda, Geography of, 14 *n* 3,
 15 *n* and *n* 2 and 5, 17 *n* 4, 23 *n* 1, 27 *n* 1 and 2, 30 *n* and *n* 1, 34 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 35 *n* 2, 36 *nn* 2 and 10,
 42 *n* 1, 43 *nn* 1, 3 and 4, 46 *n* 1,
 50 *n* 2, 67 *n* 1, 71 *n* 3, 147 *n* 1,
 167 *n* 4, 265 *n* 5.
- Abu-l-Fidā'. See under Abul Feda.
- Abu-l-Hāriṣ Sinjar ibn Malakshāh ibn Alp Arslān, the Seljūq, 167 *n* 3. See under Sinjar.
- Abu-l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Abi-l-Karam Muḥammad ash-Sharbānī, Shaikh, commonly known as Ibnu-l-Asir, 624 *n* 8.
- Abu-l-Hasan 'Alī, Sultan, son of Sultan Mas'ud Ghaznawī, 50 and *n* 1.
- Abu-l-Hirṣ Manṣur Sāmānī, Amīr, 14 *n* 1. See under Manṣur ibn Nūh.
- Abu-l-Majdūd, son of Sultan Mas'ud Ghaznawī, 37 and *n* 6.
- Abu-l-Ma'āli, Shāh, one of the great Amīrs of Humāyūn, 592, 594, 596, 597.
- Abu-l-Mujāhid, son of Sultan Mas'ud Ghaznawī, 37 and *n* 6.
- Abu-l-Najm Amīr Aiyāz, 33 *n* 3. See under Aiyāz.
- Abu-l-Qāsim Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 474.
- Abu-l-Qāsim Firdausī, the famous poet, author of the *Shāh Nāmah*, 32 *n* 1. See under Firdausī.
- Abu-l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm, Sultan, son of Mas'ud, son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 53. See under Ibrāhīm Sayyidu-s-Salāṭīn.
- Abu-l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, son of Sultan Maudud Ghaznawī, 48.
- Abu-l-Qāsim-i-Nūh, son of Manṣur, son of Nūh Sāmānī, Amīr, 14 *n* 1. See under Nūh, son of Manṣur, son of Nūh Sāmānī.
- Abu-l-Wāhid Fārīghī, Shaikh, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 616 and *n* 4, 617 and *n* 6, 618. See the next.
- Abu-l-Wajd Fārīghī, Shaikh, 616 *n* 4, 617 and *n* 6, 618. Same as the above (*q. v.*).
- Abu-l-Wājid Fārīghī, Shaikh, 616 *n* 4. See the two above.
- Abū Manṣur Zangi, brother of Abu-l-Fazl of Bust (*q. v.*), 47.
- Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu-r-Rahmān ibn Yāhīn ibn Yūnas Aljigilī, the Khaṭīb of Samarqand, 159 *n*.
- Abū Muḥammad ibn Adam Sanā'i al-Hakīm, 35 *n* 1. See under Hakīm Sanā'i, 56 *n* 2.
- Abū Muḥammad al-Hajjāj, son of Yūsuf ibn al-Hakam as-Saqafī, 12 *n* 1. See under al-Hajjāj.
- Abū Muḥammad Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Ahmād, the celebrated poet Niẓāmī, 298 *n* 4. See under Shaikh Niẓāmī Ganjawī.
- Abū-n-Najm Amīr Aiyāz, 33 *n* 3. See under Aiyāz.
- Abū-n-Najm Ahmād Manūchihri Dāmaghānī, Hakīm,—a Poet of the time of Sultan Mas'ud Ghaznawī, 46 *n* 4.

- Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad, Wazir of the Ghaznawī Sultāns, 46.
- Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin Aḥmad,—one of the Amīrs of Sultān Maṇdūd of Ghaznīn, 47.
- Abū Naṣar 'Abdu-l-'Azīz ibn Maṇṣūr, Ḥakīm, the poet known as 'Asjadī, 17 n 3.
- Abū Qaḥṭafah. See Abū Quḥṭafah.
- Abū Quḥṭafah, father of Abū Bakr as-Ṣiddīq, the first of the Khalifahs, 106 and n 1.
- Abūrījā, Malik Ḫusāmu-d-Dīn or Muṣīru-d-Dīn,—one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305, 308.
- Abū Sa'īd 'Abdullah ibn Abu-l-Hasan 'Alī Baizāwī, Qāzī,—author of the *Niẓāmu-t-Tawārikh*, 34 n 8. See under Baizāwī.
- Abū Shujā' Muḥammad, son of Chākirbeg Dādūd, son of Mikā'il Saljuqī, surnamed 'Azdu-d-Daulah Alp Arslān, third monarch of the Saljuqīyah dynasty, 35 and n 1. See under Alp Arslān.
- Abū Tāher (Tāhir), chief of the Karmatian sect of Muslim heretics, 21 n 1.
- Abū Ṭālib, uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad and father of 'Alī, 74 n 2, 105 n 2.
- Abū Ṭālib family, 74 n 2. See the above.
- Abū Ṭālib of 'Irāq, Mīr Sayyid,—a contemporary of Islem Shāh, 505.
- Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn Mikā'il ibn Saljuq, Ruknu-d-Dīn Tughral Beg, 42 n 3. See under Tughral Beg, founder of the Saljuq dynasty.
- Abū 'Umar Minhāju-d-Dīn 'Uṣmān ibn Sirāju-d-Dīn al-Juzjānī, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, 127 n 2. See under Minhāj-i-Sirāj.
- Abyssinian slaves, 334.
- Acesines, the,—the river Chenāb, 23 n 3.
- Aconite plants, 586 n.
- 'Ād, tribe of,—a pre-historic tribe of Arabs, 261 n 6, 499 and n 5.
- Adam, 4, 144 n 2, 200 n, 304, 320 n 4, 422, 449 n 8.
- Adam Ghakkār, or Ghakkār, Sultān,—a contemporary of Islem Shāh and Ḥumāyūn, 503, 583, 592 and n 4. The name is also spelt Ghakār,
- Adam Kükar, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 431, 432.
- Ādām Lodī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 419.
- 'Adāwat, enmity, 576 n 5, 577 n.
- Adeşar, Rā'i of Satgarāh,—contemporary of Fīrūz Shāh, 329 n 5.
- 'Ādil Khān, brother of Sūrang Khan, the ruler of Dīpālpur, 349 and n 5.
- 'Ādil Khān, Malik Naṣīru-l-Mulk, the governor of the Doāb, 354, 359.
- 'Ādil Khān, son of Shir Shāh, 476, 477, 479, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 492.
- Aditya, name of the Sun in Sanskrit as being the origin of all things, 79 n 2.
- Adjmere, same as Ajmīr (q. v.), 129 n 2.
- 'Adl Khān Sūr, 550 n 11. See under 'Adlī.

- 'Adlî, popular name of Sultân Mu-
hammed 'Adil, son of Nizâm Khân
Sûr, formerly Mubâriz Khân (q. v.),
586, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542,
544, 545, 548, 550, 552, 555, **556**
and *n* 5, **557**, 558, 592.
- Adonis, 104 *n* 2.
- Adwantgarh, fortress, 422 *n* 2.
- Afâlu-t-tafzîl, 515 and *n* 6.
- Afgans, 80 *n* 5. See under the
Afghâns.
- Afghân, Malik, 334,—of the Maliks of
Firoz Shâh.
- Afghânistân, 362 *n* 2, 466, 520.
- Afghânpûr, 259, 300.
- Afghâns, the, 44, 80 *n* 5, 129 *n* 2, 399,
436, 439, 440, **443**, 444, 457, 458,
460, 470, 471, 477, 479, 487, 489,
490, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503
n 2, 518, 517, 520, 525, 528, 537,
543, 549, 551, 552, 554, **558**, 586,
588, 590, 592, 593, 594, 595, 597,
598.
- 'Afif, the Historian. See Shams-i-
Sirâj 'Afif.
- Aflâtûn (Plato), 520 and *n* 7, 533.
- Afrâsiâb, an ancient king of Tûrân,
52, 116 *n* 5, 180 *n* 2, 435. See also
the next.
- Afrâsyâb, 410. Same as the above
q. v.
- Africa, 167 *n* 4.
- Afshâr, name of a Turkî tribe, 572
and *n* 8.
- Afzalu-d-Dîn Ibrâhîm ibn 'Alî an-
Najjâr, the famous poet Khâqânî,
588 *n* 4.
- Aghâ Muhammed Bâqîr Majlisî,
author of the *Haîâtu-l-Qulûb*, 110
n 3.
- Aghâni, *Kitâbu-l-*, 527 *n* 3.
- Ägin-i-bâlish, 606 *n* 4.
- Agra, city of, 70 *n* 4, 341 *n* 1, 386 *n*
3, 408 *n* 1, 414, 419 and *n* 3, 420,
421 and *n* 4, 423, 425, 430, 431,
433, 435, 442, 444, 445, 446, 447,
451, 452, 453, 455, 456, 458, 459,
461, 462, 463, 464, 467, 472, 474,
476 *n* 5, 486 and *n* 6, 487, 488, 489,
490, 492, 493, 495, 513, 515, 518,
521, 526, 542, 547, 548, 549, 550,
551, 552, 556, 573, 597, 610, 617.
- Agra road, 386 *n* 3.
- Agra, Sarkâr or district of, 70 *nn* 3
and 4, 425 *n* 4.
- Agra, Sûbah or province of, 365 *n* 8,
410 *n* 4.
- Ahâr, ancient town in the Buland-
shahr district, 395 and *n* 4, 396,
546 and *n* 4.
- Ahâwan, a Bhagat boy, named
Mujâhid Khân by 'Adlî, 557 *n* 8.
- Ahl-i-Sunnah wa jamâ'ah*, a name of
the Sunnis, 626 *n* 2.
- Ahl-i-Sunnat*, a name of the Sunnis,
626 *n* 1.
- Ahmadâbâd, capital of Gujrât, 357
and *nn* 3 and 4, 454, 455, 635 and
n 6.
- Ahmad ibn 'Abduş-Şamad, Khwâjah,
47. Wazîr of Sultân Maudûd of
Ghaznîn.
- Ahmad Abu-l-'Abbâs, son of al-
Muwaffaq bi-llâh al-'Abbâsî, 458
n 3.
- Ahmad Aiyâz, Khwâja-i-Jahân (q. v.),
Malik,—of the Maliks of Sultân
Muhammed Tughlaq Shâh, 304,
315, 323, 328.
- Ahmad 'Alî, Maulawî, editor of the

- Muntakhabu-t-Tawârikh** of Budâoni,
92 n.
- Aḥmad, son of Amīr Khusrū of Dihli,
a poet, 339, 340.
- Aḥmad Chap, Malik, Vazir of Sultān
Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 238, 241, 243,
248 and n 6.
- Aḥmad Dānyāl, father of Niẓāmu-d-
Dīn Auliyā, the celebrated Muham-
madan Saint, 266 n 1.
- Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan Maimandī, Vazir
of Sultān Maṣ'ud, son of Maḥmūd
of Ghaznīn, 35.
- Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, Sultān, ruler
of Baiāna, 414. See also under
Aḥmad Khān Jilwānī.
- Aḥmad Junaid, Mullā, 486 and n 1.
Same as the next.
- Aḥmad Jund, Mullā, 486 and n 1.
Same as the above.
- Aḥmad Kathū, Shaikh, 357 and **n 3**.
Surnamed Ganjbakhsh, the name is
also written Khatṭu.
- Aḥmad Khān, brother of A'zam
Humāyūn Lodī,—one of the Amirs
of Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Sultān
Sikandar Lodī, 434.
- Aḥmad Khān Jilwānī, ruler of Baiāna,
405. See also under Sultān Aḥmad
Jilwānī.
- Aḥmad Khān, the Governor of Karra
under Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Sultān
Sikandar Lodī, 434.
- Aḥmad Khān, son of Khān-i-Jahān
Lodī, styled A'zam Khān Humāyūn,
416 and n 11.
- Aḥmad Khān, son of Khān-i-Khānān
Farmali,—of the Amirs of Sultān
Sikandar Lodī, 418 and n 11.
- Aḥmad Khān Lodī,—one of the Amirs
of Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Sultān
Sikandar Lodī, 434.
- Aḥmad Khān Sūr, one of the coun-
sins of Sher Shāh, assumes the
title of Sultān Sikandar, 542. See
under Sultān Sikandar Sūr.
- Aḥmad Khatṭu, Shaikh, 357 **n 3**,
surnamed Ganjbakhsh. The name
is also written Kathu.
- Aḥmad Lāchīn, Malik,—one of the
Maliks of Sultān Muḥammad
Tughlaq Shāh, 313.
- Aḥmad, Malik, son of Amīr Khusrū
the famous poet of Dihli, 339, 340.
- Aḥmad, Malik, brother of 'Imādu-l-
Mulk Maḥmūd Ḥasan, the governor
of Multān, 392.
- Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, son of
Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 45 and
n 2, 46.
- Aḥmad Niyāl Tigīn, Amīr, treasurer
of Sultān Maṣ'ud, son of Maḥmūd
of Ghaznīn, 36 and n n 6, 8 and 9.
- Aḥmad Shāh, Sultān, the ruler of
Gujarat, 357 n n 3 and 4, 379 and
n 2.
- Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians,
280 and **n 3**.
- Aibak, soubriquet of Sultān Quṣbu-d
Dīn Lakbak**hsh**, the ruler of Dilhi,
77 and **n 2**.
- Aimah grants of land, 496 and **n 1**.
- Aīn-i-Akbarī, the, 8 **n 3**, 18 **n** and
n 1, 14 **n 3**, 15 **n 2**, 17 **n 4**, 19 **n**
and n 6, 23 **n 3**, 24 **n 2**, 25 **nn 1**
and 5, 26 **n 2**, 27 **n 4**, 28 **n 2**, 34 **n 5**,
36 **n 10**, 48 **n 1**, 52 **n 3**, 62 **n 2**, 65
n 1, 67 **n 3**, 69 **nn 2** and 5, 71 **n 3**, 72
n 4, 76 **n**, 81 **n 2**, 82 **nn 3** and 5,
84 **n 2**, 87 **n 1**, 91 **n 2**, 92 **n 2**, 95

- n* 5, 124 *n* 4, 125 *n* 3, 128 *n* 3, 129
n 2, 130 *n* 1, 132 *n* 3, 133 *n* and
n 2, 142 *n* 1, 147 *n* 1, 193 *n* 1, 221
n 3, 222 *n* 3, 223 *n*, 236 *n* 2, 248 *n* 2
249 *n* 5, 264 *n* 6, 265 *nn* 2 and 5,
266, *nn* 1 and 4, 304 *n* 4, 306 *n* 1,
330 *n* 8, 332 *n* 5, 353 *n* 1, 357 *nn*
3 and 4, 366 *n* 3, 377 *n* 4, 380 *n* 2,
384 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 410 *n* 4, 415 *nn*
4 and 7, 416 *nn* 3 and 13, 417 *nn*
7 and 8, 420 *n* 5, 8 and 9, 421
n 8, 422 *nn* 2 and 3, 424 *n* 3, 425 *n*
2, 432 *n* 7, 439 *n* 2, 449 *n* 2, 454 *n*
7, 464 *n* 5, 476 *n* 5, 479 *n* 5, 496 *nn*
1 and 8, 498 *n* 3, 499 *n* 3, 501 *n* 7,
503 *n* 3, 506 *n* 2, 507 *n* 1, 508 *nn*
7 and 8, 509 *n* 8, 515 *n* 4, 523 *n*
5, 536 *n* 6, 546 *n* 7, 557 *nn* 1 and
3, 567 *n* 3, 568 *n* 6, 571 *n* 9, 573
n 3, 580 *n* 5, 584 *n* 3, 587 *n* 7, 588
n 4, 590 *n* 5, 592 *n* 9, 597 *n* 5, 605
n 1, 609 *n* 5, 610 *n*, 611 *n* 3, 623 *n*
6, 626 *n* 3.
‘Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multānī,—one
of the Amirs of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn
Khiljī, 264, 282, 283, 285, 290, 291,
292, 294, 312.
Aiyāz, Amir,—one of the favourites
of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, 32
n 1, 33 and *n* 3, 34.
Aiyāz, Malik, Khwāja-i-Jahān, (*q. v.*),
—of the Amirs of Sultān Muhammād
Tughlāq Shāh, 304, **315**.
Aiyūb, Khwāja, ibn Khwāja Abu-l-
Barakāt, of Māwarā-n-Nahr, a
poet of the time of Humāyūn, 632
and *n* 2, 633, 634, 635, 636.
‘Ajā’ibu-l-Makhlūqāt of al-Qazwīnī, 79
n 2.
Ajallu-l-jabḥah, 515 and *n* 6.
- ‘Ajam (Persia), 233.
Ajāwan, town, 495.
Ajāwan,—a Bhagat boy to whom
Islem Shāh gave the name of
Mujāhid Khān, 557 *n* 8.
Ajlāq-l-jabḥah, 516 and *n* 2.
Ajmir, 69 and *n* 2, 70 and *n* 2, 120 *n*
4, 124, 129 *n* 2, 477.
Ajūdhan, town,—known also as Pāk
Pattan, 133 *n*, 233, 349 *n* 3, 355
and *nn* 1 and 3, 360, 362 and *n* 2
and 3, 363 *n*, 520 *n* 2. See also
the next.
Ajūdhya, town, 223 *n*. Same as
Ajūdhan, (*q. v.*).
Ajyāra, Daulat Khān, son of Sazāwal
Khān, one of the Amirs of Islem
Shāh, 527, 531, 532 and *n* 2.
Akāt Khān, brother’s son of Sultān
‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 258 and *n* 7,
259 and *n* 5.
Akbar, the Emperor, 8 and *n* 2, 9 *n* 2,
58 *n* 5, 63 *n*, 97, 125 *n* 1, 132 *n* 3,
306 *n* 1, 383 *n* 8, 408 *n* 1, 421 *n* 8,
432 *n* 10, 464 *n* 5, 520, **566** and *n*
13, 568 *n* 6, 580 and *n* 5, 581, 592 *n*
9, **594** and *n* 6, 596, 597.
Akbar *Nāma* of Shaikh Abu-l-Fażl
‘Allāmī, 504, 579 *n* 7.
Akbar Shāh, 8 and *n* 2. See under
Akbar.
Akchak, a district of Hindūstān, 334
and *n* 4.
Akhal, town, 334 *n* 4.
Akhāra, a kind of musical entertain-
ment, 332 and *n* 5, 496.
Ākhīrīnpūr, popular name of the
town of Firūzpūr, as the ‘Last city’
built by Firoz Shāh, 336 and *n* 3.
Akhor, stable, 274 *n* 5.

- Akkor Beg**, a Court Office, 232.
- Akhtā**, a gelding, 274 n 5.
- Akhūnd**, tutor, 589 and n 2, the **Akhūnd**, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn Mahmūd Kamāngar Naqshbandī, 589, 590 and n 6.
- Akhyāfi**, brothers by the same mother but a different father, 466 n 7.
- Al-Aāsi**, son of Nabīh, of the tribe of Quraish, killed in the battle of Badr, 74 n 2.
- Alagh Khānī** (Ulugh Khānī), a canal leading from the Sutlej, now called the Jureah canal, 325 n 3.
- 'Alā'i Mahdi** of Baiāna, **Shaikh**, son of **Shaikh** Hasan of Bangāla, 507 and n 1, 509, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 521, 522, 523, 524. [to God, 515 n 6.]
- Al-Jall**, the Great, an epithet applied
- 'Alam**, a standard or ensign, 483 n 2.
- 'Alam Khān**, title of 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī (q. v.), 292.
- 'Alam Khān**, son of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 411 n 2.
- 'Alam Khān Lodī**, Governor of Kālpī, —one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 436, 437, 438, 443, 446.
- 'Alam Khān**, Governor of Miwāt,—one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and n 2.
- 'Alam Lodī**, Sultān, ibn-i-Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 451, 454.
- 'Alam**, Malik, Governor of Daulat-ābād,—of the Amīrs of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 313.
- 'Alams**, the two,—, or standards, the sun and moon, 147 n 2.
- 'Alam-i-amr**, the world of the order, or potentiality, 105 n 1.
- 'Alam-i-khalq**, the world of creation, or the material world, 105 n.
- 'Alamu-l-Haiwān**, the animal world, 147 n 2. [147 n 2.]
- 'Alamu-l-Ina**, the world of mankind,
- 'Alamu-l-Jinn**, the world of the jinn or genii, 147 n 2.
- 'Alamu-l-Ma'ādin**, the mineral world, 147 n 2.
- 'Alamu-l-Malā'ikah**, the world of angels, 147 n 2.
- 'Alamu-n-Nabāt**, the vegetable world, 147 n 2.
- Alaptagīn**. See under Alptigīn.
- Al-Arkān**, the four elements, 102 n 1.
- Al-Aṣma'i**, the celebrated Arab Grammatician and Philologist, 75 n.
- 'Alāu-d-Daulah** Mas'ūd, Sultān, ibn Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn Ibrāhīm Ghaznavī, 55 and n 2.
- 'Alāu-d-Daulah** of Samnān, **Shaikh**, 571 n 9.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn**, Sultān, title of 'Ali Mardān (q. v.) as ruler of Lakhnautī, 86.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Ayāz**, Kotwāl of the New Castle of Dihlī, under Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 260 n 5.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn**, Saiyyid, Governor of Badāon under Sultān Firoz Shāh, 335 and n 6.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Badāoni**, Sultān of Dihlī, 335. See 'Alāu-d-Dīn ibn Muhammād Shāh.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh**, Sultān of the Deccan, 309, 314. See Hasan Kaithalī.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn**, Sultān, king of Bangāla,—contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 417.

- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Dhārwal, Malik,—of the Amirs of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 849.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Ḫusain Sūrī, King of Ghūr, 60, 61, 62. Same as the next (*q. v.*).
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Ḥusain ibn Ḥasan Ghori Jahānsoz, the first of the kings of Ghūr, 61 *n* 4, 64 *n* 2. See also the above.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Jānī, Malik,—of the Maliks of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 94 *n* 3, 98 *n* 2.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn, Governor of Karra, 236. See 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khāfi, Malik 'Izzu-l-Mulk, Governor of Lakhnautī,—of the Amirs of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 94 and *n* 3.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, Malik and afterwards Sultān, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247 *n*, 249, 250 and *n* 5, 251, 252 *n* 1, 254 *n* 1, 256, 259, 266, 269 and *n* 1, 271 *n* 6, 273 and *n* 1, 274 and *n* 1, 282, 283, 286 *n* 1, 289, 290, 291, 292, 294 and *n* 3, 296 and *n* 3, 379 *n* 2, 397 *n* 1, 472.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn of Lakhnautī, Sultān. See under 'Ali Mardān.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn, of Lakhnautī, Sultān, 309. See under 'Ali Mubārak.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ud, Sultān, son of Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭin Ibrāhim ibn Sultān Mas'ud Ghaznawī, 55 and *n* 2 and 4.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ud Shāhibu Ruknu-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh, of the Shamsiyah Sultāns, 124, 125, 126.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn ibn-i-Muhammad Shāh ibn-i-Mubārak Shāh ibn-i-Khīzr Khān, Sultān of Dihlī, 398, 399, 400 and *n*, 401 and *n* 4, 402 and *n* 1, 405 and *n* 4, 406, 409.
- 'Alāu-d-Dīn Sikandar Shāh, Sultān, ibn-i-Muhammad Shāh ibn-i-Firoz Shāh, 347. See Humāyūn Khān, son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh.
- 'Alāu-l-Mulk, Malik, uncle of Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī the Historian, Kotwāl of the New Castle of Dihlī under Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 237, 249, 255, 260 and *n* 5.
- Alberuni. See under Albīrūnī.
- Albīrūnī's Chronology (Sachau), 76 *n*, 104 *n* 2, 108 *n* 4, 166 *n* 1, 280 *nn* 3 and 4, 369 *n* 3, 627 *n* 1.
- Albīrūnī's India (Sachau), 17 *n* 4, 21 *n* 4, 22 *nn* 1 and 5, 23 *nn* 2 and 3, 24 *n* 6, 25 *n* 1, 27 *n* 4, 28 *n* 3, 36 *n* 10, 76 *n*, 79 *n* 2, 95 *n* 5, 114 *n* 2, 131 *n* 2, 332 *n* 4.
- Alburz, mountain of,—in Persia, 178 *n* 2.
- Alchemy, science of, 244 *n* 6.
- Alexander the Great, 35 *n* 2, 191 *n* 2, 254 and *n* 6, 331 *n* 10, 332 *n*, 389 *n* 2, 560 *n* 8, 595 *n* 7.
- Alexandrian School, the, 374 *n* 5.
- Alf Khān. See Alp Khān Sinjar.
- Alfi, 80 *n* 4. See under the Tārikh-i-Alfi.
- Alghāyatū fil fiqh, by Qāzi Baizāwi, 6 *n* 4.
- Alghū Khān, the Mughūl, grandson of Chingīz Khān, and son-in-law of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji, 236, 248.
- 'Ali ibn-Abī Ṭalib, the fourth Khālifah, 3 *n* 6, 59 and *n* 4, 74 and

- * 2, 80 n 5, 98 n 4, 105 n 2, 106 and n 5, 151 n 5, 156, 157 n 2, 158 n, 207 and n 8, 260 n 7, 303 n 4, 376, 505 and n 6, 572 and n 1, 57, n, 604, 622 n 3, 629 n 5. See under Asadu-l-lāh.
- 'Ali Beg Mughul, a prince of the royal house of Khurāsān, 250, 251 and n 5, 252.
- 'Ali Dāya, one of the generals of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 43.
- Alidek range of mountains, 530 n 3.
- Alif, the first letter of the Alphabet, 100 and nn 2 and 3, 587 n 5, 634 and n 1.
- Aliganj tāhsil, 185 n 1, 218 n 3.
- Aligarh, town, 135 n 1, 386 n 6.
- 'Ali Gujrātī, Amir,—of the Amirs of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of Dihli, 396.
- 'Ali Ismā'il, the Sipah Sālār,—one of the Amirs of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 88.
- 'Ali, son of Iyal Arsalān, a relative of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 n 2.
- 'Ali Karmākh, 69 n 1. See under 'Ali Kirmāj.
- 'Ali, of Kashmīr, Sultān, 381.
- 'Ali Khān, a prince of the family of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291.
- 'Ali Khān, a relation of Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Nāgor, 423 n 11, 425.
- 'Ali Khaṭatī, a court officer of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304.
- 'Ali, Khilāfat of, 577 n.
- 'Ali Khishāwāndī, a relative of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 n 2.
- 'Ali Kirmāj, an Amir of the Ghorī dynasty, Governor of Multān, 66 and n 4, 69 and n 1.
- 'Ali Kirmāny, 66 n 4. For 'Ali Kirmāj (q. v.).
- 'Ali, son of Kizil Arsalān, father-in-law of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 n 2.
- 'Ali Kurbat, a relative of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 n 2.
- 'Ali Malik, Governor of Uchh, under Sārang Khān, the ruler of Dīpālpūr, 353.
- 'Ali Mardān, one of Muḥammad Bakhtyār's Generals, seizes the sovereignty of Lakhnautī under the style of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, 85, 86 and n 2, 88 n 1.
- Al-i-Marwān, the,—a branch of the Umayyad family, 59.
- 'Ali Masīj (Mīch), Amir, a chief of the tribes of Kūnch and Mīj, 83 and n 4. Called also 'Ali Mīj.
- 'Ali ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, Sultān of Ghaznīn, 50 and n 1.
- 'Ali Mīj, 83 n 4. See under 'Ali Masīj.
- 'Ali Mubārak, Inspector of Troops under Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308, 309. Assumes the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn as Sultān of Lakhnautī.
- 'Ali Mughul, Shaikh, ruler of Kābul,—contemporary of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of Dihli, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392.
- Al-i-Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, the Family of the Prophet, 59.
- 'Ali ibn Muḥammad Ṣāhibu-z-Zanj, of the family of 'Ali, raises a revolt at Baṣra, 458 n 3.

- 'Ali, son of Mūsā ar-Rizā, one of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ah, 573 n 3.
- 'Ali Quli, Ustā, the Artillerist of Bābar, 439 and n 6.
- 'Ali Quli Khān Shaibānī, the Khān-i-Zamān, son of Hāidar Sultān Osbak-i-Shaibānī,—one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn and Akbar, 592 and n 9, 594, 597, 598, 599, 600.
- 'Ali Quli Khān Sistānī,—one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 590. Probably the same as above.
- 'Ali bin Rabī', an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 48, 50 and n 1.
- 'Ali, ring of, possessed of magical properties, 505 and n 6.
- 'Ali Sarjāndār, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, 313.
- 'Ali, Shaikh, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 565 n 1.
- 'Ali, Shaikh, the ruler of Kābul. See under 'Ali Mughul.
- 'Ali Shaṭranjī, Khwāja, Auhadī's Life of, 114 n 2.
- 'Ali Sher, the Vazir Amīr, disciple of Maulānā Jāmī, 32 n 2.
- 'Ali Sher, sister's son to Zafar Khan 'Alā'i,—an Amīr of the time of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311.
- 'Ali, Sultān, King of Kashmīr, contemporary of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 381.
- 'Ali Tagīn, ruler of Māwarā-an-Nahr, —contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 27.
- Allahabad, city of, 415 n 5, 417 n 7, 486 n 6.
- Allahabad, Sarkār of, 416 n 3.
- Allāhdād Kālū or Kāla, Lodī, Malīk, —one of the Amīrs of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 391, 395 396, 398.
- Allāhdād Lodī, Malīk, 398. See Allāhdād Kālū Lodi.
- Almagest of Ptolemy, 76 n.
- Almanṣūra in Sindh, 36 n 10. See under al-Manṣūrah.
- Alor, city of, 66 n 2.
- Alp Arsalān, son of Dāūd, son of Mīkā'il, son of Saljūq, second monarch of the Saljūqiyyah dynasty, 35 and n 1, 51 and n 2.
- Alp Khān, Governor of Dhār, 384 and n 5, 385, Governor of Kälpi, 393. Same as the next q. v.
- Alp Khān, commonly called Sultān Hoshang, ruler of Mālwā, 363 n 2, 384 and n 5, 385, 393.
- Alp Khān, title of Sinjar, wife's brother of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din Khlījī, 247, 249, 254, 267, 282.
- Alptagīn. See under Alptigīn.
- Alptigīn, a slave of the house of the Sāmānis, the independent governor of Ghaznī and Kābul, 13 n 1, 14 and n 1 and 2, 16 n 3.
- Alptigīn Hājib, an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 47 n 5.
- Altamish or Iyaltimish, 88 n 3. See under Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish.
- Altamsh, meaning of the word, 89 n 1.
- Altīgīn, 47 and n 5. Same as Alptigīn Hājib (q. v.)
- Altūn Bahādūr,—one of the Amīrs of the king of Khurāsān, 820.
- Altūn Tāsh, an officer of Sultān Maḥ-

- mād of Ghaznīn, whom he appoints Governor of Khwārazm, with the title of Khwārazm Shāh, 23.
- Altūniyāh, Malik. See under Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Altūniyāh.
- Alwar, town and fortress, 129 n 2, 256, 385, 443, 462, 534, 542, 543, 547, 553. See also under Ulwar.
- Alyās Khān, Governor of Chhāñ, under Masnad-i-Āli Khizr Khān, Sultān of Dihlī, 379 and n 2.
- 'Amād Khān Karrānī,—one of the Afghān Amīrs of Hindustān, 540.
- Amal or Amol, capital of Tabaristān, 36 and n 2.
- Amānī Kābulī, Mīrzā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 587 and n 3, 616.
- Amarcōsh, a Sanskrit Dictionary, 374 n.
- Amarkot̄, town, 464 n 5, 564, 566 and n 13, 567 n 1, 568 n 6.
- Ambālā, town, 380 n 7, 384, 362 n 1,
- Ambēr, town, 520. [492, 493.]
- Ambergris, notes on, 182 n 1.
- Ameer Jadeeda, 334 n 2.
- 'Amīd Abū Naṣr, Maqāmāt of,—by Baihaqī, 32 n.
- 'Amīd Dailamī, the poet, 99 n 4, 138 n 1. Called also 'Amīd Lūmaki, q. v.
- 'Amīd Lūmaki, of Gilān, the poet,—panegyrist of Sultān Muḥammad Yāmīn, 99 and n 4, 138 and n 1, 141, 144, 151, 159 n 1, 160, 165 and n 1, 169, 172, 177, 182. Called also 'Amīd Dailamī.
- 'Amīd Lūyakī, 99 n 4, for 'Amīd Lūmaki the poet, (q. v.).
- 'Amīd Tūlakī, 99, for 'Amīd Lūmaki, the poet, (q. v.).
- Amin, Chief Commissioner, 497.
- Amin b-'Abdullah Kashāri, governor of Khurāsān, under Hīghām ibn 'Abdu-l-Malik (q. v.), 13 n 1.
- Amin Khān, Governor of Bengal, under Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 186.
- Amīr of the Eight Squares, the Wazīr at Chess, 103 and n 1.
- Amīr Abū Ṭālib, of 'Irāq, Saiyyid,—a skilful physician of the reign of Islem Shāh, 505.
- Amīr 'Alī Sher, the Vazīr, disciple of Maulānā Jāmi, 32 n 2.
- Amīr Arslān Kātibī. See Arslān Kātibī.
- Amīr Hasan. See Hasan of Dihlī, the poet.
- Amīr Khalifa, Prime Minister of Bābar, 451.
- Amīr Khān ibn-i-Dā'ud Khān ibn-i-Shams Khān Auḥadī, the Governor of Baiānā, 385 n 1.
- Amīr Khusrū, the poet. 134 n 4, 185 n, 142 n 3. See under Khusrū and Mīr Khusrū.
- Amīr, Khwāja, of the Amīrs of Bābar, 446.
- Amīr Muẓaffar,—one of the Maliks of Shaikh 'Alī Mughul, the King of Kābul, 389, 390, 392.
- Amīr Rūhānī, Ḥakim Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad 'Alī Samarqandī,—a learned man of the time of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 93 and n 2. [sān, 571 n 9.]
- Amīr Shaikh Hasan, King of Khurāsān.
- Amīr Tamghāch, title of Ibāk, slave of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 89 and n 2.

- Amīrān-i-Şadā*, the Amīrs of hundreds, 334 and n 2.
- Amīru-l-Millat Yaminu-d-Daulat*, title of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, 17.
- Amīru-l-Umarā* (Chief of the Amīrs), a title, 90.
- Amīru-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn, Kotwāl* of Dihlī, 260 n 2. See *Maliku-l-Umarā*.
- Amīru-l-Umarā Hindū Bēg*, of the Amīrs of Humayūn, 457. See under *Hindū Bēg Qūchīn*.
- Amīru-l-Umarā*, Malik Mubārak Kābir,—of the Amīrs of Tughlaq Shāh, grandson of Sultān Firuz, 342 and n 1.
- Amol, capital of Tabaristān, also written *Amal*, 36 n 2.
- ‘Amr ibn al-‘Aṣ, of the Banū Umayyah, one of the Governors of Mu‘āwiyah, 157 n 2.
- ‘Amr ibn-u-Lais aş-Şaffār, King of Khurásān, 481 and n 6.
- Anrāz-i-Mutazzāddah*, 463 and n 1.
- Amritsar, 520.
- Amroha, town, 185, 231, 251, 261, 268, 395, 398, 546 and n 5.
- Amron ibn al-‘Aṣ. See ‘Amr ibn al-‘Aṣ.
- Amū Daryā, the,—the Jaihūn or Oxus, 27 n 1.
- Anā*, a mother, in Turkī, 568 n 6.
- Anagah* or *Anāgah*, foster-mother, in Turkī, 580 n 5. See also the next.
- Anāka*, *Anākā*, or *Anākah*, wet-nurse, in Turkī, 464 n 5, 568 n 6, 580 n 5. See also *Anagah*.
- Anandpāl or Anand Pāl, son of Jaipāl, ruler of Hind,—contemporary of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, 22 n 6.
- Anandrāj, Farhang of*, 596 n 6.
- Anberī, township of, 530 and n 9.
- Ancient Arabian Poetry*, Lyall's *Introduction* to, 99 n 6.
- Ancient Geography of India*, Cunnigham's, 21 n 4, 22 n 5, 23 n 2, n 6, 48 n 5, 66 n 3, 67 n 1, 69 n 80 n 1, 132 n 3, 265 nn 2 and 4, 2 n 5, 362 n 2, 363 n, 382 n 4, 389 2, 415 n 5.
- Ancient India*, McCrindle's, 364 n 4.
- ‘Andhlī, the name ‘Adlī (q. v.) perverted, 536 and n 10.
- Andhra, country, 265 n 2.
- Andkhūd, fortress of, 71.
- Anhalpur, original name of Patan, city of Gujerāt, 28 n 2.
- Anhalwāra (Nehroīla), ancient name of Patan, a city of Gujerāt, 28 n 2.
- Anhelwāra (Nahrwāla) kingdom, Gujerāt, 256 n 4.
- Āṇkus, in Hindi, a hook or goad for elephants, 118 n 2.
- An-najm*, the Pleiades, 630 n 4.
- Annales*, of Abul Fidā, 167 n 4.
- ‘Anqā’, a fabulous bird, called Simur in Persian, 178 n 4.
- Anṣār, the,—tribes of al-Madīnah who supported the Prophet, 2 and n 7, 216 n.
- Ansūrī, Ḥakīm,—a famous Persian poet, 17 n 3.
- Ant, notes on the, 108 n 1.
- Antarī, township of, 530 n 9.
- Anth: Gram: Arab.: of the Sac 6 n 4.
- Anti-christ, 278 n 4, 369 n 3. See under ad-Dajjāl.

- Ants**, Valley of the, 340 n 2.
- Anwārī**, the famous Persian poet, 54 n 1, 76 n 1, 626.
- Anwāru-t-Tanzil**, the, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān by Qāzī Baiżāwī (q. v.), 6 n 4.
- Āwla**, forest of, 379.
- 'Aql-i-awwal**, 374 n 5. See under 'Aql-i-kull.
- 'Aql-i-kull**, called also 'Aql-i-awwal, the first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel, 374 n 5.
- 'Aql Nāmah**, a work by Ḥakīm Sanāī, the celebrated poet, 56 n 2.
- Aqtā's**, 597. See *Iqtā'* grants.
- Arabia**, 3.
- Arabian Nights**, the, 148 n 1.
- Arabian Poetry**, Clouston's, 99 n 6.
- Arabs**, the, 28, 61 n 5, 94, 117 n 2, 145 n 1, 146 n 1, 192 n 2, 198 n 2, 287, 369 n 1, 527 n 3, 630 n 4, 637 n 1.
- Arabum Proverbia**, Freytag's, 458 n 3, 507 n 3, 580 n 1.
- Arail**, town, 415 n 4.
- Ārām Shāh**, Sultān, ibn Sultān Qutbū-d-Din Aibak, 87, 88 and n 1.
- Arangal or Warangal**, 265 n 4. See Arankal.
- Arankal**, ancient capital of Telingāna, 265 and n 4, 297, 299. Afterwards called Sultānpur. The name is also written Arangal or Warangal.
- 'Ar'ar**, the Juniper tree, 182 n 4.
- 'Araz**, an accident, a term of Muslim theology, 614 n 2.
- 'Arāz-o-jawāhir**, 614 n 2. See under 'Araz and Jauhar.
- Ardabil**, a town of Persia, 573.
- Arg**, meaning of, 314 n 1.
- Arghawān**, the, (Arabioé) Arjuwān, a kind of tree, 109 n 4, 172 and n 4, 173.
- Aria**, ancient name of Herāt, in Khurāsān, 35 n 2.
- 'Arif**, or holy, a Ṣūfi title, 32 n 2, 272 and n 1.
- Ārīl**, a place near Ilāhābās (Allahabad), 415 and n 4.
- Aristotle**, 255.
- 'Ariz-i-Mamālik**, Mustermaster General, 230 n 1, 293 and n 2.
- Arjuwān**, the. See under Arghawān.
- Arkal**, a place, 415 n 4.
- Arkālī Khān**, son of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231, 233, 235, 236, 244, 247 and n 4, 248 and n 8.
- Al-Arkān**, the four elements, 102 n 1.
- Armān**, country of,—in the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdausī, 180 n 2.
- Armenia**, 61 n 5.
- Armenians**, the, 130 n 1.
- Arrah**, town, 185 n 1.
- Arrian**, the Greek geographer, 23 n 3, 24 n 6, 30 n 1, 332 n.
- Arscacia**, an ancient name of the city of Rai (q. v.), 30 n 1.
- Arsalān Khān**, one of the *Shamsiyah* Amīrs, 130, 131.
- Arsalān Shāh**, Sultān, ibn Mas'ūd ibn Sayyidu-s-Salāṭīn Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 55 and n 4, 56 and n 1.
- Arsar Khān**, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, the grandson of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 226 n 1.
- Arslān Kātibī**, Amir, an eminent poet

- of the reign of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.
- Artagīn**, a general of Sultān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47.
- Artauli**, township, 386 and n 6.
- '**Arūs-i-Jahān**, town, 879 n 2.
- '**Arūz**, a term of Prosody,—explanation of, 606 n 4.
- Aryal**, a place, 415 n 4.
- Arzan**, the smaller millet, 465 n 6.
- Arzhan**, desert of, between Bushire and Shīrāz, 572 and n 1.
- Asad Khān Lodi**,—of the Amīrs of Maḥmūd Shāh, the grandson of Firoz Shāh, 364.
- Asad bin Sāmān**, founder of the Sāmāni dynasty, the princes of Khorāsān, 14 n 1.
- As'adak Allāh**, 412 and n 3.
- Asadu-d-Dīn ibn Yaghraphsh Khān**, called Maṭlīk Khamūsh,—uncle's son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283.
- Asad 'Ullah**, or the Lion of God, a name of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, 93 n 4, 150.
- Āṣaf**, Wazīr of Solomon, King of the Jews, 206 n.
- Āsāmabad**, town of, 21 n 4.
- Āṣāru-l-Bilād**, the,—of al-Qazwīnī, n 4.
- Āsāwal**, town in Gujarāt, 357 n 4, 361.
- '**Āṣfir**, a flower, 173 n 3.
- Āṣghar**, Governor of Dihli under Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 418.
- Āṣhāri**, Sharafu-l-Mulk, of the Amīrs of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Maṣūd Shāh, of Dihli, 125.
- '**Āshars**, portions of ten Āyats into which the Qur'ān has been divided, 102 and n 4.
- Āl-Aṣhbāh wa-n-Naqāir**, a work on Fiqh or Jurisprudence, by Zainu-l-'Abidin bin Najim, 5 n 4.
- Āshhab**, or white ambergris, 182 n 1.
- Āshīqā**, a poem by Mir Khusrū, of Dihli, 256, 264, 266, 267 n 1, 274 n 1, 276 n 1.
- Āshraf Pādshāh**, 635 n 5.
- Āshrafi**, a gold coin, called after Ashraf Pādshāh, 635 n 5.
- Ashrafu-d-Dīn Hasan ibn Nāṣiri-l-'Alāvī**,—a poet of the time of Bahrām Shāh Ghaznawī, 56 n 3. Same as Sayyid Hasan Ghaznawī the Poet, q. v.
- '**Āshūrā**', day of, 199 n 3, 200 and n. 320 and n 4, 464, 622.
- Āsī river**, the, otherwise known as the Medāki, 419 n 6.
- Āsia**, Northern, 191 n 2.
- Āsiatic Lithographic Press**, the, 102 n 1.
- Āsiatic Researches**, 374 n.
- Āsiatic Society of Bengal**, 127 n 2, 511 n 2.
- Āṣir**, Qāzī,—contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 217.
- '**Āṣjadi**, Ḥakīm Abū Nazār 'Abdu-l-'Azīz ibn Mansūr, a celebrated poet of Merv, 17 and n 3.
- '**Āṣkārī**, Mīrzā, one of the Mughal chiefs under Humāyūn, 455, 465, 567, 568, 573, 574, 575, 585 and n 9.
- Āṣl wa Far'**, signification of the term, 5 n 4.
- Āṣma'**, names or attributes of the Deity, 459 n 2.
- Āṣma'**,—the celebrated Arab grammarian and philologist, 75 n.

- Asmā'u-l-husnā*, the best of names, 603 and n 5.
- Asmā'u-l-Jalāliyah*, terrible attributes of the Deity, 459 n 2.
- Asmā'u-l-Jamāliyah*, amiable attributes of the Deity, 459 n 2.
- Asparag*, a herb, 173 n 2.
- Ashrafu-l-Mulk*, of the Amīrs of Sultān Firoz Shāh, brother's son of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq, 324.
- As-Suyūṭī*. See under Suyūṭī.
- Aṣṭarjī*, the jinn who stole Solomon's signet ring, and ruled in his place, 205 n 3, 206 n.
- Astronomers of Greece*, 75 n 2.
- Asun* river, the,—flowing west of Gwālīār, 419 n 6.
- Atā*, a father, in Turkī, 568 n 6.
- Atābak* or *Atābek*, a Turkī word, signification of, 568 n 5.
- Atābaki*, the office of *Atābak* (q. v.), 568 n 5.
- Atābaks* of Āzarbaijān, the, 158 n 3.
- Atākā*, a Turkī word, meaning of, 464 n 5, 568 n 6.
- Atala* Masjid, at Jaunpūr, built by Sultān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpūr, 364 n 3.
- Atālīgh*, or *Atāliq*, a Turkī word, signification of, 468 and n 2, 569 n 5, 597.
- Atashkadā i-Āzur*, the, 32 nn 1 and 2, 35 n 1, 53 n, 54 n 1, 96 n 2, 134 n 3, 187 n 2, 270 n 6, 341 nn 1 and 2, 584 n 3.
- Atāva*, a town in the Sarkār of Agra, 70 n 3. See under Atāwah.
- Atāwah*, town of, in Hindustān, 70 and n 3. Also written Atāva, (q. v.).
- Atgah*, 568 n 6.
- Atgah Khān*, Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad. See under Atka Khān.
- Atikā*, a Turkī word, meaning of, 464 n 5.
- Atka*, a Turkī word, meaning of, 464 n 5, 568 n 6.
- Atka Khān*, Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Mir Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, and foster-father to Prince Akbar, 464 n 5, 563, 568 and n 6.
- Atkinson's *Shāh Nāmah*, 32 n 1, 116 n 5, 178 n 2, 180 n 2, 321 n 1, 435 n 2.
- Atlas*, meanings of the word, 142 n 1, 246 n 3.
- Atlas*, Keith Johnson's *Royal*, 567 n 1, 570 n 7.
- Atlas of India*, 384 n 1.
- Attock*, on the Indus, 20 n 1, 44 n 6 358 n 6.
- Ātwāl*, the,—a geographical work, 14 n 3, 29 n 6, 30 n 1.
- 'Auf ibn Qassī (called also Saqīf), 12 n 1.
- 'Aufī, Muḥammad, author of the *Jāmi'u-l-Hikāyat* and *Tazkiratu-sh-Shu'arā*, 220.
- Auhad Khān Auhadī, Governor of Baiāna, 385.
- Auhadī's Life of Khwāja 'Alī Shātranjī, 114 n 2.
- Auhadī family of Baiāna, the Governors of the city, 386.
- Aulaka* or *aulakā*, a Turkī word, signification of, 354 n 7.
- Aunla, town of, 71 n 2.
- Aurangzeb, Emperor of India, 82 n 4.

- Avicenna, 533 *n* 1.
 Awadh (Oudh), 415.
 Awais Jalāyer, Sultān, son of Amīr Shaikh Hasan, King of Khurāsān, 571 *n* 9. See also under Aweis.
 Awais Sirwānī, Khwājā, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 493 *n* 7.
 Awe, Loch, 301 *n* 3.
 Aweis, Sultān, son of Shaikh Hasan Jalāyer, King of Khurāsān, 633 *n* 1. See also under Awais.
 A'yānī, uterine brothers, 466 *n* 7.
 Ayek, the,—a small river of Siālkot, 67 *n*.
 Ay-tutulmash, eclipse of the moon, probable origin of the name Iyaltimish, 89 *n* 1.
 Ayūb, takhallus or poetical name of Khwāja Aiyūb ibn Khwāja Abu-l-Barakāt, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 633.
 Azādpūr, fortress of, 324 *n* 6.
 A'zam Humāyūn, Bāyazid, nephew of Sultān Buhlūl Lodi, 409, 410 and *n* 1.
 A'zam Humāyūn, Haibat Khān of Lāhore,—one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 490, 492, 493, 497 and *n* 3, 498, 500.
 A'zam Humāyūn Shirwānī, Governor of Karra,—one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm bin Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 430, 432, 433, 434, 435.
 A'zam Humāyūn, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 431 *n* 1.
 A'zam Humāyūn Sirwānī, Bihār Khān, Governor of Handīya,—one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 517, 541.
 A'zam Khān Haibat, of Lāhore, 492. See A'zam Humāyūn Haibat.
 A'zam Khān Humāyūn, son of Bāyazid, son of Sultān Buhlūl Lodi, 410 *n* 1, 411 *n* 2, 412 *n* 2, 414 and *n* 2.
 A'zam Khān Humāyūn, son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodi,—one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 416, 434.
 A'zam Khān Shamsu-d-Dīn Muham-mad of Ghaznī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 464. Same as Atkah Khān, (*q. v.*).
 A'zām Malik, Shaikhzāda-i-Bustāmī,—of the Amīrs of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 328.
 A'zamu-l-Mulk, Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Yaḥyā, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muham-mad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 308.
 Azān, the,—or call to prayer, 472 *n* 6, 600 *n* 9, 601 and *n*.
 Ażarbajjān, province of, 30 *n* 1, 61 *n* 5, 158 *n* 3.
 Ażdu-d-Daulah Alp Arslān, third monarch of the Saljuqiyah dynasty, 35 and *n* 1. See under Alp Arslān.
 Ażdu-d-Daulat, title given by the Khalifah Al-Qādir bīllāh to Amīr Yūsuf, son of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29.
 'Aziz Ḥimār, 313 *n* 2. Same as the next (*q. v.*).
 'Aziz Khumār,—of the servants of Sultān Muham-mad Tughlaq Shāh, 313 and *n* 2.
 'Azīzu-l-lah Tulumbī of Sambhal, Shaikh,—one of the great and learned men of the time of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 426, 427, 429.
 Azlām, the arrows in the game of maisir, 369 *n* 1.
 'Azra, heroine of a Turkish romance, mistress of Wāmiq, 40 and *n* 1.

B.

- Bābā Ishāq Maghribī, a Shaikh of Nāgor, 357 n 3.
- Bābā Qashqa,—or
- Bābā Qushqah, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441, 581.
- Babān, the Afḡhān, of the Amīrs of Bābar, 439.
- Babān, of the Amīrs of Sultān Māhmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 471 and nn 4 and 6, 472.
- Bābar, 9 n 2, 63 n, 128 n 3, 421 n 8, 436, 437, 438 and nn 3 and 5, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 447, 468, 469, 534, 570, 596, 605 n 1, 609 and n 5, 610.
- Bābar, Erskine's *Memoirs* of, 421 n 8, 437 n 7, 439 nn 4, 6 and 7, 440 n, 448 n 4, 570 nn 5 and 6.
- Bābarī script, or the Khatt-i-Bābarī, invented by Bābar, 450.
- Bābar-nāmah, the,—the *Memoirs* of Bābar, 325 n 3.
- Bāber. See under Bābar.
- Bābernāmah. See under Bābar-nāmah.
- Bābtigīn, for Bārtagīn, the Ḥājib Buzurg of Sultān Mandūl Ghaznawī, 48 n 4.
- Bābū Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 419.
- Babūl, the *Acacia Arabica*, 335 n 10, 550 n 1.
- Babūlī, a place, 335 and n 10.
- Babylon, 169 n 1.
- Bachgotis, a tribe of Rājpūts, 414 and n 13.
- Badagh Khān, of the Amīrs of Shāh Tahmāsp, King of Persia, 456.
- Badakhshān, 27 n 2, 443, 448, 576, 580, 581, 582, 585, 605, 608 and n 5.

- Bādalgarh, fortress of, in Gwāliar, 432 and n 7.
- Bādalgarh,—or
- Badal Garh, original name of the citadel of Agra, 432 n 7, 551 and n 7.
- Badāon, district and town of, 71 and n 2, 88, 89, 90, 97, 99 and n 2, 119, 123, 124, 130, 131, 185, 231, 233, 234, 236, 244, 251, 260, 266 n 1, 297, 305, 335, 375, 377, 379, 380, 386 and n 4, 396 and n 2, 398, 399, 401, 402 and n 1, 405, 409, 413 and n 13, 427, 535, 545, 546, 557, 558, 597, 598, 600. Written also Badāūn, Bādāūn and Budāūn.
- Badāonī, 'Abdu-l-Qādir bin Mu'luk Shāh, author of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, 1 and n 1, 8 and n 2, 9 n 2, 11 n 1, 31 n, 54 n 2, 62 n 4, 65 n 2, 84 n, 90 n 2, 133 n, 176 n 2, 300 n 3, 304 n 1, 306 n 1, 320 n 5, 326 n, 328 n 6, 330 n 6, 332, 334 n 2, 349 n 12, 356 n 3, 357 n 4, 358 n 3, 363 n, 366 n 4, 368 n 1, 388 n 2, 400 n, 402 n 1, 404 n 2, 414 nn 1 and 6, 466 n 7, 473, 497, 508 n 3, 511 n 2, 543 n 4, 545, 557 n 2, 579, 584 n 3, 592 n 9, 609 n 3, 610.
- Badāūn. See under Badāon.
- Badāūnī. See under Badāonī.
- Badger's *Imāms and Saiyyids of Omān*, 157 n 2.
- Bādḡhis, town of, 71.
- Badr, battle of,—the principal of the Prophet's military exploits, 74 n 2, 216 n.
- Badr Shā'ir Shāshī, a poet of the time of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlāq Shāh, 296 and n 6, 321 and n 6.

- Known also as Badru-d-Din Châchî, of Turkestân.
- Badra-i-Sakûn, a place, 283 and n 5.
- Badru-d-Din Châchî, the poet, 296 n 6. See under Badr Shâ'ir Shâshî.
- Badru-d-Din of Hânsî, Shaikh, contemporary of Sultân Firoz Shâh, 322 and n 5, 323.
- Badru-d-Din Sankar, or Sangar, Rûmî, Amîr Hâjîb, of the Sham-siyah Maliks, 121 n 7, 123.
- Badru-d-Din Zafar Khân, one of the Maliks of Sultân 'Alâu-d-Din Khiljî, 247 and n 2.
- Badshâhpûr, town, 129 n 2.
- Badward, a name of the town of Bâward or Abîward in Khurâsân, 30 n.
- Bâgh-i-Jûd, the, 396 and n 3.
- Bâgh-i-Sabz, on the banks of the Lâhor river, 188 and n 3, 190 n 1.
- Bâgh-i-Sard, 188 n 3. For the Bâgh-i-Sabz (q. v.).
- Bâgh-i-Sarîr, 188 n 3. For the Bâgh-i-Sabz (q. v.).
- Baghâdâd, 12 n 2 (read Damascus), 17, 32 n 1, 57, 59 n 1, 88 n 3, 94 n 2, 205 n 1, 286, 311 and n 4, 322, 394 and n 5, 397, 432 n 10, 571 n 2.
- Baghdâd gate, at Dihlî, 432 n 10.
- Bagore, town, 379 n 1.
- Bagrâm, old name of Peshâwar, 66 n 6.
- Bahâ, Qâzî, one of the boon-companions of Sultân 'Alâu-d-Din Khiljî, 252, 253 and n 2.
- Bâdâdur Gurshasp, Malik, of the Amîrs of Sultân Muhammed Tughlaq Shâh, 304 and n 1.
- Bahâdur, Sultân, ruler of Gujrât,—contemporary of Humâyûn, 452, 453, 454 and n 4, 455, 456, 458, 635.
- Bahâdur Khân, a prince of the family of Sultân 'Alâu-d-Din Khiljî, 291.
- Bahâdur Khân, son of Daryâ Khân Lûhâni, of the Amîrs of Sultân Ibrâhîm Lodî,—takes possession of Bihâr, assuming the title of Sultân Muhammed, 435. Elsewhere he is called Bihâr Khân (q. v.).
- Bahâdur Khân, Governor of Narnûl under Sultân Mahmûd, grandson of Sultân Firoz Shâh, 365 n 7.
- Bahâdur Khân Sistânî (Shaibânî?), Governor of Qandahâr,—one of the Amîrs of Humâyûn, 590, 591, 594.
- Bahâdur Shâh, otherwise known as Tûda (? Nûda), independent Governor of Sunâr Gânw,—contemporary of Sultân Ghîyâşu-d-Dîn Tughlaq Shâh, 299, 300.
- Bahâdur, Sultân Muhammed, son of Muhammed Khân Gauria,—contemporary of 'Adlî, 556 and n 3.
- Bahâdur Nâhir, Khân Zâda of Miwât 343, 344 and n 7, 345, 347, 351 and n 6, 354, 358 and n 4, 366 n, 375. Founder of the Khân Zâde race, the rulers of Miwât.
- Bahankar, fortress of, 80 and nn 4 and 5.
- Bahâpûr, town, 227 and n 7, 229.
- Bahâr Khân, A'zam Humâyûn Sir wâni, 521. See under Bihâr Khân
- Bahârî, town, 232.
- Bahâristân, one of the works of Maulâni Jâmi, 32 n 2.
- Bahârpûr, town, 227 n 7.

- Bahāū-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 530.
- Bahāū-d-Dīn Gurshāsp, Malik, Governor of Sūgur, under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304 n 1.
- Bahāū-d-Dīn Jangī, Malik, of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh Firoz Shāhī, 344.
- Bahāū-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ushī Farḡānī, 78 n 2. See Bahāū-d-Dīn Ushī.
- Bahāū-d-Dīn Naqshbandī of Bukhārā, Khwājā, a renowned saint, the founder of the Naqshbandī School, 588 n 4.
- Bahāū-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, Malik, 77 n 1. Probably Malik ‘Alāū-d-Dīn Muḥammad is meant.
- Bahāū-d-Dīn Tughral, Malik, one of the generals and slaves of Sulṭān Mu’izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 80, 81.
- Bahāū-d-Dīn Ushī, a famous preacher and learned divine of the time of Sulṭān Quṣbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 78 and n 2.
- Bahāū-d-Dīn Zakariyāī the Multānī, Ghauṣn-l-Ālam Hazrat Shaikh, a famous Muḥammadan Saint, 133 and n and n 2, 248 n 2.
- Bahdū, a village of the dependenices of Khurāsān, 588 and n 5. Called also Bahdāyan.
- Bahdāyan, village of, 588 n 5. See the above.
- Al-Bahhāg, or the controversialist, a name of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā of Budāou (q. v.), 71 n 2.
- Bahira, town, 465.
- Bahjat Khān, governor of Chanderī under Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwā,
- transfers Chanderī to Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi, 424 and n 4.
- Bahlol, Sulṭān, 877 n 4. See under Sulṭān Bahlul Lodi.
- Bahman, an ancient King of Irān, 35 n 2.
- Bahman, eleventh month of the Persian year, 627 and n 1.
- Bahmān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 517.
- Bahmān Khān, a Niyāzī Afghān, 498.
- Bahmanwā, ancient name of the town of al-Manṣūrah in Sindh, 36 n 10.
- Bahr-i-‘Ajām, the,—a lexicographical work, 114 n 2.
- Bahr-i-Jurjān, the Caspian, 153 n 1.
- Bahr-i-Khwārazm, the Lake Aral, 153 n 1.
- Bahr-i-Niṭās, the Black Sea, 153 n 1.
- Bahr-i-Qulzum, the Red Sea, 169 n 1.
- Bahr-i-Tabariyā, the Dead Sea, 153 n 1.
- Bahrah, town of, 128 n 3. Probably same as Bhera (q. v.).
- Bahraich, district, 349, 409, 411 n 2. See also the next.
- Bahrāij, district, 125, 126, 131. See also the above and under Bharāij.
- Bahrām, ancient King of Persia, 157 n 1, 436.
- Bahrām Iba, Kishlū Khān, governor of Multān and Uchh, adopted brother of Sulṭān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 292 and n 4, 293, 297 and n 6, 304.
- Bahrām Khān, son of Sulṭān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297.

- Bahrām Khān, governor of Sunar-gānw under Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308.
- Bahrām Khān Turkbacha, ruler of Sāmāna, contemporary of Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 362, 365.
- Bahrām Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Tahmāsp, King of Persia, 569.
- Bahrām Shāh, Sultān, ibn Maṣ'ud ibn Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60.
- Bahrām Shāh, son of Sultān Nāṣirud-Dīn Qabāchah (*q. v.*), 90.
- Bahrām Shāh, son of Sultān Shamsud-Dīn Iyāl-timish. See under Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh.
- Bahrām Ullah, 297 n 6. For Babrām Iba (*q. v.*).
- Bahrī, Malik, of the Maliks of Abū Bakr Shāh, Sultān of Dihlī, 344.
- Bahrsūr, a halting-place opposite to Baiāna, 518.
- Bahru-l-Jawāhir, a work on medicine, 5 n 3, 30 n 2, 42 n, 49 n 2, 101 n 1, 117 n 2, 118 n, 146 n 6, 148 n 4, 161 n 3, 167 n 2, 226 n 5, 319 n 4.
- Bahwa Lūhānī, Miyān, Governor of Baiāna, one of the Maliks of Islem Shāh, 518, 519.
- Baiāna, district and town, 359, 360, 378, 379, 385, 386, 387, 392, 395 and n 3, 400, 405, 414, 418, 419, 424, 443, 445, 452, 487, 488, 497, 507, 509, 512, 513, 518, 519, 520, 526, 541, 549, 551 and n 8, 553, 597, 598. See also under Bhiāna and Biāna.
- Baiāna, fortress of, 549, 551.
- Baihaqī, the Historian, 32 n, 36 nn 8 and 9, 37 n 2, 46 n 2.
- Bairām Dev, Rājā of Hindūstān, contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 28 and n 4. See under Brahma Dev.
- Bairām Dev, son of Rai Harsingh of Itāwa, contemporary of Maḥmūd Shāh, grandson of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 361.
- Bairām Dev, the Rājā of Kola, contemporary of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji, 231.
- Bairām Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the great Amīrs of Humāyūn and Akbar, 447, 567, 568, 569, 573, 578, 588, 589, 590 and n 5, 591, 594, 595, 597, 622.
- Bairām Khān Turkbacha, ruler of Sāmāna, under Maṣnad-i-Āli Khizr Khān of Dihlī, 365, 378.
- Baitālī, township of,—on the banks of the Ganges, 360 and n 3, 375, 377, 379, 407 n 1. See also Betālī.
- Baitarānī river, the,—in Orissa, 125 n 3.
- Bātitīgīn, 48 n 4, for Bārtagīn, the Ḥājib-i-Buzurg (*q. v.*).
- Baiżā, a village of Shirāz in Persia, 6 n 4.
- Baiżāwī, Qāżī, author of the *Anwārū-t-Tanzīl*, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'aṇ, and of the *Nizāmu-t-Tawāriķ*, 6 and n 4, 10 n 8, 34 and n 8, 45 and n 2, 52, 56 n 1, 62 and nn 3 and 4, 63, 64 n 1.
- Bajj, fort of,—in Majbaristān, 34 and n 6.
- Bajlāna, a place on the Ganges, 379.
- Bajwāra, town, 380 and n 2, 391 and n 5, 497, 520.

- Bakhtyār Khiljī, Malik, 85 n 1. See under Muḥammad Bakhtyār Ghūrī or Khiljī.
- Bakkār, town, 559 and n 5, 560, 561 and n 11, 562, 566 and n 13, 567, 574, 580. See also under Bukkur and Bhakkar.
- Baksar, country of, 408 and n 5.
- Baktüzün, one of the Amīrs of 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Nūḥ Sāmānī, King of Khurāsān, 16 and n 2.
- Balārūm, town, 346.
- Balarwān, fortress of, in Gharjistān, 63 n 1.
- Balban, the elder, 124. See Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān.
- Balban, Sultān. See under Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban.
- Balban, the younger, Malik and afterwards Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din (*q. v.*), 121 and n 7, 122.
- Balbānī Amīrs, known also as the Ghiyāṣī Amīrs, the partisans of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban, 232, 233.
- Balfour, 162 n 3.
- Balkātīgīn, the slave of Alptigīn, Governor of Ghaznī, 14 n 1.
- Balkh, 16, 17, 20, 23, 27 and n 1, 30, 35, 37 and n 7, 38, 44, 46 n 1, 47, 445, 581, 582 and n 7, 585, 597 n 5.
- Balkh, the river of,—the Jailūn, 27 n 1, 582 n 7.
- Bālnāt, hill country of, 474. See also the next.
- Bālnāth, mountains of, 22 and n 5. See also the above.
- Bāmīān, district and town of,—in Afgānīstān, 46 and n 1, 56.
- Banāras, 416, 520. Banārāsī, 339 n 6. See Bārānāsī.
- Banas, the,—a tributary of the Chambal river, 385 n 8.
- Banātū-n-Nāsh, the constellation Ursa Major, 198 and n 2.
- Banbhar, town, 530 and n 3.
- Banda, town, 417 n 7.
- Bāndhū, fortress of, 417 n 7.
- Bāndhūgaṛh, fortress, 417 and n 7.
- Bangāla, 79, 82, 86, 135, 222, 325, 417, 457, 458, 460, 461, 470, 472, 507, 552, 554, 573. See also under Bengal.
- Bangālis, the, 470.
- Bāngarman, township of, 434.
- Bang-Matī river, 84 n. Called also the Beg-Matī (*q. v.*).
- Banhar, town, 530 n 3.
- Bānhbana, Rāī, brother's son of the Jām of Thathā, contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 332 n 6, 333 n 4.
- Baniān, town, 95 n 8, 128 n 1.
- Banjāras, grain sellers, 477.
- Bānwāla, town, 495.
- Bānū Tamīm Anṣārī, early Muhammadan sovereigns of Sind, 13 n.
- Bapāk, 415 n 5, for Prayāṅ, the ancient name of Allahabad.
- Baqā'i, Maulānā, a learned man of the time of Būbar, 449.
- Bāqī-i-Khaṭīb, one of the learned poets of the time of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.
- Barādarān-i-akhyāfi, brothers by the same mother but a different father, 466 n 7.
- Barādarān-i-a'yāni, uterine brothers 466 n 7.

- Baran, district and town, 89 and n 4, 121 n 5, 226, 227, 230 n 1, 250, 357, 359, 364, 396. See also the next.
- Baran, fortress of, 24 n 1. See Barnah.
- Bārānāsi, town, 829 and n 6. See under Banāras.
- Barāngāhār*, right wing of a Turkish army, 439 n 4.
- Barānī, the Historian. See under Ziāu-d-Din Barnī.
- Barāwar bacha. See under Hasan, Barāwar bacha.
- Barāwar tribe, a family of servile position in Gujrāt, 274, 285, 288. See also the next.
- Barāwas, the, 289. Same as the Barāwar family (q. v.).
- Bārbak*, chief attendant of a *darbār*, 501 and n 6.
- Bārbak Bektars Sultānī, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 186 n 5.
- Bārbak Shāh, son of Sultān Bahlūl Lodi, 409 and n 8, 411 n 2, 412 n 2, 413 and n 18, 414 n 1, 415.
- Barchha*, a small spear, 479 and n 2.
- Bardār, hills of, 130 n 2.
- Bardat, governor of the fortress of Bartah in Hindūstān, contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 24 n 1.
- Bardhan, town, 83, 84 n.
- Bardhan Koṭ, town of, 84 n.
- Bareilly, 364 n 4. See also the next.
- Baréli, town of, 71 n 2. See also Bareilly.
- Barerī, *pargana* of, 424 n 3.
- Bārī, township in the Sarkār of Agra, 410, 425 and n 4.
- Barmazid Kor, one of the Amirs of Shīr Shāh, 490 and n 4.
- Barnah, fortress of, 24 and n 1. Same as Baran (q. v.).
- Barnī, the Historian. See under Ziāu-d-Din Barnī.
- Baroda, district, 313, 314.
- Barqa'i, Hājī, a court officer of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311, 315.
- Barsine, wife of Alexander the Great, 382 n.
- Bartagīn, the Hājib-i-Buzurg,—one of the Amirs of Sultān Maḍūd Ghaznawī, 48 and n 4. See also under Bāshītigīn.
- Bartah, fortress of, 24 n 1.
- Barūj (Broach), 311 and n 3.
- Barūja, town, 358 n 6.
- Barwat, Governor of the fortress of Barnah, in Hindūstān, a contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 24 and n 1.
- Bāsād Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultān Maḥmūd, the grandson of Sultān Firoz Shāh, of Dihlī, 364.
- Basāwar, town, 349, 445, 475, 479, 512, 549.
- Bashīr, the Sirdar, an adherent of the house of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 273.
- Bāshītigīn Hājib, one of the Amirs of the Ghaznavides, 48 n 4, 50 n 1. See under Bartagīn.
- Baṣra, town of,—in Arabian ‘Irāq, 12 n 1, 458 n 3.
- Basudev (Vasudeva), one of the Hindū gods, 24 and n 6.
- Basūlī, a place, 385 n 10.
- Bathindah, town of, 69 n 2. See also under Batindah.

- Bātīl**, 618 n 2.
- Batindah, called also Tabarhindah, the capital of Jaipāl,—the ruler of Hindūstān at the time of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 19 n 2, 20 n 1. See also Bathindah.
- Bāṭīni sect, the,—a sect of Mūhammadan heretics, 22 and n 3.
- Al-Bāṭinīah, 22 n 3. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Batlāhī, town, 334 and n 5.
- Batūl**, the offset of a palm-tree, 622 n 4.
- Al-Batūl, a name of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet, 622 n 4.
- Bāward, a city of Khurasān, 29 and n 6, 30, 42, 43. Called also Abiward (q. v.).
- Bayāk, 415 n 5, for Prayāg, the ancient name of Allahabad.
- Bāyazid Anṣārī, also called Pīr Roshān, founder of a Sūfī sect, called the Roshāniyyah or enlightened, 58 and n 5.
- Bāyazid A'zam Humāyūn, nephew of Sultān Buhlūl Lodi, 409, 410 and n 1.
- Bāyazid, Khwājā, eldest son of Sultān Buhlūl Lodi, 401 n 4, 410 n 1, 414.
- Bāyazid, Shaikh, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmalī,—one of the Afghān Amīrs who joined Humāyūn, 444.
- Bāyazid, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 471 and n 4, 472.
- Bayley, *History of Gujārāt*, 17 n 4, 71 n 3, 264 n 6, 313 n 5, 357 n 3, 452 n 6, 454 nn 1 and 7, 455 n 1, 458 n 6.
- Bāz Bahādur, son of Sazāwāl Khān, ruler of Mālwā, contemporary of 'Adlī, 554, 557.
- Bazāna, town of, 27 n 4.
- Bazghand, fortress of, 44 and n 1.
- Beale's *Dictionary of Oriental Biography*, 32 n 1, 33 n 1, 38 n 4, 53 n, 54 n 2, 55 n 3, 58 n 5, 99 n 3, 133 n 2, 134 n 4, 158 n 3, 187 n 2, 233 n 4, 236 n 2, 272 n 1, 279 n 3, 297 n, 298 nn 2 and 4, 332 n 2, 339 n 4, 449 nn 2 and 3, 450 n 5, 507 n 2, 533 nn 1 and 6, 571 n 9, 584 n and n 3, 624 n 6, 633 n 1. [Baiāna.]
- Bēāna, town of, 80 n 5. See under Bodar, a town of the Deccan, 299 n 3. See also under Bidar.
- Bedr, battle of,—the Prophet's principal military exploit, 74 n 2, 216 n. More correctly Badr.
- Beerbhoom, the Rājā of, 329 n 9.
- Beg Tughdī, one of the generals of Sultān Mas'ud, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 43. See under Tughdī Beg.
- Begam, the Queen-consort of Humāyūn, mother of Akbar, 560, 566, 568 and n 7. See Hamida Bānū.
- Beghū, the Turkomān, chief of the Turkomāns, contemporary of Sultān Mas'ud, son of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 38 and n 3, 39.
- Beghū Malik Shāh. See the above.
- Beg-Matī river, the, 84 n 1. Called also the Bang-Mati (q. v.).
- Behār, capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadhb, 82 and n 1. See under Bihār.
- Behāristān, of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 32 n 2.

- Behāt**, the,—old name of the Jhilam, one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 44 n 6, 128 n 3, 500, 503. Spelt also the Behat.
- Behnbur**, town, 530 n 3.
- Behzād**, Malik, Governor of Multān under Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305.
- Beiträge zur Kenntniß der Poesie der alten Arabe*, Nöldeke's, 99 n 6.
- Bejī Rāi**, Rājā of Bhātia, contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 19.
- Bekāsī**, Maulānā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 453 and n 7.
- Belnāt** monntains, 22 n 5. See under Balnāt and Balnāth.
- Bengal**, 81 n 2, 82 nn 3 and 4, 135 n 1, 299, 300, 303 n, 345 n 2, 466 n 6, 540. See also under Bangāla and Bengālā.
- Bengāla**, 79, 82, 86. See also under Bangāla and Bengal.
- Ber**, fruit of the 'Unnāb tree in Hindustānī, 117 n 2.
- Beraisen**, a mistaken reading of bi Rāsain, i.e., the two Rāses (q. v.), 326 n.
- Berenice**, an ancient port of the Red Sea, 169 n 1.
- Betāli**, on the Ganges, 185 n 1. See under Patiāli and Baitāli.
- Betel-leaf**, note on, 302 n 6.
- Betle-chewer's cancer**, 303 n.
- Betwā** river, the, 95 n 3.
- Beveridge's the Emperor Akbar**, 58 n 5.
- Bezoar stone**, 118 n.
- Bhadāuli**, one of the dependencies of Sakit, 410 n 4.
- Bhadauriāhs**, the, 408 n 1. See the Bhadauris.
- Bhadauris**, 'the,—the inhabitants of the Bhadāwar district, 408 and n 1.
- Bhadāwar**, a district S. E. of Agra, 408 n 1.
- Bhadāwah**, town, 410 n 4.
- Bhagat**, the,—a Hindū caste of loose people, 557 and n 9.
- Bhagatiya**, the,—a Hindū caste of loose people, 557 n 9.
- Bhāgirathī**, the 82 n 4.
- Bhaka**, a servant of Shīr Khān, afterwards Shīr Shāh Sūr, 468.
- Bhakārī**, Shaikh, son of Shaikhul-Hadīyah, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 429 and n 5.
- Bhakkar**, town, 464. See under Bakkar and Bukkur.
- Bhangar**, fortress of, 71 and n 2. See also under Bhankar and Bahankar.
- Bhankar**, fortress of, 90. See also under Bhangar and Bahankar.
- Bharāij**, district, 132. See under Bahrāich and Bahrāij.
- Bhartpūr**, district, 134 n 1, 366 n.
- Bhasiyāna**, country of, 80 and n 5.
- Bhat**, fort of, 355 and n 3. See Bhatnīr.
- Bhāta** or Bhātā, a place, 19 n 4. See under Bhātia.
- Bhātia**, a town situated between the arms of the Mihrān (Indus), 36 n 10.
- Bhātī** tribe of Hindūs, the, 66 and n 2.
- Bhātia**, a place in the vicinity of Multān, 19 and n 4, 66 n 2.
- Bhatnīr**, town, 355 nn 1 and 3.
- Bhatpar**, 355 n 3, for Bhatnīr (q. v.).

- Bhatta, town, 408 *n* 7, 485 and *n* 9, 489, 542, 544, 553.
- Bhatta, Kingdom of, 544.
- Bhatta, Amīrs of, 485.
- Bhatwārā, a place, 406.
- Bhawan, a place, 20 *n* 5.
- Bhayāna, country of, 80 *n* 5. See under Bhiāna, Biāna and Baiāna.
- Bhera, a place on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range, 19 *n* 4. See under Bahrah.
- Bhiāna, territory of, 80 *n* 5. See under Bhayāna, Biāna and Baiāna.
- Bhilāsā, a town on the Betwā in Mālwā, 95 and *n* 3, 236 and *n* 3.
- Bhim, a hero of Indian mythology, 20 *n* 5, 21.
- Bhim, town of, 20 *n* 5.
- Bhim Dev, Rāi, ruler of Gujrāt, contemporary of Sultān Mu'izza-d-Din Sām Ghūrī, 66, 71. [Dev.]
- Bhim Rāi Dev, 71. See under Bhim.
- Bhim, Rāi, the chief of Jammoo, contemporary of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of Dihli, 383 and *n* 3.
- Bhim Sen, Rājā, founder of the town of Bhongāon, 386 *n* 3.
- Bhimnagar, fortress of, 20 and *n* 5.
- Bhodal, township of, 547 *n* 4.
- Bhojpūr, fortress of, 185 and *n* 1.
- Bhongāon, a town in the Mainpūri district, 386 *nn* 3 and 4. See also under Bhūngānw.
- Bhūgāon, 386 *n* 3. See the above and also Bhūngānw.
- Bhūhar, town, 360.
- Bhūkānūr, town, 386 *n* 3.
- Bhūngānw,—or
- Bhūngāon, in the Mainpūri district, 386 and *n* 3, 403, 431.
- Bharayee, town, 414 *n* 3.
- Biāh, the, 28 *n* 3, 126, 180, 251, 353, 381, 389, 391, 392, 412 *n* 2. Called the Kāli Pānī (*q. v.*), and the Biās.
- Biās, the, 325 *n* 3. Same as the river Biāh (*q. v.*).
- Bibi Bā'i, daughter of Niżām Khān Sūr and wife of Islem Shāh, 535.
- Bibi Khūnza, Malika-i-Jahān, chief wife of Sultān Husain Sharqī, 409 and *n* 2.
- Bibi Rāchī, mother of Sultān Muham-mad Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 403 *n* 8.
- Bible, the, 394 *n* 5.
- Bibliotheca Indica, the, 127 *n* 2, 142 *n* 1, 315 *n* 7, 329 *n* 8.
- Bidūgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 572 and *nn* 7 and 8, 575 and *n* 3, 578.
- Bider, town,—in Haidarābād, Deccan, 299 and *n* 3, 311, 312, 314. Called also Bedar.
- Bidaspes, the,—the Jhelam river, the Vitastā of Sanskrit writers, 23 *n* 3.
- Bihand or Waihind, a place on the western bank of the Indus, 20 *n* 1.
- Bihār, 185, 328, 329, 338, 348, 416 and *nn* 12 and 13, 417, 434, 435, 436, 444, 446, 456, 457, 467, 469, 470, 471 and *n* 1, 521.
- Bihār Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Lodi dynasty, 443.
- Bihār Khān, A'zam Humāyūn Sirwānī, Governor of Handiya under Islem Shāh Sūr, 517, 521, 541. See Bahār Khān.
- Bihār Khān, son of Daryā Khān Luhēnī, Sultān of Bihār, 467. See

- Sulṭān Muḥammad* of Bihār. Elsewhere called Bahādur Khān (*q. v.*).
 Bihiṣṭī, author of a commentary on the *Šahāif*, 427 *n* 1.
 Bijlāna, a place on the Ganges, 231.
 Bijnor, hills of, 130 and *n* 2.
 Bikanīr, town of, 69 *n* 2.
 Bilāl, the Abyssinian mu'azzin of Muḥammad, 601 *n*.
 Al-Bilāzūrī, author of the *Futūḥu-l-Buldān*, 11 *n* 3.
 Bilūchistān, 48 *n* 4, 420 *n* 9.
 Bin, township of, 526. See also Bin Bāū.
 Bīnā Pānipatī, Shaikh, a famous surgeon, 366 *n* 3.
 Bināyek Deo, Rājā of Dholpur,—contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 419 *n* 4, 420 and *n* 2.
 Binīyik Dee, same as the above (*q. v.*).
 Bin Bāū, in the Panjab, 523, 525. See also Bin.
Bīrā, note on, 303 *n*.
 Birjis, the planet Jupiter, 630 and *n* 2.
 Birnī Kherā, town, 327 and *n* 3.
 Birūnī. See under Albirūnī.
 Bisal, fortress, 383 *n* 3.
Bīsh, aconite, 172 *n* 2.
Bismi-llāh, in the name of God, used at the beginning of all works, 428 and *n* 4.
 Bitter Lakes, the, 169 *n* 1.
 Bizhan, son of Geo and nephew of Rustam, in the *Šāhnāmeh* of Firdausī, 116 *n* 5, 180 and *n* 2, 181 *n* 1.
 Blackwater, the,—known as the Kālāpānī (*q. v.*), 360 and *n* 3, 378 and *n* 1, 386, 411.
 Bland, *On the Persian game of chess*, 103 *n* 1, 115 *n*, 479 *n* 7.
 Blochmann, 8 *n* 3, 19 *n*, 67 *n* 3, 353 *n* 1, 357 *n* 4, 366 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 415 *n* 4, 417 *n* 8, 420 *nn* 8 and 9, 421 *n* 8, 422 *n* 2, 424 *n* 3, 432 *n* 7, 449 *n* 2, 484 *n* 5, 476 *n* 5, 479 *n* 5, 496 *n* 1 and 8, 498 *n* 3, 499 *n* 3, 501 *n* 7, 503 *n* 3, 506 *n* 2, 507 *n* 1, 508 *n* 7 and 8, 509 *n* 8, 515 *n* 4, 523 *n* 5, 546 *nn* 3 and 7, 557 *n* 1, 567 *n* 3, 568 *n* 6, 571 *n* 9, 580 *n* 5, 584 *n* 3, 588 *n* 4, 590 *n* 5, 592 *n* 9, 597 *n* 5, 605 *n* 1, 609 *n* 5, 610 *n*, 611 *n* 3, 623 *n* 6, 626 *n* 3.
 Blue, the customary mourning colour in Persia, 209 and *n* 3.
 Bohar, a place in the vicinity of Hānsī, 248 and *n* 4.
 Bokhārā. See under Bukhārā.
 Bombay edition of the *Atash-Kada*, 584 *n* 3.
 Bombay text of the *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, 72 *n* 2, 205 *n* 2, 304 *n* 1, 307 *n*, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n* 2, 327 *n* 3, 330 *n* 6, 334 *n* 3, 339 *n* 2, 342 *n* 3, 345 *n* 2, 350 *n* 3, 355 *n* 4, 360 *n* 3, 365 *n* 2, 379 *n* 2, 385 *n* 1, 393 *n* 3, 400 *n*, 401 *n* 2, 402 *nn* 1 and 5, 403 *nn* 4 and 5, 404 *nn* 2 and 5, 406 *nn* 1 and 5, 410 *nn* 1 and 4, 411 *n* 2, 412 *n* 2, 413 *n* 13, 415 *n* 7, 422 *n* 3, 424 *nn* 2 and 4, 425 *n* 6, 432 *nn* 3 and 7, 433 *n* 3, 438 *n* 3, 466 *n* 5, 478 *nn* 7 and 8, 488 *n* 5, 490 *n* 4, 537 *n* 2, 559 *nn* 6 and 8, 560 *n* 2, 561 *n* 2, 564 *nn* 6 and 8, 566 *n* 13, 567 *n* 9, 573 *n* 3, 579 *n* 8, 583 *n* 3, 609 *n* 5, 625 *n* 3.
 Bost, district, 15 *n*.

- Bost, town,—on the banks of the Hendmand, 15 n. See under Bust.
- Brahma Dev, one of the Rājās of Hindūstān at the time of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 28 n 4.
- Brahmanputr, the, 84 and n 1, 186 n 6. Called also the Brahmakādi.
- Brahmans, the, 27, 28, 331, 332, 509 n 5.
- Brahmaputra, the, 84 n 1. See the Brahmanputr.
- Brahmākādi, the, 84. See under the Brahmanputr.
- Brentford, 301 n 2.
- Brian O'Linn, 618 n 1.
- Briggs, Ferishta, 13 n 1, 16 nn 1 and 2, 19 n 5, 20 n 2, 23 n 2, 27 n 4, 28 nn 2 and 4, 29 nn 1 and 5, 30 n 2, 31 n, 33 n 2, 34 n 5, 36 n 9, 47 n 7, 48 nn 2 and 4, 66 nn 2 and 4, 259 n 5, 273 n 4, 300 n 3, 304 n 1, 307 n, 327 n 1, 329 n 9, 331 n 10, 332 n, 334 n 2, 336 n 5, 338 n 1, 344 n 7, 348 nn 3 and 9, 350 n 3, 355 nn 1 and 4, 359 n 2, 360 n 3, 365 n 2, 367 n, 379 nn 1 and 2, 393 n 5, 400 n, 410 n 3, 414 nn 3 and 5, 417 n 5, 419 n 1, 424 n 4, 425 n 6, 461 n 3, 478 n 7, 488 n 5, 490 n 4, 566 n 13, 624 n 6, 625 n 3.
- Broach, 311 n 3. See under Barūj.
- Bū ‘Alī, commonly known as Ibn Sinā (Avicenna), 533 and n 1.
- Bubonic plague, 524 and n 1.
- Budāon. See under Badāon.
- Budāon gate, in Dihlī, 227, 260.
- Budāoni. See under Badāoni.
- Budāun. See under Badāon.
- Budāunī. See under Badāoni.
- Buddhists, the, 95 n 3.
- Budh, Shaikh, a learned physician of Bihār in the time of Sher Shāh and Islem Shāh, 521 and n 4, 522.
- Bughrā Khān, son of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban. See under Nūṣru-d-Din Bughrā Khān.
- Buhlūl Lodī, Malik and afterwards Sultān, 398, 399, 400, 401 and n 4, 402 and nn 1 and 5, 403 and nn 4 and 5, 404 and n and nn 2 and 5, 405, 406, 407 and n 1, 408 and n 6, 409 and n 7, 410 and nn 1 and 4, 411 and n 2, 412 n 2, 413 n 13, 466.
- Buhlūl, Sultān, ibn-i-Kālā Lodī. See the above.
- Buhlūl, Shaikh, brother of Shaikh Muhammād Ghaus of Gwāliār, contemporary of Humāyūn, 459.
- Bukhārā, 13 n 1, 14 n 1, 20 n 2, 27 n 1, 89, 93, 446 n 2, 533 n 1, 570 n 7, 588 n 4, 618 and n 5.
- Bukhārī, Imām, the celebrated author of *Sahīku-l-Bukhārī*, a collection of authentic traditions, 6 and n 3.
- Bukkur, later name of al-Manṣūrah in Sind, 36 n 10, 559 n 5. See under Bakkar and Bhakkar.
- Bulandshahr, district and town of, 89 n 4, 121 n 5, 395 n 4, 396, 546 n 4.
- Bulgār, one of the sons of Gaz, the tenth son of Yāfiṣ (Japhet), 61 n 5.
- Bulgarians, the,—descended from Bulgār (q. v.), 61 n 5.
- Bu-l-Muzaffar, 77 and n 1, for Abu-l-Muzaffar Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī. [omen, 58 n 1.]
- Būmah, the Owl,—the type of ill.
- Burāq, the animal upon which Muḥammad was mounted during

- his ascent to heaven, 150, 292 and n 6, 293 n.
- Burgess, *Surya Sidhāhānta*, 163 n 2.
- Burhān, servant of Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujarat, 533 and n 5.
- Burhānābād, township, 386.
- Burhān-i-Qāfi'i*, a Persian Dictionary, 79 n 1, 101 n 1, 102 n 5, 108 n 4, 109 n 4, 115 n 3, 117 n 2, 122 n 3, 137 n 6, 188 n 3, 143 n 2, 146 n 1, 152 n 3 and 6, 153 nn 1 and 4, 154 n 5, 158 n 6, 159 n, 160 n 2, 166 n 1, 167 n 2, 171 n 2, 172 nn 2, 3 and 4, 173 n 2, 178 n 4, 182 nn 1 and 4, 192 n 3, 193 n 1, 314 n 1, 319 n 4, 321 nn 1, 2 and 4, 340 n 2, 352 n 1, 629 n 1.
- Burhān Niżām Shāh, ruler of the Dakkan, 624 n 6.
- Burhānpūr, 455 n 4.
- Burhānu-d-Dīn Balārāmī, *Shaikh*, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.
- Buri Gāngā river, the, 377 n 3, 384 n 4.
- Burqa'*, a kind of veil, 503 and n 2.
- Burton's *Pilgrimage to El-Medina and Mecca*, 97 n 4, 177 n 4.
- Bushire, 572 n 1.
- Bushkāl*, the rainy season, from the Turkī *pushakāl* or *pushkāl*, 325 n 2.
- Bust, capital of Zābulistān, 14 and n 8, 33, 34, 47, 48 n 4, 50. See under Bost.
- Büstān of *Shaikh Sa'dī* of Shirāz, 187 n 2, 467.
- Büstān Afrūz, a red flower without odour, 629 and n 1.

C.

- Cairo, 210. See also under the Dāru-l-Khilāfat of Egypt.
- Cakra, the, 22 n 1. See also the Chakra.
- Cakra svāmin, or owner of the Cakra, name of the idol of Taneshar, 22 n 1. See also Chakra-svāmin.
- Calcutta edition of the *Kaṣhāf* of az-Zamakhsharī, 28 n 1.
- Calcutta text of the *Muntakkabu-t-Tawārikh* of Bādāoni, 132 n 2, 187 n 1, 368 n 1.
- Calcutta edition of the *Nafahātu-l-Uṣ* of Maulānā Jāmī, 609 n 5.
- Calcutta edition of the *Shāh Nāma*, 88 n 2. [329 n 3.]
- Calcutta text of *Shams-i-Sirāj*. 'Afif,
- Calcutta edition of the *Tabaqāt-i-*
- Nāṣirī*, 65 n 1, 84 n, 126 n 3, 131 n 4, 134 n 1.
- Calcutta text of *Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī*, 306 n 1, 307 n 3, 310 n 1, 311 n 5.
- Calendar of Julius Cæsar, 76 n.
- Camāl eddīn, Kādhī, one of the Qāzīs of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 128 n.
- Cambay, in Gujarat, 256 n 4, 311 n 3, 454 n 6. See also under Kuhan-bāyāt, Khambhāt and Khambāt.
- Cambāhat, the Cambay of Europeans, a port of Gujerat, 256 n 4. See under Cambay. [29 n.]
- Canda, a place near Somnāth, 28 n 4,
- Cannia coubadj, name of Qananj in ancient monuments, 23 n 2.
- Carmate. See under Karmat or

- Qarmat, founder of the Karmatian sect of heretics.
- Carnal, town of, 21 n 4.
- Caroli, town, 420 n 5.
- Cathay, the country of Khaṭā, 143 n 4, 232 n 5.
- Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire de Arabes*, 12 n 1, 46 n 5.
- Cavalum, the town of Kūlam, 265 n 5.
- Cave, Chapter of the,—*the Sūratu-l-Kahf*, in al-Qur'ān, 279 n.
- Cawnpore, 408 n 5.
- Celestial Empire, the, 147 n 1.
- Central Asia, 362 n 2.
- Central India, 298 n 7, 364 nn 2 and 3, 385 n 3.
- Central Provinces, the, 433 n 4, 517 n 9.
- Chāch, a town in Turkestān, 296 n 6. See also Shāsh.
- Chach Nāma*, the,—a History of India in verse, 11 n 3.
- Chādar, a garment worn by the women of India, 503 and n 1.
- Chaghār Beg Saljūqī, King of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sultān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 49 n 4. Called also Chughz Beg or Chaghz Beg.
- Chaghatai line of Mogul princes, 145 n 2, 464 n 8.
- Chaghatai Khān, son of the Chingiz Khān, 145 n 2, 464 n 8.
- Chaghatai tribe, Amirs of,—adherents of Humāyūn, 464 and n 8, 472, 574 and n 6, 576, 582 n 7, 583 n 3, 593. See also under Chaghtā.
- Chaghtā, Ulus-i, 575 n 1. See also under the Chaghatai tribe.
- Chāhar Ajārī, independent Rājā of Narwar, contemporary of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 129 n 4. Called also Chāhar Deva and Jāhir Dev.
- Chāhar Deva, Rājā of Narwar, 129 n 4. See Chāhar Ajārī.
- Chaghz Beg Saljūqī, 49 n 4. See under Chughz Beg.
- Chahār Khanḍ, a place, 457.
- Chahār pāī, charpoy, 494 n 11.
- Chakarsūm, name of the idol of Thānesar, 21. See Chakrasvāmin.
- Chakra, 22 n 1. See under Cakra.
- Chakrasvāmin, or Lord of the Chakra, name of the idol of Thānesar, 22 n 1. See Cakrasvāmin.
- Chaldī, a *Mughul* commander, in the time of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249 n 5.
- Chaman, Malik, Ghāziu-l-Mulk, Governor of Badāon,—one of the Amirs of Muhammād Shāh of Dihlī, 396 and n 1, 398.
- Chambal or Chhanbal river, a river of Central India, the Charmanwātī of Sanskrit writers, 385 and n 8, 387, 419, 420 n 5.
- Chambarhā, a roof, 593 n 9.
- Chāmpānīr, fortress of,—in Gujrāt, 455 n 1. Called also Jāmpānīr.
- Chanbarhā, 593 n 9.
- Chāndā, the heroine of a *Masnavī* in Hindī, mistress of Lūrak, 333. See under the next.
- Chandābhān, a *Masnavī* in Hindī relating the loves of Lūrak and Chāndā, 333 and n 6.
- Chandan, the white sandal in Hindī, 484 n 1.
- Chandawār district, 377. See also under Chandwār.

- Chandērī, district and town of, 129, 237, 238, 297, 423, 424 and *n* 4, 435, 469, 475.
- Chandol* of silver, *i.e.*, the palanquin of honour for governors, 334.
- Chandrabbhaga, name of the river Chenāb in Sanskrit, 28 *n* 3.
- Chandragupta, King of Magadha or Behar, 18 *n* 1.
- Chandwār, district, 70 and *n* 3, 380, 387, 405. See also Chandawār.
- Chang*, a musical instrument, 146 *n* 1.
- Changiz Khān. See under Chingiz Khān.
- Chanouā, in the Sarkār of Agra, 70 *n* 3.
- Chaptar, a town on the Ganges, 343 and *n* 3, 344. Called also Chītar.
- CharKh-i-Aflas*; the highest of all the heavens, 246 *n* 3.
- Charmanwati, Sanskrit name of the Chambal, a river of Central India, 385 *n* 3. See under the Chambal.
- Charpoys, description of, 494 and *n* 11, 495 *n*.
- Chartūlī, a dependency of Kol, 481 *n* 4.
- Chāshtgāhe*, breakfast time, 488 and *n* 8.
- Chataldī, a Mughul commander, contemporary of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249 *n* 5.
- Chatar La'l, district, 216.
- Chaugān*, game of,—origin of the modern game of polo, 79 *n* 1, 417 and *n* 8.
- Chaugān*, a stick with a curved end, 79 *n* 1, 143 *n* 2.
- Chanhāns of Mainpūr, a tribe of Rājpūts, 414 *n* 13.
- Chau!, a village on the route from Amarkot to Jaisalmīr, 566 *n* 13, 567 and *n* 1. Called also Chore.
- Chaud, country of, 468.
- Chaurāsī, *pargana* of, in the district of Hānsī, 323.
- Chausā, village of, 462 *n* 3. See under Jansā.
- Chavica betle*, 302 *n* 6, 303 *n*.
- Chenāb, the,—one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 23 *n* 3, 67 *n*, 355 *n* 1, 383 and *n* 1, 384 *n* and *n* 1, 503. Written also the Chināb, Chināb and Chhināb.
- Chenār, town, 416 and *n* 4. See under Chinār.
- Chengiz Khān. See under Chingiz Khān.
- Chess*, Bland, *On the Persian game of*, 103 *n* 1, 114 *n* 2, 115 *n*, 479 *n* 7.
- Chhāin, town, 379 and *n* 2.
- Chhajū, Malik, Kishlū Khān, Khān of Karra, brother's son of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 221 and *nn* 1 and 3, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 238.
- Chhanbal, a river of Central India. See the Chambal.
- Chhappar Khatta, a place, 555.
- Chhapramau, township of, 540 and *n* 8.
- Chherāmau, township of, 540 *n* 8.
- Chhināb river. See under the Chenāb.
- Chhinār, town, 541 and *n* 2. See under Chinhār and also Chinār and Chunār.
- Chhota Jawār*, small variety of millet, 540 *n* 14. [n 6.]
- Chigil, a city of Turkestān, 158 and

- Childū*, a Turkī word in the sense of
In'ām, 596 n 6.
- Chin*, country of, 143, 147, 156, 232
n 5, 307, 426, 634. See also *China*.
- Chin*, Sea of,—the Indian Ocean,
153 n 1.
- Chin*, son of Japhet the son of Noah,
147 n 1.
- China*, 145 n 2, 147 n 3, 232 n 5. See
also under *Chin*.
- Chināb* or *Chināb*, the. See under
the *Chenāb* river.
- Chinār* tree, *Platanus orientalis*, 162
and n 3, 276, 494 and n 6.
- Chinār*, fortress, 415 n 2, 456, 459,
470, 471. See *Chenār* and also
Chinhār and *Chunār*.
- Chinese*, the, 353 n 1.
- Chinese Tartary*, 145 n 2.
- Chingiz Khān*, Emperor of the
Mughuls, 91, 93, 103 n 3, 123, 135 n,
145 n 2, 188 n 2, 230, 236, 259 n 1,
269 n 5, 353 n 1.
- Chingīzī* line of Mogul Princes, 145
n 2.
- Chinhār*, town, 548, 555, 611. See
Chhinār and also *Chinār* and
Chunnār.
- Chirāgh*, an open lamp with a naked
flame, 550 n 17.
- Chishtis*, the,—descendants of
Khwājā Mu'inu-d-Din Chishti, 416
n 13.
- Chishti*, *Khwājā Mu'inu-d-Din Hasan*,
contemporary of *Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-*
Dīn Muhammad Sām Ghūrī, 70 and
n 2.
- Chītar*, town on the Ganges, 343 and
n 3, 344. See *Chaptar* and also
Chitrā.
- Chitor*, 257, 258, 397 n 1, 452, 458,
454, 470.
- Chitrā*, same as *Jalesar*, 346 and n 5.
See also under *Chītar*.
- Chorasmii*, the, 23 n 1.
- Chore*, a village on the route from
Amarkoṭ to *Jaisalmīr*, 567 n 1.
Called also *Chaul* (q. v.).
- Choroes I*, son of *Kobad*, called
Naushirwān, of the Sassanide
dynasty of Persia, 46 n 5.
- Christians*, the, 509 n 5, 577 n, 601 n.
- Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of
Delhi*, Thomas's, 87 n 1. See under
Pathān Kings of Delhi.
- Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Albī-
rūnī's, 104 n 2, 108 n 4, 166 n 1,
280 nn 3 and 4, 369 n 3, 627
n 1.
- Chūbhā-i-Sāl*, baulks of *sāl* wood, 599
and n 13.
- Chaghz Beg Saljūqī*, King of *Khorā-
sān*, contemporary of *Sulṭān*
Maudūd Ghaznawī, 49 and n 4.
Called also *Chaghz Beg* and *Chaghar*
Beg.
- Chūli Bahādur*, *Uzbakī*, one of the
Amīrs of *Mirzā 'Askari*, 568.
- Chūnā*, lime, 302 n 6.
- Chunāb* river. See under the *Chenāb*.
- Chunār*, fortress of, 489, 541 and n 4,
542. See also under *Chinār* and
Chinhār.
- Chunār*, same as the fortress of
Chunār (q. v.), 489.
- Chun-ti*, the ninth and last Emperor
of the Mongol dynasty of *China*,
353 n 1.
- Chuqmār*, Turkī word, meaning of,
215 n 1.

- Clisobora of Pliny, corresponds to the town of Kalikavartta or Vrindāvana of Sanskrit writers, 24 n 6.
- Clouston's *Arabian Poetry*, 99 n 6.
- Clysm,—or
- Clysmont, town of, 169 n 1.
- Cockescomb, the flower called *Tāj-i-Khurūs*, 629 n 1.
- Coinage, First introduction of Muhammadan,—, 18 n 1.
- Coinage of Kings of Ghaznī, Thomas's, 16 n 2, 47 n 2.
- Cōl, fort of, 70 n 4.
- Colebrooke, *Essays*, 332 n 4.
- Colic, notes on, 49 n 2.
- College of Fort William, Calcutta, 609 n 3.
- Colombo, 303 n.
- Commentaries of Bāber, the, 421 n 8.
See the *Wāqī'at-i-Bābarī*.
- Commentary on the *Mīstāku-l-'Ulūm* (q. v.), 428 and n 2.
- Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, 636.
- Corah, town, 486 n 6.
- Coromandel, 265 n 5.
- Côtgangra, fortress of. See under Kot Kangra.
- Coupele, town, 344 n 7.
- Courteille, de, 91 n 1, 145 n 2, 215 nn 1 and 5. See also under Pavet de Courteille
- Crow, the,—believed by the Arabs to be a bird of ill-omen, 7 n 2.
- Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, 21 n 4, 22 n 5, 23 n 2, 24 n 6, 48 n 5, 66 n 3, 67 n 1, 69 nn 4 and 5, 80 n 1, 132 n 3, 265 nn 2 and 4, 293 n 5, 294 n 4, 362 n 2, 363 n, 382 n 4, 389 n 2, 415 n 5.
- Cureton's *Milāl and Nihāl of Shahras-tānī*, 22 n 3, 157 n 2.
- Cyrene, town of,—the modern Kairwan in Tunis, 167 n 4.

D.

- Dabarān, Ad., the Hyades, in the constellation Taurus, 367 and n 3.
- Dabho'i, a district of Gujrāt, 313 and n 5, 314.
- Dabir-i-Falak*, the scribe of the sky, a name of Mercury, 195 n 5.
- Dabsī, 584 n 4, for the poet Waisī, a poet of the time of Humāyūn.
- Dacca, town, 186 n 6.
- Dādbeg, Chief Justice, 220 and n 4.
- Dadhyanch, the horse-headed mons-ter of Indian Mythology, 294 n 4.
- Daftari, a scribe or clerk, 499 and n 9.
- Dagger, first invented in Hindūstān, 539.
- Dāgh, a brand, 496 n 8.
- Dāghī system, instituted by Shīr Shāh, 496 and n 8.
- Dagla or Dajla, the river Tigris, 394 n 5.
- Dāhir, Rājā, contemporary of Muham-mad Qāsim the conqueror of Sind, 12 n 2, 13 n.
- Dahra, a bill-hook or reaping hook, 102 n 5.
- Dai, tenth month of the Persian year, 280 and n 4, 370 and n 1, 627 and n 1, 629.
- Dailam, province of,—the Persian 'Irāq, 30 n 1.

- Daityas, the,—of Hindū mythology, 163 n 2.
- Dajjāl, *Anti-christ*, 278 and n 4, 279 n, 369 and n 3, 490 and n 5.
- Dajla or Dagla, the river Tigris, 394 and n 5.
- Dāk-chauki*, post-horses, 292.
- Dāk-runners of the East, 621 n 2.
- Dakhan, the, 433 n 3, 533, 534, 557. See also under Dakkan and Deccan.
- Dakkan, the, 312, 313, 517, 625, 632, 635, 636. See also under Dakhan and Deccan.
- Dalā'il-i-Firuzī* of 'Izzu-d-Din Khalid Khānī, a work on Astrology, 332 and n 2.
- Dalā'il-i-Firoz Shāhī*, the, 332 n 2. See the *Dalā'il-i-Firuzī*.
- Dalla*, a weasel or stoat, 158 n 4.
- Dalmau', a town on the Ganges, 415 and n 7.
- Dalmūr, district of, 349 n 2.
- Dalpūr, town, 415 n 7.
- Damaghān, a city of Khurāsān, 34 n 3.
- Damascus, 12 and n 2.
- Damascus, Mosque of, 12 n 2.
- Damrela, district of, 217 and n 3.
- Damyak, a village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznīn, 72 and n 3.
- Dandāngān, a town in the vicinity of Merv in Khurāsān, 43 n 3.
- Dangay, a district of Bundelkhand, 25 n 5.
- Dāniāl, son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, King of Bangāla, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 417.
- Daniel, Book of, 394 n 5.
- Danūj or Dhanūj, Rāī of Sunārgānaw, contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban, 186 and n 6.
- Dace, the,—name of an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 n 1.
- Dārā, one of the ancient Kings of Persia, 39.
- Darius III, King of Persia, contemporary of Alexander the Great, 332 n.
- Darmash Khān, Governor of Khurāsān under Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī, King of Persia, 449 and n 5.
- Darra, a city of Hindūstān, 52 and n 1.
- Darra Gaz, in Khurāsān, 582 n 7.
- Dārū-i-Chashm (eye medicine), 52.
- Dāru-l-Khilāfat of Egypt, Cairo, 328.
- Darwāza-i-Baghdādī, at Dihlī, 397. See also under the Baghdād Gate.
- Daryā Khān, son of Zafar Khān, Governor of Gujrāt under Sultān Firoz Shāh, 333 and n 11.
- Daryā Khān Lodī, one of the Amīrs of Muhammad Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty, 398.
- Daryā Khān Luhānī, Governor of Bihār, under the Lodī dynasty, 435, 467 and n 12.
- Daryā-i-Chīn, the Sea of China, i.e., the Indian Ocean, 153 n 1.
- Daryā-i-Maghrib, the Atlantic Ocean, 153 n 1.
- Daryā-i-Rūm, the Mediterranean Sea, 153 n 1.
- Dās, a bill-hook or reaping hook, 102 n 5.

- Datura*, note on, 535 n 2.
- Dā'ūd Afghān, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 385 n 8 and 9.
- Dā'ūd Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 439.
- Dā'ūd, Maulānā, author of a Maṣnawī in Hindī, contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 333.
- Dā'ūd, son of Naṣr, son of Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodi, the renegade ruler of Multān, contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 19 and n and n 5, 21.
- Dā'ūd, the Turkoman, contemporary of Sultān Maśūd, son of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 37 n 7, 38, 47, 61 n 5.
- Dā'ūd Ze'i Afghān, the, 501.
- Daulatābād, in the Deccan, 270 n 6, 271 and n 6, 272 and n, 274 and n 6, 303, 304, 305, 309, 310, 313, 314, 316, 318. Originally called Deogir (*q. v.*), or Deogarh, capital of the Yadava kingdom.
- Daulat Khān, the new Muslim, a protégé of the Lūhānī faction, one of the Amirs of 'Adlī, 537. See Daulat Khān Lūhānī.
- Daulat Khān Ajyāra, son of Sazāwal Khān, one of the Amirs of Islem Shāh, 527, 531, 532 and n 2.
- Daulat Khān, son of Budhū, one of the Chief Commanders of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 467 n 6.
- Daulat Khān Lodi, Governor of Sāmāna, one of the Amirs of Sultān Maḥmūd of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty, 364, 365, 367 n, 375, 380.
- Daulat Khān Lodi, one of the Maliks of the Lodi dynasty, 435, 436, 437, 438 and n 5.
- Daulat Khān Lūhānī, one of the Amirs of 'Adlī, 539 and n 11. See Daulat Khān, the new Muslim.
- Daulat Khān, Shāhzāda, Governor of the fortress of Rantambhūr under Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwā and Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 425.
- Daulat Yār of Kanpila, Malik, 363.
- Darveshpūr, town, 417.
- David of Scripture, 5.
- Da'wah*, invocation of the attributes of God, 445 n 6, 459 n 2. See the next.
- Da'watul-asmā*, a system of incantation, 445 and n 6, 459 n 2. See the above.
- Daz, the Brazen fortress of, in the story of Isfandiyār in the *Shāh Nāmeh*, 321 n 1.
- Debal, the modern Tattah, 67 n 1. Called also Diwal (*q. v.*).
- Debālpūr, district and town of, 229, 392, 393, 399. See also under Depālpūr, Dibālpūr and Dipālpūr.
- Debī Chandan, the Red sandal, 484 n 1.
- Deccan, the, 237, 256, 270 n 6, 271 and n 6, 309, 327. See also under the Dakhan and the Dakkan.
- De Goeje, *Glossary on Muqaddasī*, 217 n 2.
- Dehli. See under Dihli.
- Deipāl, the Hindū commander of the fortress of Sonpat at the time of Sultān Maśūd Ghaznawī, 37 and n 4.
- Deipūr or Dipūr, town of, 46 and n 2.

- Delhi. See under Dihli.
- Denarius, a silver coin of the Romans, origin of the word *dīnār*, 18 n 1.
- Denarius aureus, a Roman gold coin, 18 n 1.
- Deogarh, 422 n 2, for the fortress of Untgāph (q. v.).
- Deogarh. See under Deogiri.
- Deoghar. See under Deogir.
- Deogir, district and town of, 237, 239, 240, 247 n, 251 n 7, 255, 256, 274, 283 and n 3, 284, 286 and n 1, 297, 302, 303, 309. Sultān Muham-mad Tughlaq Shāh gives it the name of Daulatābād (q. v.), making it his capital.
- Deo Gīr, a rebel during the reign of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji, 237. See Ram Deo.
- Deogiri or Deogarh, capital of the Yadava Kingdom, 271 n 6, 272 n. See under Deogir.
- Deo Kot, town of, 85.
- Deorimal, son of Silhadī, one of the chiefs of Rāi Sen, a contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 476 n 3.
- Depālpūr, district and town of, 249, 251, 363 n, 383 n 11, 389. See also under Debālpūr, Dibālpūr and Dipālpūr.
- Dewal Rāni, one of the ladies of the harem of Rāi Karan of Gujerāt, heroine of the '*Ashīqa* of Mīr Khusrū, 256, marries Khizr Khān, son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 266, 275, 276, 281.
- Dhankob, town, 493 n 5, 498 n 1. See Dhankot.
- Dhankot, town, 493 and n 5, 498 and n 1, 500.
- Dhār, district and town of, 294, 261, 364 and n 2, 384 and n 5, 385 and n 3, 422 n 3.
- Dhārānagar, fortress of,—the citadel of Daulatābād (q. v.), 314.
- Dhatūrā, note on, 535 n 2.
- Dhanūj or Danūj, Rāi of Sunārgānaw, contemporary of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 186 and n 6.
- Dhāwa, a runner, from the Sanskrit, 302 and n 3.
- D'Herbelot, 14 n 1, 16 n 2, 21 n 1, 40 n 1, 46 n 5, 51 n 2, 55 n 3, 56 n 1, 61 n 5, 73 n 1, 91 n 2, 143 n 4, 147 n 1, 148 n 1, 149 n, 158 n 3, 167 n 3, 191 n 2, 303 n 4, 310 n 2.
- Dholpūr, a Native state in Rājputāna and Capital of the state, 385 n 3, 410, 419 and n 3, 420, 423, 437, 444, 445.
- Dholpūr State, in Rājputāna, 419 n 3.
- Dhopāmān', a place, 407.
- Dhor Samund,—or
- Dhor Samundar, a place in the south of India, 265 and n 6.
- Diārbakr, town of,—in Armenia, 61 n 5.
- Dibālpūr, district and town of, 187, 349, 401. See also under Debālpūr, Depālpūr and Dipālpūr.
- Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Smith's, 19 n, 29 n 5, 76 n, 367 n 3.
- Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, Smith's, 46 n 5, 832 n.
- Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, Smith's, 23 n 1, 80 n 1, 35 n 2, 394 n 5.

- Dictionary of Hindū Mythology*, Dowson's, 163 n 2.
- Dictionary of Islām*, Hughes', 2 n 5, 97 n 4, 118 n 1, 150 n 2, 151 n 6, 156 n 1, 157 n 2, 176 n, 188 n 2, 191 n 4, 200 n, 205 n 1, 216 n, 303 n 4, 320 n 4, 356 n 4, 368 n 1, 369 n 3, 392 n 6, 420 n 8, 424 n 9, 445 n 6, 446 n 5, 459 n 2, 472 n 6, 480 n 5, 481 n 8, 485 nn 1 and 2, 488 nn 5 and 7, 510 n 4, 522 n 5, 571 n 1, 572 n 5, 601 n, 603 n and n 2, 613 n, 622 n 3, 623 n 1, 636 n 2.
- Dictionary of Oriental Biography*, Beale's 32 n 1, 38 n 1, 233 n 4, 272 n 1, 279 n 3, 624 n 6. See also under Beale and the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*.
- Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Meynard's, 30 n, 35 n 2, 42 n 1, 43 nn 1 and 2, 46 n 1, 573 n 3.
- Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental*, Pavet de Courteille's, 91 n 1, 145 n 2, 215 n 1, 325 n 2, 353 n 1, 439 n 4, 440 n.
- Diglito, name of the Tigris in the upper part of its course, 394 n 5.
- Dihli, 14, 21 n 4, 25 n 5, 37 n 3, 64, 69, 70, 72, 77, 78, 81 n 2, 87, 88 and nn 1 and 3, 89, 90, 91, 92 and n 2, 93, 95 and n 7, 96, 98 n 3, 99 and n 2, 121 and n 8, 123 and n 5, 124, 125, 126 and n 8, 129 and n 2, 180, 181, 182, 183 n 2, 184 and nn 1 and 4, 185 n, 185, 188, 196, 218 n 3, 219, 220, 221 n 3, 222, 225, 227, 228, 231, 233, 237, 238, 239, 244, 247 and n and n 4, 248, 249, 250, 255, 256, 257 and n 7, 260 and n 7, 261, 266 n 1, 267, 268, 269 n 5, 271 and n 6, 272 n, 273, 274, 283, 284, 285, 286, 292, 293, 294 and n 4, 295, 297 n, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 309, 310, 313, 315, 316, 318, 322, 323, 324, 325 and n 3, 328, 330, 333 and n 1, 334, 335, 337 n 7, 338, 341, 342, 343, 344, 346, 347 and n 3, 349, 350 and n 3, 351 and n 10, 352, 354, 356 and n 1, 357 and nn 2 and 3, 358 n 6, 359, 361 and n 1, 362, 363, 364 and n 5, 365 and n 8, 366 and nn 1 and 3, 375, 377 n 4, 378, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384 and n 5, 385 and n 3, 386 and n 1, 387, 388, 390, 391, 396, 398, 399 and n 3, 400, 401 and n 4, 402 and n 1, 403, 404 n 2, 405, 406, 407, 410 and n 4, 411 and n 7, 412 n 2, 413, 418, 426, 427, 432 n 10, 433, 437, 438, 442, 455, 458, 462, 472, 492, 504, 505, 506, 521, 525, 526, 529, 542, 543, 548, 549, 557, 577 n, 594, 595, 596, 600, 609 n 5, 610 n 4. The name is also written Dehlī, Delhī and Dillī.
- Dijla. See under the Dajla.
- Dik, district, 129 n 2.
- Dilāwar Khān Lūhānī, one of the adherents of Bābar, 437.
- Dillī, 464 and n 2, 466. See under Dihli.
- Dimišqī, Yaḥyā ibn ‘Abdu-l-Lājīf Qazwīnī, author of the *Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh*, 34 n 9.
- Din, town, 458 n 6.
- Dinār, a gold and silver coin, 18 n 1, 19 n.
- Dinār, value of the silver coin, 24 n 2.
- Dinār Ḥaramī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Din Khilji, 259. Sultān Qutbu-d-Din Khilji

- gives him the title of Zafar Khān and appoints him Governor of Gujrāt.
- Dināri*, a beverage, 31 n.
- Dinpanāh*, fortress of,—in Dihlī, 472, 600.
- Dinūr*, name of a place, 46 n 2, 47 n 2.
- Dip*, port of,—in Gujarāt, 454 and n 7. Called also *Din*.
- Dipūr*, town of, 46 and n 2. Also written *Deipūr*.
- Diqq*, note on the fever so called, 316 and n 4.
- Dirham*, a silver coin, 18 n 1, 19 n and n 6, 24 n 2.
- Dissertations*, Gladwin's, 608 n 3
- Diu*, port of, 454 n 7. See under *Dip*.
- Diwal*, town of, the modern Tatta, 66.
- Diwān* of the Ustād Abu-l-Faraj Rūnī, the Poet, 54 and n 1.
- Diwāna*, 599 and n 1. See under *Qambar Diwāna*.
- Diwān-i-Hājiz*, 121 n 3, 487 n 6.
- Diwānkhāna*, the Hall of audience, 455.
- Diwānkhāna-i-'Āli*, the royal camp, 568 and n 8.
- Diwāns* of Amīr Khusrū of Dihlī, the famous poet, 197 n 1.
- Diwāns* of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salman, the Poet (*q. v.*), 55.
- Djat*, same as the Jats, 129 n 2.
- Djenguiz Khān*. See under the *Chingiz Khān*.
- Djépour*, 93 n 1, 129 n 2. See under *Jaipūr*.
- Doāb*, the, 81 and n 2, 122 n 1, 129, 185, 305, 316, 343, 346, 351, 354, 355, 359, 364, 365, 377 n 6, 378 n 1, 386 n 5, 395, 407, 437, 444.
- Dobil*, same as the town of *Diwal* or *Debal*, 67 n 1.
- Dow's History of India*, 326 n.
- Dowson's Dictionary of Hindū Mythology*, 163 n 2.
- Dowson's History of India*, 6 n 4, 8 n 2, 10 n and n 3, 11 nn 1 and 3, 13 n and n 1, 19 nn 2 and 4, 20 nn 4 and 5, 21 n 1, 136 n 6, 215 n 4, 219 n 3, 222 n 1, 264 n 1, 265 n 5, 266 n 3, 267 n 1, 269 n 1, 450 nn 8 and 9, 457 nn 5 and 6, 459 n 5, 460 n 5, 461 n 9, 466 nn 5 and 7, 467 n 6, 504 n 2, 569 n 4, 574 nn 1 and 9, 575 n 3, 579 n 7, 624 nn 8 and 9.
- Dozy, Suppléments aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, 44 n 5, 543 n 3.
- Drachma*, a silver coin of the Greeks, origin of the word *dirham*, 18 n 1.
- Drury, Useful plants of India*, 173 n 2, 303 n, 550 n 1, 627 n 2.
- Duff*, Mr. Grant, 265 n 4.
- Dughlāt Kashmīrī*, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463 and n 6.
- Duhal*, a kind of drums, 143 n 2.
- Dūl Chain*, Rāo, Governor of *Bhat*, contemporary of Timūr the Great, 355 n 4.
- Dūn*, hill of, 438 and n 7.
- Dūnkār*, a Brahman poet of the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 426 and n 5.
- Durgāwati*, Rāni, ruler of the country of Kara Katanka, contemporary of 'Adlī, 554.

E.

- Eagle, the constellation—, 630 and n 1.
- Eastern Bengal, 345 n 2.
- Eastern Rohtās, fortress,—Rohtās-gāṛh in the Shāhābād district of Bengal, 466 and n 6. See also under Rohtās-i-Sharqī.
- Ebony wood, notes on, 167 n 2.
- Ecbatana, the ancient name of Hamadān, the old capital of Persia, 30 n 1.
- Egypt, 22, 94, 310, 311, 321 n 3, 327, 328.
- Egyptian Khalifahs of the House of 'Abbās, 310 n 2, 315, 327 n 6.
- Egyptians, the, 302 n 2.
- Elath, a port of the Red Sea, 169 n 1.
- Elements, the Four—, called *al-Arkān*, 102 n 1.
- Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody*, Ranking's, 607 n.
- Elias and Ross, *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 69 n 5, 103 n 3, 145 n 2, 232 n 5, 236 n 1, 305 n 3, 353 n 1, 464 n 8, 572 n 8, 574 n 6, 575 n 1.
- Elixir of life, *al-Iksīr*, 340 n 2.
- Elk, notes on the, 171 n 2.
- Elliott, Dr., of Colombo, 303 n.
- Elliott's *History of India*, 16 n 2, 19 n 4, 20 nn 1 and 4, 23 n 4, 24 nn 1 and 5, 26 n, 27 nn 3 and 4, 29 n and nn 1, 3, 4 and 5, 31 n, 32 n 1, 33 n 2, 34 nn 5, 7 and 8, 36 nn 6 and 8, 44 nn 6 and 8, 45 nn 1 and 2, 48 n 4, 49 n 3, 55 n 2, 62 n 2, 63 n, 65 n 1, 66 n 2, 67 n 2, 73 n 2, 80 n 3, 91 n 2, 96 n 2, 121 n 6, 122 n 1, 127 n 2, 131 nn 2 and 5, 135 n, 184 n 4, 186 nn 5 and 6, 188 nn 2 and 5, 196 n 1, 197 n 1, 220 n 2, 222 n 2, 223 n 1, 247 nn 2 and 4, 248 nn 2 and 6, 249 n 5, 251 n, 252 n 1, 257 n 1, 259 n 5, 260 n 7, 265 n 4, 275 n 1, 296 n 3, 297 n 8, 298 n 8, 300 n 3, 307 n and n 4, 308 n 1, 310 n 1, 315 n 7, 320 n 5, 323 n 3, 324 nn 1, 2 and 6, 325 n 8, 326 n, 327 nn 1 and 5, 328 nn 1 and 6, 329 nn 1, 3 and 8, 331 n 4, 333 nn 2, 3 and 5, 344 n 7, 347 n 3, 355 nn 1, 4 and 6, 356 n 5, 357 n 2, 358 n 6, 360 n 3, 361 n 1, 366 n 1, 396 n 1, 399 nn 2 and 7, 400 n, 421 n 8, 433 n 3, 438 nn 3 and 7, 440 n, 448 n 4, 570 n 2, 580 n 5, 582 nn 4, 5 and 7, 583 nn 2 and 3, 585 n 7, 586 n 5, 592 n 4, 593 n 9. See also under Elliott and Dowson.
- Elliott's *Races of the N.-W. Provinces of India*, 312 n 7, 384 n 3, 408 n 1, 415 n.
- Elliott and Dowson, *History of India*, 6 n 4, 8 n 2, 10 n and n 3, 11 nn 1 and 3, 13 n and n 1, 19 nn 2 and 4, 20 nn 4 and 5, 21 n 1, 136 n 6, 215 n 4, 219 n 3, 222 n 1, 264 n 1, 265 n 5, 266 n 3, 267 n 1, 269 n 1, 450 nn 8 and 9, 457 nn 5 and 6, 459 n 5, 460 n 5, 461 n 9, 466 nn 5 and 7, 467 n 6, 504 n 2, 569 n 4, 574 nn 1 and 9, 575 n 8, 579 n 7, 624 nn 8 and 9.
- Elphinstone's *History of India*, 20 n 4, 27 n 4, 28 n 2, 29 n and nn 1 and 5.
- Emperor Akbar, Beveridge's, 58 n 5.
- Enteric fever, notes on, 320 n.
- Ephesus, the seven sleepers of, 207 n 1.

- Epiphanius, the Greek Geographer, 169 *n* 1.
- Erdmann, Dr., 353 *n* 1.
- Erskine's *Memoirs of Bābar*, 421 *n* 8, 437 *n* 7, 439 *nn* 4, 6 and 7, 440 *n*, 448 *n* 4, 570 *nn* 5 and 6, 609 *n* 5.
- Esoterics, or *Bātiniyyah*, a sect of *Shi'a* Muslims, 22 *n* 3.
- Essays*, Colebrooke, 332 *n* 4.
- Etah, district and town of, 185 *n* 1, 218 *n* 3, 377 *n* 4, 410 *n* 4.
- Etawah, district and town of, 325
-
- n* 3, 378, 385 *n* 3. See also under Itāwa.
- Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, Skeat's, 159 *n* 2, 543 *n* 3.
- Euphrates, the, 205 *n* 1.
- Europus, an ancient name of the town of Rai in Persia, 30 *n* 1.
- Eve, the Mother of mankind, 200 *n*, 320 *n* 4.
- Evil-eye, the, 192 and *nn* 2 and 3.
- Exodus, Book of, 108 *n* 4.
- Ezekiel, Book of, 104 *n* 2.

F.

- Fadak, an estate north of Medina which had belonged to Muḥammad, 156 and *n* 5, 157 *n*, 631 and *n* 1.
- Fāiq, one of the Amīrs of 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Nūlī Sāmānī, King of Khurāsān, 16 and *n* 2.
- Faizī, a poet of Basāwar, contemporary of Shir Shāh, 479 and *n* 5.
- Fakhr, chief of the Bāzār at Dihli, in the reign of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Din Balban, 184. [Humāyūn, 462.]
- Fakhr 'Ali, Mir, one of the Amīrs of Fakhri-nāmah, popular name of the *Hadiqatu-l-Haqiqat*, the most celebrated work of the famous poet Sanāī, 35 *n* 1, 56 *n* 2.
- Fakhrū-d-Dīn 'Amīd Lūmākī, the poet of Gilān, 138. See under 'Amīd Lūmākī.
- Fakhrū-d-Dīn Amīr Dād, Malik, Governor of Baran under Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250.
- Fakhrū-d-Dīn Jūnā, Malik, son of Ghāzi Malik, one of the Maliks of the Khiljī Sultāns, 274, 290, 291, 292, 293,—receives the title of Ulugh Khān, 297 and *n* 4,—succeeds to the throne of Dihli under the style of Sultān Muḥammad 'Adil ibn Tughlaq Shāh (*q. v.*). See also under Ulugh Khān.
- Fakhrū-d-Dīn Kotwāl, the Maliku-l-Umarā or Amīru-l-Umarā, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, of the Balbāni dynasty, 220 *nn* 2 and 3, 227, 229, 238, 260 *n* 2.
- Fakhrū-d-Dīn Küchī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 238, 243.
- Fakhrū-d-Dīn Kujī, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyātimish, 120 *n* 2.
- Fakhrū-d-Dīn Rāzī, Imām, a docter

- of the Shāfi'ite sect, contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām, 73 and *nn* 1 and 2.
- Fakhrū-d-Dīn Silāḥdār, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308, 309.
- Fakhrū-l-Mulk 'Amīd Lūmākī, Maliku-l-Kalām, 99 and *n* 4. See under 'Amīd Lūmākī.
- Fakhrū-l-Mulk Khwājā 'Amīd-u-Dīn, 99 *n* 4, 138 *n* 1. Same as the above.
- Fa'l*, a good omen, 412 *n* 1.
- Fallon's *Hindustāni Dictionary*, 528 *n* 1.
- Fals*, a coin of small value, from the Latin *follis*, 18 *n* 1.
- Fanak*, weasel or stoat, 158 *n* 4.
- Fanākatī*, the Historian, 16 *n* 1.
- Faqār*, vertebræ of the back, 74 *n* 2.
- Faqāra*, a vertebra of the back, 74 *n* 2.
- Faqāra*, a sort of waving ornament on the blade of a sword or else a notch on its edge, 75 *n*.
- Faqīrs*, various religious orders of, 510 *n* 4.
- Far'*, one of the two chief divisions of 'Ilmu-l-*Fiqh*, 5 *n* 4. [and *n* 9.]
- Farah, town of,—in Biluchistan, 420
- Farah, a town at a distance of ten *krohs* from Agra, 542.
- Farakhābād district, N.-W. P., 185 *n* 1. See also under Farnkhābād.
- Fara'ūn (*Fir'aun*), the Pharaoh of Egypt, 137, 501.
- Farazdaq, Abū Firās Hammām ibn Ghālib, the celebrated Arab poet, 286, 287 and *nn* 1 and 2.
- Farhād, the lover of Širīn, in the romance of Khusru-o-Širīn, 279 and *n* 3.
- Farhang-i-Anandrāj, a Persian dictionary, 596 *n* 6.
- Farhatu-l-Mulk, Malik Mufarriḥ Sulṭānī, Governor of Gujrāt, under Sultān Firoz Shāh, 334 and *n* 3.
- Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkār, Shaikh, the famous Muhammadan Saint, 233, 460. See under Farīdu-d-Dīn.
- Farīd Khān, son of Hasan Khān Sūr, original name of Šir Shāh, 461 and *n* 5, 466, 467 and *n* 5.
- Farīd Khān, infant son of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.
- Farīd Khān ibn-i-Masnadi-Āli Khizr Khān (*q. v.*), 395, 400 *n* 1.
- Farīd Tūran, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 497.
- Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakkār, Shaikh, grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul,—a famous Muhammadan saint of Hindūstān, 132 and *n* 6, 133 *n*, 135 *n*, 355 *n* 1, 362 *n* 2. See also under Farid.
- Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakkār, 132 *n* 6. Same as the above.
- Farīdūn, an ancient King of Persia, 166 *n* 1, 435 *n* 2, 595.
- Fārīghī, a poet of the time of Humā-yūn, 616, 617. See under Abu-l-Wāhid.
- Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Buhlūl and also of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and *n* 7, 412 *n* 2, 414, 418.
- Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 434.
- Farrukhī, Hakīm, a famous Persian

- poet, contemporary of 'Asjadī, Ansūrī and Firdausī, 17 n 3.
- Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, grandfather of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakkār, 132 n 6.
- Farrukh Zād, Sultān, ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 51.
- Farshūr, old name of Peshawar, 66 n 6.
- Farukhābād district, N.-W. P., 377 n 3. See also under Farukhābād.
- Fārūq, or the Discerner, a name of 'Umar, the second Khalifah, 59 and n 3.
- Fāryāb a town of Māwarā-u-Nahr (Transoxiana), 339 n 4.
- Farz*, prayers enjoined in the Qur'ān, 488 n 7. [‘Alī, 557 n.
- Fāsiq*, immoral man, one who opposes Fatehgarh, town in Farukhābād district, N.-W. P., 377 n 3, 384 n 4.
- Fatehpūr, 325 n 3. See under Fath-pūr.
- Fatepour, 80 n 5, for Fathpūr (q. v.).
- Fath Khān, son of A'zam Humāyūn Shirwānī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhim Lodī, 433.
- Fath Khān, son of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 418.
- Fath Khān, son of Sultān Firoz Shāh, of the Tughlaq dynasty, 324 and n 2, 328, 334.
- Fath Khān Harawī, of the Amīrs of Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 403 and nn 2, 3 and 4. See also the next.
- Fath Khān, of Herāt, Shāhzāda, of the Amīrs of Sultān Mu'bārak Shāh of Jaunpūr, 361. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Fathbād, founded by Sultān Maṇdūd Ghaznawī, 47 and n 1.
- Fathbād, founded by Sultān Firoz Shāh, of the Tughlaq dynasty, 324 n 2, 325 n 3, 365.
- Fathpūr, otherwise known as Sikri, one of the dependencies of Multān, 80 n 5, 97, 325 n 5, 363, 365, 366, 375, 433, 442, 445, 446, 486, 508, 535, 600.
- Fathpūr District, N.-W. Provinces, 486 n 6.
- Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad and wife of 'Alī, 151 n 5, 156 n 5, 303 n 4, 622 nn 3 and 4, 631 n 1.
- Fatwas*, legal decisions by a Muftī (q. v.), 317 n 6, religious or judicial rulings, 507 and n 7.
- Fazīhat, Qāzī, or Qāzī Ignominy, 474 and n 6. See under Qāzī Fażīlat.
- Fażīlat, Qāzī, the Qāzī of the army of Shir Shāh, popularly known as Qāzī Fażīhat (q. v.), 474 and n 4.
- Fażlu-l-lāh Balkhī, Malik, styled Qutlugh Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty, 351 and n 2.
- Fażlu-l-lāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary, 482 n 2, 483 n 2, 497 n 1, 575 n 1, 580 n 5, 592 n 5, 596 n 6.
- Fazz*, the first arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.
- Ferishta. See under Firishta.
- Fidūs, the,—disciples of the chief of the Mu'lāhidah heretics, 73 and n 2, 122 and n 3.
- Filband*, a stratagem in the game of chess, 114 n 2.

- Figār, vertebræ of the back*, 74 n 2.
- Fiqh, the two chief divisions of, 5 n 4.
- Firangīs, the, 458 and n 6. See also under the Franks.
- Firāqī, *takhallus* or poetical name of Khwājā Aiyūb ibn Khwājā Abu-l-Barakāt (q. v.), 633, 634.
- Firāqnāmah*, one of the poetical works of Salmān Sāwājī, 571 n 9.
- Firdausī, the celebrated author of the *Shāh-nāmah*, 17 and nn 1 and 3, 32 and n 1, 88 n 2, 461 n 6.
- Firdūsī, Ḥakim, 17 n 3. See under Firdausī.
- Firishta, 10 n, 13 n 1, 16 nn 1 and 2, 19 n and nn 1, 2 and 6, 20 nn 1, 2, 4 and 5, 21 n 3, 22 n 7, 23 nn 2 and 4, 24 nn 1, 2 and 5, 25 nn 2 and 4, 26 n and n 1, 27 nn 3 and 4, 28 nn 2 and 4, 29 nn 1 and 5, 33 n and n 2, 31 n and n 1, 33 nn 2 and 3, 34 nn 1 and 7, 36 nn 1 and 9, 37 nn 5 and 6, 43 nn 2, 5 and 7, 44 nn 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8, 47 nn 3 and 7, 48 nn 1, 2, 3 and 4, 49 n 1, 50 nn 1, 2 and 3, 51 nn 1 and 3, 52 nn 1, 2 and 4, 55 n 2, 56 n 1, 63 n 1, 66 nn 2, 4, 5 and 6, 67 n, 69 n 1, 72 n 2, 77 nn 1, 2 and 3, 95 n 8, 122 nn 2 and 3, 123 n 2, 133 n and n 2, 184 n 4, 185 nn 2 and 3, 186 n 3, 188 nn 1 and 5, 190 n 2, 205 n 2, 228 n 3, 230 n 1, 247 n and n 4, 248 n 2, 249 nn 5 and 7, 250 nn 1 and 10, 251 n 7, 257 n 7, 258 nn 4, 5 and 7, 259 n 5, 260 n 7, 261 n 5, 264 n 4, 265 nn 3, 4 and 6, 266 n 1, 273 n 4, 274 n 1, 298 n 8, 300 n 3, 302 n 1, 304 n 1, 306 nn 1, 2 and 3, 307 n and n 2, 308 n 2, 325 n 3, 326 n 2, 327 nn 1 and 3, 329 nn 5 and 9, 330 nn 6 and 7, 331 nn 8 and 9, 332 n, 333 n 11, 334 nn 3, 4, 5 and 7, 335 nn 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, 336 n 7, 337 nn 2 and 3, 338 n 1, 339 n 2, 342 nn 1, 2 and 4, 343 n 3, 344 nn 1, 2 and 7, 345 n 2, 346 n 5, 347 n 2, 348 nn 1, 3, 6, 7, 9 and 10, 349 nn 3, 4, 10, 11 and 12, 350 nn 3 and 4, 351 nn 2, 6 and 7, 352 nn 6, 7 and 10, 353 nn 2, 3, 5, 8 and 9, 354 nn 1, 5 and 8, 355 nn 1, 3 and 4, 356 n 5, 357 n 2, 359 nn 2 and 3, 360 nn 3 and 5, 361 n 2, 363 n 2, 364 n 6, 365 nn 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 366 nn 4 and 5, 375 n 2, 379 nn 1 and 2, 380 nn 2, 3, 4 and 5, 381 nn 3 and 5, 382 nn 1, 2, 5 and 6, 383 . nn 3, 6, 10 and 11, 384 nn 2 and 5, 385 nn 1 and 3, 386 nn 1, 3, 5 and 7, 387 nn 1, 2, 3 and 4, 388 nn 1, 2 and 3, 389 nn 3, 4 and 8, 390 n 4, 391 n 2, 392 n 5, 393 nn 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7, 395 n 3, 396 nn 1 and 2, 398 n, 399 nn 1, 3, 4 and 6, 400 n, 401 nn 2 and 4, 402 nn 1, 4 and 5, 403 nn 4, 5 and 8, 404 nn 2 and 5, 405 nn 1 and 4, 406 nn 1, 3, 5, 6, 9 and 13, 407 nn 1 and 4, 408 nn 2, 4, 6 and 7, 409 nn 2, 5, 7 and 8, 410 nn 1, 3, 4 and 6, 411 nn 2 and 3, 412 n 2, 413 nn 8, 13 and 15, 414 nn 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 11, 415 nn 2, 3, 7 and 9, 416 nn 3, 9 and 12, 417 nn 4, 5 and 9, 418 nn 9 and 11, 419 nn 4, 6 and 11, 420 nn 4 and 6, 421 nn 3 and 4, 422 nn 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6, 423 nn 2, 5, 6 and 11, 42

nn 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7, 425 *nn* 2, 3 and 6, 431 *n* 4, 432 *nn* 2, 3, 5, 7 and 10, 433 *nn* 3 and 6, 434 *nn* 5 and 8, 435 *nn* 6, 7 and 9, 438 *nn* 3 and 5, 461 *n* 3, 466 *n* 5, 471 *nn* 1 and 4, 478 *nn* 7 and 8, 484 *n* 4, 488 *n* 5, 490 *n* 4, 537 *n* 2, 544 *n* 1, 559 *nn* 6 and 8, 560 *nn* 2 and 8, 561 *n* 2, 564 *nn* 6, 7, 8 and 9, 565 *nn* 1 and 5, 566 *n* 13, 567 *nn* 2 and 9, 573 *n* 3, 579 *n* 8, 583 *n* 3, 598 *n* 10, 601 *nn* 2 and 5, 609 *n* 5, 624 *n* 6, 625 *n* 3.

Firozābād, a town on the banks of the Jamna, at ten miles from Dihli, built by Sultān Firoz Shāh of the Tughlaq dynasty, 325 and *n* 3, 342, 343, 344, 345, 350, 351, 354, 356, 359, 366. Written also Firuzābād.

Firozābād, a fortress at the village of Gāwīn on the banks of the Jamnā, built by Firoz Shāh, 327 and *n* 5.

Firozābād, later name of the town of Pandūah, 325 *n* 3.

Firoz 'Alī, Malik, son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn, one of the Amirs of Firoz Shāh, called also Khān-i-Jahān the Wazīr, 342 and *n* 2.

Firoz Khān, one of the Afghān Amirs under Bābar, 444.

Firoz Khān, son of Islem Shāh Sūr, succeeds his father under the title of Firoz Shāh, 535, 537.

Firoz Khān ibn Yaghraš, the Khiljī, styled Shāyista Khān (*q. v.*), eventually becomes Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī (*q. v.*), 226, 230.

Firoz Koh, capital of Ghūr. See under Firuz-Koh.

Firoz, Malik, son of Malik Rajab, same person as Firoz Shāh of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty (*q. v.*), 302, 315, 322.

Firoz Nāib Barbak, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 312.

Firoz Rāī, a contemporary of Sultān Mubārak Shāh, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382, 390. [535, 537.]

Firoz Shāh, son of Islem Shāh Sūr, Firoz Shāh, Sultān, ibn Malik Rajab, of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty of Dihli, 301, 302, 321, 322 and *n* 9, 323 and *n* 3, 324 *n* 6, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 327, 328 *n* 6, 329 *n* 2, 331, 332, 338, 339 and *n* 1, 341 *n* 1, 344 and *n* 7, 347 *n* 3, 366, 376, 411, 412 *n* 2. Written also Firuz Shāh.

Firoz Shāh, canal of, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*.

Firozshāhī. See under the *Tārikh-i-Firoz-Shāhī*.

Firūza, fortress of, 364 *n* 6, 375, 378. See under Hissār Firuzah.

Firuzābād, on the Jamna. See under Firozābād.

Firūzī Amirs, the,—partisans of the House of Sultān Firoz Shāh (*q. v.*), 337, 345, 350, 351, 352.

Firuz-Koh, capital of the country of Ghūr, 60 *n* 2, 63 and *n* 1, 68, 78.

Firūzpūr, fortress of, built by Sultān Firoz Shāh in Sihrind, 331, 334, 378, 489. Written also Firozpūr.

Firūzpūr, town of, 336. Called also Akhirinpūr as the *Last* city built by Firoz Shāh.

Firuz Shāh, Sultān. See under Firoz Shāh.

- Fisq*, immorality, does not exclude
 Imān (faith), 577 n.
- Follis, a Roman coin, origin of the
 word *fals*, 18 n 1.
- Forty Slaves of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn
 Iyāltimish, 184.
- Franks, the, 543. See also under the
 Firangīs.
- Freytag, *Arabic Dictionary*, 509 n 5.
- Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, 157 n 1,
 458 n 3, 507 n 3, 580 n 1.
- Freytag, *Hamārah*, 287 n 1.
- Freytag, *Meid. Prov.*, 157 n 1. See
 also under *Arabum Proverbia*.
- Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, servant of
- Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah
(*q. v.*), 388 and n 2, 389, 390, 391,
 393.
- Fu-mā*, in Chinese, equivalent to the
 Mongol *Gurgān*, which means
 “Son-in-law,” when applied to
 princes, 353 n 1.
- Furrukhābād, N.-W. Provinces, 218
 n 3. Properly Farrukhābād.
- Furū'*, one of the two chief divisions
 of ‘Ilm-i-Fiqh, 5 n 4.
- Futūḥu-l-Buldān* of al-Bilāzurī, 11
 n 3.
- Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn*, an historical work,
 314 and n 9.

G.

- Gabriel, the Angel, 58 and n 2, 93,
 106 n 5, 111 n, 151 n 6, 374 n 5,
 614.
- Gajpatis, or “the Lords of Elephants,”
 title of the Lion Dynasty of Jāj-
 nagar, 125 n 3.
- Gakkhars, the,—a tribe of the
 Hindūs, probably the same tribe
 as the Khūkhars, 67 and n 3.
- Gandaba, fortress of, 28 n 4, 29 n.
 Called also Kandama.
- Gandak river, the,—in the Gorakh-
 pūr District, 409 n 5.
- Ganes, Rāī,—or
- Ganesh, Rāī, the Rājā of Patiālī, con-
 temporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodi,
 413 and n 8, 419.
- Ganges, the, 70 n 1, 71 n 2, 81, 82
 n 1, 84 and n, 125 n 1, 130, 132 n 3,
 185, 218 and n 3, 221 n 3, 231, 241,
 312, 343, 356, 358 n 3, 360 and n 3,
 363, 364, 377, 379, 380, 384 and
 n 2, 396, 402, 404, 406 and n 10,
 408 and n 5, 415 n 7, 416 and n 3,
 459, 463, 464, 472, 541, 546.
- Ganj-Bakhsh, surname of Shaikh
 Ahmad Khattu, contemporary of
 Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī, 357 n 3.
- Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn
 Mas'ūd, a famous Muhammadan
 Saint of Hindūstān, 132 and n 6,
 133 n, 135 n, 233, 362 n 2, 416
 n 13.
- Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Pro-
 sodie des langues de l'Orient Musul-
 man*, 428 n 2, 605 nn 8 and 9, 606
 n 2, 607 n 4, 608 n 3.
- Gardaiz, a district lying between
 Ghazna and Hindūstān, 66 n 1.
 Called also Kardīz.

- G**arha-Katanka, name of a country north of the Dakhan, 433 n 3.
- Garhī**, a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihār and Bangūla, 457 and n 5.
- Garmāīr**, a province of Khurāsān, 48, 65 and n 1, 81, 86, 573.
- Garshasp**, Shāh, of the first dynasty of Persian Kings, 84 and n 2, 85.
- Gaster's translation of the "Sword of Moses," 141 n 4.
- Gate of Paradise, a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine of Shaikh Faridu-d-Din Ganj-i-Shakkar at Pākpatan, 362 n 2.
- Gatilā**, Sanskrit name of the Indian Spikenard or *nard*, 374 n.
- Gatwārās**, the,—a tribe of the Jāts, 122 n 1.
- Gaur**, old capital of Bengal, 82 nn 3 and 4, 83 and n 2, 458. Name changed to Jannatābād by Humāyūn.
- Gauria**. See under Muhammad Khān Gauria and also Khiżr Khān Gauria.
- Gaus Ahmād**, of Guzarate, 357 n 4. Same as Sultān Ahmād Shāh, the ruler of Gujarāt.
- Gawārs**, the,—a race of gypsies in India, 312 and n 7.
- Gāwīn**, village of,—on the banks of the Jumnā, 327 n 5.
- Gayōmarth**, the Adam of the Persians, 280 n 3. [of, 330 n 8.
- Gaz**, a measure of length, three kinds
- Gaz**, tenth son of Japhet, son of Noah, 61 n 5.
- Gazetteer of the Countries on the North-West of India*, Thornton's, 567 nn 1 and 9.
- Gelaleddin**, 91 n 2, for Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī (q. v.).
- Gemini**, the, 39.
- Genesis**, Book of, 144 n 2, 154 n 2, 182 n 1, 302 n 2, 394 n 5.
- Geo**, one of the heroes of the Shāh-nāmah, 116 n 5.
- Geography of Ancient India*, Cunningham's. See under *Ancient Geography of India*.
- Gersiwāz**, one of the attendants of Afrāsiyāb, in the Shāh-nāmah of Firdausī, 180 n 2.
- Gesenius**, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language*, 104 n 2, 394 n 5.
- Ghaggar** river, the, 326 n. See also the next.
- Ghaghār** river, called also the Gogra and Ghāgra (q. v.), 222 n 3, 327, 438. See also the Ghaggar.
- Ghāgra** river, the, 135 n, 223 n. See under the Ghaghār.
- Ghakkars**, the,—a Hindū tribe, 491, 498, 499, 500.
- Ghālib Khān**, Governor of Sāmāna under the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 338, 352, 360. [465 n 6.
- Ghalla-i-jawāri**, the smaller millet,
- Ghānim** ibn 'Ulwān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn 'Ad, 262 n.
- Gharī Jū**, village of, 503 n 5. Called also Gharī Khū (q. v.).
- Gharī Khū**, village of, on the bank of the river Behat, 503 and n 5.
- Gharjistān**, a country between Herāt, Ghor and Ghaznī, 13 n 1, 22 n 2, 63 n 1. Called also Gharshistān.
- Gharshistān**, 22 n 2. See under Gharjistān.

- Ghāt-i-Sākūn, name of a place, 283
n 5. Called also Badra-i-Sakūn.
- Ghaur, a province lying between Herāt and Gharjistān, 43 and n 4.
See also under Ghūr and Ghor.
- Ghaṣṣūl-Ālam Ḥażrat Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā, the Muṇṭānī, 133 and n 2. See under Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā. [6 n 4.]
- Al-Għāyatū fi-l-Fiqh of Qūzī Baiżawī, Għażal, ode, 612 and n 2.
- Għāni Khān, son of Daulat Khān Lodi, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 435 n 9, 436, 437, 438 and n 5.
- Għażi Khān Sūr, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty of Afghāns, 549, 550, 553, 558, 597, 598.
- Għażi Maħallī, one of the confidential servants of Islem Şhāh Sūr, 487, 488.
- Għażi Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān ‘Alān-d-Dīn Khilji, succeeds to the throne of Dihli under the style of Sultān Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Şhāh, 291, 292, 293, 294 and n 4, 295, 296 and n 3. See Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Şhāh and also Tughlaq Khān.
- Għażi, one who fights in the cause of Islām, 356 n 4.
- Għażis, the, 18. See under Għażi.
- Għażiū-l-Mulk, Malik Chaman of Badāon, one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Şhāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihli, 396 and n 1, 398.
- Għazna. See under Għażnīn.
- Għażnavide dynasty, the. See under the Għażnivide dynasty.
- Għażnī, House of, 13 n 1. See under the Għażnivide dynasty.
- Għażnī, town of, 13 n 1. See under Għażnīn.
- Għażnīn, 14 nn 1, 2 and 3, 15 and n and nn 1 and 2, 16 and nn 1, 2 and 3, 17, 19, 21, 22 and n 2, 23, 25 and n 4, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34 and nn 4 and 5, 35 and n 1, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45 and n 2, 46 and n 1, 47, 48, 49, 50 and n 1, 51, 52, 53 n, 56, 60 and n 2, 61, 62 and n 3, 63, 64, 65, 66 and n 1, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72 and n 2, 74 n 1, 77 n 1, 78 and n 3, 79, 80, 81, 88 n 1, 89, 90, 167 n 3, 187, 256, 280, 312, 328, 464 and n 5, 567, 579, 580, 587. See Għażnī and Għażna.
- Għażnivide dynasty, the,—founded by Nūşru-d-Dīn Sabuktigħin, 13 n 1, 14, 62 and n 4, 63, 64 and n 1.
- Għejas-ood-Deen, grandson of Sultān Firoz Şhāh Tughlaq, 338 n 1. See under Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Şhāh II.
- Għibbata, unusual use of the word by Badāoni, 508 n 3, 548 n 4.
- Għilzai Afghāns, the, 542, 544, 546.
- Għiels Vazir, Khwāja,—Salmān Sāwaji's Qaṣidah in his honour, 605.
- Għiyāṣi Amīrs, the,—of Sultān Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 223, 224, 231, 232, 233. [Mugħelpur, 236.]
- Għiyāspur, commonly known as Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Fath Muham-mad ibn Sām Għori, Sultān of Għor and Għażnīn, 62, 63 and n 1, 64 and nn 2 and 3, 65, 68, 71, 73 and n 1, 77 and n 1.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, Sultān, of the Slave dynasty of Dihlī, 97, 121 and n 7, 124 and n 4, 126, 127, 135, 183, 184 and nn 1 and 4, 186, 187, 189 n 1, 219, 220 n 2, 221 and n 1, 222, 223, 224, 227, 228, 231, 232, 233. Before his accession he was called Ulugh Khān (q. v.).

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Ḥasan Chishtī, father of the famous saint Khwājā Mu'īn-u-d-Dīn Chishtī, 70 n 2.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz, the Khalj, Sultān of Lakhnautī and the last of the Mu'izzī Sultāns (q. v.), 86, 87 and n 4. See also the next and under Husāmu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Khiljī, Sultān, 91. Same as the above.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, Sultān of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, 77 and n 1.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwā, 399.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 324.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, Ghori, Sultān. See under Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Fath.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, the Makhḍūm-zāda-i-Baghdādī, a prince of the House of 'Abbās, the Khalifs of Baghdād, 311 and n 4.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, the ruler of Oudh, son of Sultān Sham-sū-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, Sultān, first of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 296, 298, 299, 300, 301,

304, 321. Before his accession he was called Ghāzī Malik (q. v.).

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II, ibn Fath Khān ibn Sultān Firuz Shāh, 338 n 1, 341.

Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt, a lexicographical work, 60 n 3, 108 n 4, 142 n 1, 145 n 1, 152 n 2, 163 n 1, 321 n 2, 617 n 1, 621 n 5, 628 n 1, 635 n 5.

Ghor, country of, 13 n 1, 22 n 2, 60, 61 n 4, 63, 64 and n 2, 65 n 2, 68, 71, 77 n 1, 81 and n 2. The name is also written Ghūr and Ghaur.

Ghor, Kings of, 60, 61 n 4, 63. See also under the Ghorī dynasty.

Ghorī, fortress of,—in Ghaznīn, 21 and n 3.

Ghorī dynasty of Dihlī, 64, 68, 228. See under Kings of Ghor.

Ghāl, centre of a Turkish army, 439 n 4. Also called Qūl.

Ghūr. See under Ghor.

Ghurjistān, same as Gharjistān (q. v.), 22 and n 2, 63 n 1, 68.

Ghurratu-l-Kemāl of Mir Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 134, 197 and n 1, 216.

Ghuzz, tribe of,—a tribe of Turks 61 and n 5, 65, 167 n 3, 291.

Gilān, a province of Persia, 99 n 4.

Gilauri, note on, 303 n.

Gili, town, 250 and n 4. Called also Kili.

Gir, Malik, son of Malik Qabūl Khalifatī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 315.

Girāī, one of the poets of the time of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 266.

- Girat Singh, Rāī, Governor of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 408.
- Girgīn-i-Milād, one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrau in the *Shāhnāmeh* of Firdausī, 116 and *nn* 4 and 5, 180 *n* 2.
- Gīsī, a place, 548 *n* 3.
- Gladwin's *Dissertations*, 608 *n* 3.
- Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, Yule and Burnett's, 495 *n*, 543 *n* 3.
- Glossary on Muqaddasī*, De Goeje's, 217 *n* 2.
- Gobind Chand, Rājā,—one of the Rājās of Hindūstān at the time of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, 25.
- Godī river, the, 222 *n* 3. Called also the Gumtī and the Kowah (*q.v.*).
- Goeje, de, *Glossary on Muqaddasī*, 217 *n* 2.
- Gog and Magog, Wall of, 191 *n* 2. Commonly known as the rampart of Sikandar.
- Gogra, the, 222 *n* 3. Called also the *Ghūchar* and *Ghāgra*.
- Gohana, a district of the N.-W. Provinces, 122 *n* 1.
- Gokultāsh, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.
- Golius, Dictionary of the Arabic Language, 509 *n* 5.
- Gonds, the,—a tribe of Hindūs, 433 and *n* 4.
- Gonor, a place at 24 miles from Dihlī, 21 *n* 4.
- Gorakhpur District, 409 *n* 5.
- Gorgang, the capital of *Khwārazm*, called Jurjān by the Arabs, 23 *n* 1. See under Gurgān.
- Gour, country of, 456 Read Gaur, a name of Bengal from its capital.
- Goyā, or Kanhaiyā, minister and agent of Rāī Mäldeo, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 478 and *n* 7. See also under Kanhaiyā.
- Grand Trunk Road, the, 386 *n* 3.
- Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, 265 *n* 4.
- Great Larās, town, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 1. Called Rās by Badāoni.
- Grecian Emperor, the, 18 *n* 1.
- Greece, 119 *n* 5.
- Greeks, the, 18 *n* 1, 41 *n* 2, 75 *n* 2, 76 *n* 1, 104 *n* 2, 182 *n* 1.
- Greenhill, Dr., 30 *n* 1.
- Griffith's *Yūsuf and Zuleikha*, 272 *n* 1.
- Gūgird-i-Ahmār or Sulphur, notes on, 340 and *n* 2.
- Gujarāt. See under Gujrāt.
- Gujerāt. See under Gujrāt.
- Gujrāt, 9 *n* 2, 12, 17 *n* 4, 27 *n* 4, 28, 66, 71, 89, 255, 256 *n* 4, 257, 267, 274, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 313, 314, 315, 324, 333, 334, 337, 346, 354, 357 and *nn* 3 and 4, 379, 389, 450, 452, 454, 456, 472, 533, 534, 559 and *n* 8, 567, 597, 635. The name is also written Gujarāt, Gujerāt and Guzerāt.
- Gulangabin, confection of rose and honey, 148 and *n* 4.
- Gulbarga, town, 311 and *n* 6.
- Gulistān of Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, 187 *n* 2, 467.
- Gulistānī Saiyyids, the,—a family of Saiyyids, 584 *n* 3.
- Gul-i-Yūsuf, a red flower without odour, 629 *n* 1.

- Gulnūr* tree, called also *Nārvān*, 172
n 3.
Gulqand, confection of roses, 452 and
n 2.
Gulruk̤h, the pseudonym of Sultān
Sikandar Lodī, 426.
Gumtī, the, 222 n 3, 329 n 2. Called
also the Godī and the Kowah.
Gungūna, fortress of, one of the
dependencies of Malot, 437 and
n 7.
Gurdāspūr, town, 383 n 8.
Gurgān, town of,—the Jurjān of the
Arabs, 37 n 7, 38, 117. See under
Gorgang.
Gūrgān, a surname of the great Timūr
and a title applied to the sons-in-
law of a Mughal Emperor, 103 n 3,
353 and n 1.
Gurgān, a district of Miwāt, 134 n 1,
366 n.
Gurgin-i-Milād, one of the chief
warriors of Kai *Khusrau* in the
Shīh-nāmeh of Firdausī, 116 and
nn 4 and 5, 180 n 2.
Guriz-gāh, a term of Prosody, 627
and n 4.
Gurjistān, 43 n 4, for *Gharjistān* (q. v.).
Gurkān, a Mongol title, 103 n 3. See
under Gurgān.
- Gürkhān*, or universal king, heredi-
tary title of the Kings of Kara
Khitā, 103 n 3.
Gürkhān of Qarā *Khitā*, the con-
temporary of Sultān Muḥammad
Khwārazm Shāh, 71 n 7.
Gushtāsp, an ancient King of Irān,
35 n 2.
Gūshwāra, a term of Prosody, 609
and n 1.
Guzarate. See under Gujrāt.
Guzerāt, town of, 28 n 2, 71 n 3.
Guzerāt, province of. See under
Gujrāt.
Guzerāt, peninsula of, 27 n 4.
Guzida. See under the *Tārikh-i-*
Guzida.
Guzr-i-Ganjīna, a ford on the Jamna,
406 n 6.
Gwāliār, 26, 81, 89, 94, 129, 238, 239,
246, 248, 268, 272, 273, 275, 277,
283, 349, 361, 362, 377 and n 4, 378,
379, 381, 384, 385, 386, 387 and
n 3, 391, 398, 408, 410, 414 and
n 5, 419 and nn 3 and 6, 422 nn 2
and 3, 423 n 5, 427, 432, 433, 443,
445, 450, 474, 489, 490, 491, 493,
498, 499, 512, 529, 530, 538, 540
542. The fortress of *Gwāliār* is
called also Kālewār.

H.

- Habib Badāoni*, *Shaikh*, one of the
notable men of Badāon at the time
of Humāyūn, 600.
Habib Khān Tughūjī or *Taghūchī*, one
of the Afgān Amīrs under Sikandar
Khān Sūr (q.v.), 542, 593.
- Habibu-llah*, Mir, grandson of Mir
Saiyid Jamālu-d-Dīn the tradi-
tionist, 589.
Habshī, original name of Sultān
Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām
Ghūrī, 65 n 2.

- Habuli, Rāī, of the Amirs of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihli, 388 n 3.
- Hadah, Shaikh, a learned physician of Bihār in the time of Sher Shāh and Islem Shāh, 521 n 4.
- Hadāyan*, a *Magnāwī* in Hindū relating the loves of Lūrak and Chandā, 333 n 6.
- Hādī, son of al-Mahdī, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah of Baghdād, 75 n.
- Hādī Sabzwārī, Hājī Mullā, author of the *Sharḥ-i-Manzūma*, 181 n 2.
- Haḍīqatū-l-Ḥaqīqat wa Ṣharī'atū-l-Tarīqat*, otherwise known as *Fakhrī-nāmah*, the most celebrated work of the famous poet Sanāī, 35 n 1, 56 n 2, 57 and n 1, 60.
- Hāfiẓ, the famous Persian poet, 100 n 5, 101 n 1, 121 n 3, 151 n 6, 412 n 1, 487 n 6.
- Hāfiẓ Nizām of Badāon, Imām of Islem Shāh, 535.
- Haft andām*, the seven members of the body, 165 n 2.
- Haft Aurang*, a series of seven poems by Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.
- Haft Jūsh*, seven metals melted together, 321 and n 2.
- Haft Khwān*, the seven great labours of Isfandiyār in the *Shāh-nāmāh* of Firdausī, 116 n 3, 321 and n 1.
- Haft Paikar*, a poem of Shaikh Nizāmī Ganjawī, 298 n 4.
- Haft rang*, a variety of the *Khirī* flower, 173 n 3.
- Haiātu-l-Haiwān*, a work on natural history, 108 n 1, 157 n 1, 171 n 2, 178 n 4, 191 n 3, 352 n 1.
- Haiātu-l-Qulāb* of Āghā Muḥammad Bāqir Mujlisī, 110 nn 3 and 4, 149 n.
- Haibat Khān A'zam Humāyūn of Lāhor, 490. See under A'zam Humāyūn Haibat Khān.
- Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a subordinate of Sultān Sharq of Buiāna, 414.
- Haidarābād, town,—capital of Haidarābād Deccan, the Nizām's dominions, 299 n 3.
- Haidarābād Deccan, the Nizām's dominions, 299 n 3.
- Haidar 'Alī, a common name among the Shi'ah, 604.
- Haidar-i-Karrārī, a name of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, 93 n 4, 207.
- Haidar Khān Chaghta, 553. Same as Haidar Muḥammad Khān Akhtā Begī (q. v.).
- Haidar Khān the Amīr of Oudh, one of the Maliks of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Din Balban, 184 n 4.
- Haidar, Mīrzā, the Mughūl, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 463, 465.
- Haidar Muḥammad Khān Akhtā Begī, an old servant of Humāyūn, 597 and n 5, 598. See under Haidar Khān Chaghta.
- Haidar Sultān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, 592 n 9.
- Haidar Tūnī,—or
- Haidar Tūniā'i, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 622, 623, 624.
- Haimūn Baqqāl, 500 n 11. See under Hīmūn Baqqāl.
- Haimūn Baqqāl, 500 n 11. See under Hīmūn Baqqāl.
- Haiyāra, 532 n 2, for Daulat Khān Ajyāra (q. v.).

- Haiyātu-l-Haiwānāt. See under the Haiyātu-l-Haiwān.
- Hajarū-l-Haiyyah, the Bezoar stone, 117 n 4, 118 n.
- Hājī Barqa'i, a court officer of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, of Dihlī, 311, 315.
- Hājī Ilyās, ruler of Lakhnautī, contemporary of Sultān Muḥammad and Sultān Firoz Tughlaq, assumes the title of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din, 309, 324, 327.
- Hājī Khalfa, — or
- Hājī Khalifa, author of the *Kash-fu-z-Zunūn fī Asmā'i-l-Kutubi wa-l-Funūn*, 5 n 4, 33 n 1, 34 n 9, 35 n 1, 49 n 3, 56 n 2, 73 n 1, 181 n 2, 197 n 1, 221 n 2, 222 n 1, 270 nn 1 and 4, 272 n 1, 427 n 1, 428 nn 2, 3, 5 and 6, 467 n 2, 521 n 5, 533 n 1, 571 n 9, 624 nn 8 and 9.
- Hājī Khān Alwārī, 553. Same as Hājī Khān Sultānī, Governor of Alwar (*q. v.*).
- Hājī Khān Sultānī, Governor of Alwar, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh and his successors, 475, 542, 543, 546, 547. See under Hājī Khān Alwārī.
- Hājī, Khwāja, a general of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 265 n 6.
- Hājī Maulā, one of the slaves of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl (*q. v.*), 260 and n 2, 261.
- Hājī Mullā Hādi Sabzwārī, author of the *Sharh-i-Manzūma*, 181 n 2.
- Hājī Nāib, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Qaṣbu-d-Dīn Khilji, 286.
- Hājī Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī, the envoy of the Egyptian Khalifah to Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309.
- Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, of Dihlī, 310 and n 1.
- Hājib-i-Buzurg, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Maṣ'ud Ghaznawī, 43 and n 5.
- Hājib Shaibānī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Maṣ'ud Ghaznawī, 43 n 5.
- Hājipūr, a district of Bangāla, 469.
- Hajj, the Pilgrimage to Mecca, 175, 176 n, 480 n 5, 623 and n 5.
- Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf aṣ-Ṣaqafī, Governor of 'Irāq and Kharāsān under the Umayyad Khalifahs, 12 and nn 1 and 2, 490 and n 6.
- Hakīm Abū Naṣar 'Abdu-l-'Azīz ibn Mansūr, the celebrated poet 'Asjadī, 17 n 3.
- Hakīm Ansūrī, a famous Persian poet, contemporary of Firdausī, 17 n 3.
- Hakīm Farrukhī, a famous Persian poet, contemporary of Firdausī, 17 n 3.
- Hakīm Firdausī, the celebrated author of the *Shāh-nāma*, 17 n 3. See under Firdausī.
- Hakīm Khāqānī Shīrwānī, the famous Persian poet, 339 n 4.
- Hakīm Sanāī, a celebrated poet of Ghaznī, 35 n 1, 56, 57.
- Hākim bi-amri-llāh, Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibnū-l-Mustakfi billāh, Egyptian Khalifah of the House of 'Abbās, 310 and n 2. See the next.
- Hākim bi-amri-llāh, Abu-l-Fatḥ Abū Bakr ibn Abil Rabi' Suleimān, sixth of the Egyptian Khalifahs of the House of 'Abbās, 327 and n 6. See the above.
- Halājun, one of the Maliks of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309.

- Halākū Khān, grandson of the Chingiz Khān, 145 and n 2, 236.
- Haldī, township of, 409 and n 7.
- Halghāt, a place, 387 n 3.
- Halīn, the,—a river of the Panjāb, 356 n 1.
- Halka of elephants, or a hundred elephants, 541.
- Halkhāyat, town, 423 n 6.
- Hamadān, a city of Persian 'Irāq, anciently called Ecbatana, 30 n 1, 533 n 1.
- Hamadān, a district of Persian 'Irāq, 30 n 1.
- Hamal, the sign Aries, 195 n 3, 626 and n 7.
- Hamāsah, Freytag's, 287 n 1.
- Hāmī Tambān, or Jāhī Yatmām of Bukhārā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 618 and n 5.
- Hamīd ibn 'Abdu-r-Rahmān, a Traditionist, 139 n 5.
- Hamīd of Balkh, Qāzī, a celebrated writer and poet, contemporary of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 76 and n 1.
- Hamīd Khān, the Khāss-i-Khail of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 439.
- Hamīd Khān, Vazīr-i-Mamlakat of Dihlī, under the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 and nn 2 and 4, 402 and n 4.
- Hamīd Lawīkī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302.
- Hamīd Lodī, Shaikh, first ruler of Multān, 19 n 5.
- Hamīd of Sanbal, Shaikh, the commentator, contemporary of Humāyūn, 604.
- Hamida Bānū Begam, the Queen-consort of Humāyūn and mother of Akbar, 560, 566, 568.
- Hamīdu-d-Dīn, the Amīr of Koh, one of the Maliks of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 261.
- Hamīdu-d-Dīn 'Umar ibn Maḥmūd Balkhī, 76 n 1. See Qāzī Hamīd of Balkh.
- Hamīn, Malik, Governor of Badāon under the Saiyyid dynasty, 396 n 1.
- Hamīr Dev, Rāī of Rantabhor, grandson of Rāī Pithora and contemporary of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 257 and nn 3 and 7, 263.
- Hamra, Malik, Governor of Rāpāri under Masnad-i-'Ālī Khizr Khān (q. v.), 377.
- Hamza of *izjāfat*, remarks on, 545 and n 10, 546 n.
- Hamza, Mu'līk, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 387.
- Hamzah, son of 'Abdu-l-lah ibnuz-Zubair, 287 n 2.
- Handā, a Hindū Masnawī, 333 n 6. See Chandāban.
- Handūl, Mirzā. See under Hindāl.
- Handīya, a town on the Narbadā in the Central Provinces, 517 and n 9, 521. Called also Hindiya.
- Hanīfīte sect of Sunnī Muslims, founded by Abū Hanīfah, 57 n 1, 514.
- Hankāyat, town, 423 n 6.
- Hānsī, district and town of, 37 and n 2, 70 and n 1, 98 and n 2, 248, 322, 323, 324, 326, 364 n 5, fortress of, 431, 433.

- Hansū Bhatī, Rāī, one of the Amirs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 388 and *n* 3.
- Hauwantgarh, fortress of, 422 *n* 6, 424 *n* 2.
- Haqāiqī, *takhallus*, or poetical name of the poet Khāqānī, 583 *n* 4.
- Haramain-i-Sharifain, the two sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, 585 *n* 6.
- Haran ibn Muḥammad al-Khākī ash-Shirāzī, author of a *Muntakhabut-Tawārikh*, 11 *n* 1.
- Harand, a country of Hindūstān, 445 and *n* 10.
- Harawī, a native of Harāt, 35 *n* 2.
- Harcaran, a Hindū Prince, founder of Banghar, 71 *n* 2.
- Hardat, Governor of the fortress of Mirath at the time of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī's invasion, 24 *n* 1.
- Hardwār, city of, 88, 344 *n* 7.
- Hari, another name of the city of Harāt or Herāt in Khurāsān, 35 and *n* 2.
- Harid, a country of Hindūstān, 445 *n* 10.
- Harīrī, the celebrated author of the *Maqāmāt*, 348.
- Harpāl Deo, Rāī of Deogir, contemporary of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Din Khilji, 283, 286 *n* 1.
- Harsana, a town in the province of Mīwāt, 129 *n* 2.
- Har Singh Dev,—or
- Harsingh Rāī, Rājā of Itāwa and Kaithar, contemporary of Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 346 and *n* 4, 359 and *n* 4, 361 and *nn* 2 and 3, 377, 379.
- Harumān, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt, 321 and *n* 4.
- Hārūn ar-Rashīd, the 'Abbāsī Khālīfah, 74 *n* 2, 75 *n*, 286.
- Hasan, son of 'Alī ibn-Abī Tālib, second of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ah, 151 *n* 5.
- Hasan 'Alī Kharās, Maulānā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 587.
- Hasan of Bangāla, Shaikh, father of Shaikh 'Alā'i Mahdī of Baiāna, 507.
- Hasan Barāwar-bacha, favourite of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Din Khilji who gives him the title of Khusrū Khān, 274, 290. See under Khusrū Khān.
- Hasan Barwabacha, 290. Same as the above (*q. v.*).
- Hasan Dihlavī, Mīr, a famous poet of Dihlī, contemporary of Mīr Khusrū, 115 *n*, 187, 188, 245, 269, 270 and *n* 6.
- Hasan Ghaznawī, Saiyyid, a poet of the time of Sultān Bahrūm Shāh Ghaznawī, 56 and *n* 3.
- Hasan Jalāyer, Shaikh, King of Khurāsān, 633 *n* 1.
- Hasan Kaithalī, Saiyyid, generally known as Hasan Kāngū, afterwards 'Alāu-d-Dīn Bahman Shāh, Sultān of the Deccan, 309. See under Hasan Kāngū.
- Hasan Kāngū, contemporary of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309, 310, 314, 327. See under Hasan Kai-thalī.
- Hasan Kānkū, 310. Same as Hasan Kāngū (*q. v.*).
- Hasan Khān Mīwātī, of the Khān-zādas of Mīwāt, one of the Amirs

- of the Lodi dynasty, 398, 443, 444, 447, 470.
- Hasan Khān, an impostor of Mīwāt who pretended to be the Hasan Khān Mīwātī mentioned above, 447.
- Hasan Khān, Governor of Rāparī under Masnad-i-Āli Khizr Khān (*q. v.*), 377, 387.
- Hasan Khān Sūr, father of Shir Shāh, 461 and *n* 5, 466 and *n* 7, 467.
- Hasan, Kotwāl of Ghaznīn under Sultān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 48. See also under Abū ‘Ali Hasan.
- Hasan Maimandī, Vazir of the Ghaznavides, 35, 47 *n* 6.
- Hasan, Maulānā, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 449.
- Hasan, Mīr, son-in-law of Sultān Firoz Tughlaq Shāh, 338.
- Hasan, Shaikh, a famous surgeon of Pānīpat, 366 *n* 3.
- Hasan Zinjūnī, Shaikh, Shaikhul-Mashīkh, a famous Saint of Lāhor, 383 and *n* 6.
- Hashf, the last and most severe stage of the fever called Diqq, 320 *n*.
- Hasht Bihisht of Mīr Khusrū Dehlavī, the famous poet, the first poem in his Khamsa, 134 and *n* 3, 142 *n* 3, 269 *n* 5.
- Hashw, a term of Prosody, 606 *n* 4.
- Hastināwar, town, 266 *n* 4.
- Hatānpūr, district, 267 *n* 1.
- Hātim Khān, Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Sanbal, one of the Amīrs of the Khiljī dynasty, 272, 291.
- Hātim Sanbalī or Sambhalī, Miyān, a learned Doctor, 428, 506, 545.
- Hātim of Taiy, the type of Arab generosity, 127.
- Hatkān, town, 423 *n* 6.
- Hatkānt,—or
- Hatkānth, chief town of the Bhadā-war district, 408 *n* 1, 423 and *n* 6.
- Hatkānt, tribes of, a clan of the Bhadaurīs, 408 and *n* 1.
- Hatnāpūr, town, 266 and *n* 4, 267 and *n* 1.
- Hatnāwar, town, 266 *n* 4, 267 *n* 1.
- Hauz-i-‘Alāī, an artificial lake at Dihli, constructed by Sultān ‘Alā-u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 294 *n* 3.
- Hauz-i-Khāss, a reservoir at Dihli constructed by Sultān Firūz Tughlaq Shāh, 294, 339, 344, 347 and *nn* 2 and 3, 348 *n* 1, 356 and *n* 5.
- Hazaj-i-Muṣamman, a kind of metre, 606 *nn* 4 and 5.
- Hazār Dinārī, a name of Malik Mānik, the slave of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251 and *nn* 3 and 7, 256. Called also Kāfür Nāib.
- Hazār Sutūn palace, at Dihli, 273, 285, 288, 289, 290.
- Hazīra, Mansoleum, 397 and *n* 4.
- Hazramaut, a province of Arabia, 262 *n*.
- Hazrat A’lū, Tāj Khān Karrānī, ruler of Bengal, 540. See under Tāj Khān Karrānī.
- Hazrat-i-‘Alī, a title assumed by Shir Shāh, 461 *n* 10.
- Hazrat-i-Muqaddas Saiyyid Rafī'u-d-Dīn Ṣafwī, of Balkh, 445.
- Heavens, Nine, 142 *n* 1.
- Helmund, called also the Hendmand, a river of Sijistān, 15 *n*.
- Hendmand, called also the Helmund, a river of Sijistān, 15 *n*.
- Heraclēa, 586 *n*.

- Herāt, district and town of,—in Khurāsān, 17, 22 n 2, 32 n 2, 34 and nn 2 and 4, 35 and n 2, 38 and n 4, 42, 43 n 4, 71 n 4, 73 n 1, 361, 609 n 5.
- Herb of grace*, a name of rue from its supposed efficacy in exorcism, 617 n 1.
- Herbelot*. See under D'Herbelot.
- Herodotus*, the Greek Historian, 23 n 1.
- Herōopolis*, Gulf of,—the modern Gulf of Suez, 169 n 1.
- Hesydrus*, the,—the river Sutlej, 23 n 3.
- Hidāyah-i-Fiqh*, the, 428 and n 5.
- Hidāyat*, spiritual guidance, 507 and n 5.
- Hidekel*, the river Tigris as called in the Bible, 394 n 5.
- Hijāz*, province of Arabia, 287 n 2, 508, 512.
- Ḥikmatu-l-Ishrāq*, *Philosophia illuminationis*, 181 n 2.
- Hils*, name of the fifth arrow in the game of *maistr*, 369 n 1.
- Himāchal*, mountain of,—between the country of Chin and Hindūstān, 307 and n 3, 316. See the *Himālaya*.
- Himālaya*, the, 70 n 1. See also the above.
- Himār Kachhan*, Malik, 226. See under *Itimar Kachhan*.
- Himār Surkha*, Malik, 227. See under *Itimar Surkha*.
- Himūn Baqqāl*, the Hindū General of 'Adlī, 500 and n 11, 501, 537; 541, 548, 549, 551, 552, 553, 555, 592 n 9. Called also *Hunūn*, *Haimūn* and *Haimūe*.
- Hind, 36 n 9, 70, 436, 591. See under Hindūstān and India.
- Hindāl*, Mīrzā, 453, 458, 459, 462, 464, 465, 559, 560, 567 and n 10, 574, 578, 579, 580, 586, 587.
- Hindāl Muhammad Shāh*, 587. Same as Mīrzā Hindāl.
- Hindaun*, town of,—in the Jeypore State, 395 n 3.
- Hindawiya*, town on the Narbadā, 517 n 9.
- Hindiya* or *Handiya*, a town on the Narbadā, 517 and n 9, 521.
- Hindū Beg Qūchīn*, Amīru-l-Umarā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 455, 457, 471.
- Hindū Castes*, Sherring's, 312 n 7. See under *Hindū Tribes and Castes*.
- Hindū dynasties of Mālwā*, 384 n 5.
- Hindū Mythology*, Dowson's *Dictionary of*, 163 n 2.
- Hindū Tribes and Castes*, Sherring's, 312 n 7, 384 n 3, 433 n 4, 557 n 9.
- Hindūn*, town in the Jeypore State, 395 n 3, 541, 553.
- Hindūs*, the, 19, 21 n 4, 22 and n 1, 24, 34, 76 n, 79 n 2, 95, 120, 122 n 1, 125 n 3, 163 n 2, 200, 235, 236, 256, 291, 302 n 2, 306 n 2, 309 n 1, 356, 359, 374, 384 n 5, 404, 432, 443, 476, 478 and n 7, 484 n 1, 522 n 5, 549, 564, 565, 635 n 6.
- Hindūstān*, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 and n 1, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 36, 37, 42 n 2, 44, 47, 48, 51, 52 and n 1, 53, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66 n 1, 69, 70, 72 and n 4, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84 and n, 87, 88 n 1, 96, 98, 141, 187, 191, 195, 197, 205 n 2,

- 219, 232, 233, 236, 249, 250, 252, 254, 255, 272, 297, 305, 307, 310, 316, 321, 327, 330 n 8, 333, 343, 345, 351, 358, 359, 375, 377, 378, 384 n 3, 385, 420, 421, 427, 436, 443, 445, 448, 455, 456, 464, 466, 468, 474, 475, 477, 479, 480, 481, 482, 486, 489, 495, 496, 498, 499, 504, 507, 521, 522, 524, 527, 529, 533, 534, 539, 543, 547, 549, 559, 562, 584 n 3, 588, 591, 595, 596, 604, 611, 617, 618, 622, 624, 632, 637. See under Hind.
- Hindūstānī Amīrs, 444.
- Hindūstānī models of poetry, 426 and n 1.
- Hindūstānī Muslims, 356.
- Hindwān, town in the Jeypore State, 395 and n 3. Called also Hindūn.
- Hishām ibn ‘Abdu-l-Malik, of the Umayyad dynasty of Khalīfahs, 13 n 1.
- Hishām ibn al-Kalbī, an Arab Historian, 74 n 2.
- Hiṣār Firozah,—or
- Hiṣār Firūzah, a fortress and town founded by Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 325 n 3, 326 n, 327, 364, 410, 439, 466, 594, 596, 597. Called also Hissār or Hissār Firozah.
- Hiṣār-i-Nan, fort of, 186.
- Hissār, town of, 87 n 2, 325 n 3, 326 n. See under Hiṣār Firūzah.
- Hissār Firoza. See under Hiṣār Firūza.
- Histoire des Arabes*, Caussin de Perceval, 12 n 1.
- History of the Caliphs*, Jarrett's, 15 n 4, 17 n 2, 18 n 1, 29 n 2, 571 n 2. See under Tārikhu-l-Khulasā.
- History of Gujarat*, Bayley's, 17 n 4, 71 n 3, 264 n 6, 313 n 5, 357 n 8, 452 n 6, 454 and nn 1 and 7, 455 n 1, 458 n 6.
- History of India*, Elphinstone's, 20 n 4. See under Elphinstone.
- History of Kāshmīr*. 8. See under Tārikh-i-Kāshmīr.
- History of the Mahrattas*, Grant Duff's, 265 n 4.
- Hizābru-d-Dīn Zafar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 n 2.
- Hodal, township of, 547 and nn 4 and 5.
- Honey, notes on, 148 n 4, 585 n 10, 586 n.
- Hoshang, Sultān of Mālwa, otherwise called Alp Khān, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 363 n 2, 384 n 5, 385 n 3, 393, 394 and n 1.
- Hoshangābād District, in the Central Provinces, 517 n 9.
- Hoshiarpur, town, 380 n 2, 391 n 5.
- House, People of the,—descendants of the Prophet's family, 632 n 1.
- Hūd ibn Khālid, the prophet sent to the tribe of ‘Ād, 263 n.
- Hudūth, explanation of the term, 1 n 4, 2 n 1, 153 n 7.
- Hudūth Dhāti, explanation of the term, 2 n 1.
- Hudūth Zamāni, explanation of the term, 2 n 1.
- Hughes, *Dictionary of Islām*, 2 n 5, 97 n 4, 113 n 1, 150 n 2, 151 n 6, 156 n 1, 157 n 2, 176 n, 183 n 2, 191 n 4, 200 n, 205 n 1, 216 n, 303 n 4, 320 n 4, 356 n 4, 368 n 1, 369 n 3, 372 n 2, 392 n 6, 420 n 8, 424 n 9,

- 445 n 6, 446 n 5, 459 n 2, 472 n 6,
480 n 5, 481 n 8, 485 nn 1 and
2, 488 nn 5 and 7, 510 n 4, 522 n 5,
571 n 1, 572 n 5, 601 n, 603 n and
n 2, 618 n, 622 n 3, 623 n 1, 636 n 2
Humā, a fabulous bird of good omen,
57 n 2, 58 n, 60 and n 3, 77, 177,
571 and n 8.
Humāyūn, Emperor of India, 82 n 3.
449 n 3, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458,
459, 460, 461 and n 3, 462, 463, 464,
465, 471, 472, 474, 530, 559, 560,
561, 562, 563, 564 and n 6, 565 n 1,
566 and n 13, 567, 568 and n 6, 569,
570, 571 and n 8, 572, 573 and n 1,
574, 575, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582
and n 7, 583 and n 3, 584 n 3, 585,
587, 588, 589, 591, 592, 593, 594
and n 6, 595 and n 8, 596, 597 n 5,
598, 600, 601 and n 9, 602 and n 2,
604, 606 n 3, 608 and n 5, 613, 618,
619, 622, 623, 626.
Humāyūn, name of a palace at Dihlī,
344, 345.
Humāyūn Khān, son of Muhammad
Shāh, son of Sultān Firoz Tughlaq,
343, 347. Succeeds to the throne
under the title of 'Alau-d-Dīn
Sikandar Shāh.
Humūn Baqqāl, 500 and n 11, 501.
See under **Himūn**.
Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer of India,
82 n 1, 83 n 2, 89 n 4, 95 n 4, 121
n 8, 125 n 1, 134 n 1, 185 n 1, 256
n 4, 257 n 7, 265 nn 2 and 4, 266
n 4, 293 n 5, 299 nn 2 and 3, 311
n 3, 313 n 5, 325 n 3, 330 n 7, 346
n 5, 355 n 1, 360 n 3, 362 nn 1
and 2, 364 nn 2, 3 and 4, 365 n 8,
366 n 3, 377 nn 3, 5 and 6, 380 n 2,
382 n 4, 383 n 8, 384 n 5, 385 n 8,
386 nn 3 and 6, 389 n 2, 408 n 5,
409 n 5, 410 n 4, 419 n 3, 422 n 3,
423 n 5, 433 n 4, 437 n 8, 445 n 2,
454 n 6, 466 n 6, 486 n 6, 546 nn 3,
4 and 5, 547 n 5, 559 nn 5 and 7,
560 n 8, 598 n 10, 635 n 6.
Hunter's Indian Empire, 32 n 1.
Hūrīs, the women of Paradise, 281,
485 and n 3.
Husain, son of 'Alī ibn-Abī Ṭālib,
third Imām of the Shī'ah, 151 n 5,
200, 205 and n 1, 481 and n 8, 622
and n 3, 623 and n 1.
Husain ibn 'Alī ibn Maikāl, one of
the Amīrs of Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaz-
nawī, 36, 37 n 7, 38.
Husain Arghūn. See under **Shāh**
Husain Arghūn.
Hussain Başrī the Wazir, Khwāja, of
the Amīrs of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn
Balban, 220 n 2.
Husain Farmalī, Mīyān, of the Amīrs
of the Lodi dynasty, 435.
Husain Jilwānī, Rāi, one of the Amīrs
of Islem Shāh Sūr, 494, 495, 541,
542 and n 14, 546.
Husain Khān Ghilzāi, one of the
Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty,
542, 544.
Husain Khān, son of Khān-i-Jahān, of
the Amīrs of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī,
406.
Husain Khān, son of Mahmūd Sharqī,
of Jaunpūr, 404 n 5, 405. See
under **Husain Sharqī**.
Husain Khān, Mirzā, one of Amīrs of
Humāyūn, 574.
Husain Khān, son of Qāsim Khān, of
the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 589.

- Husain Khān, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 431 and n 1.
- Husain Khān, 'Umdatul-Mulk, of the Amīrs of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Din of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401, 402.
- Husain Kharmil, one of the Amīrs of the Ghorī dynasty, 67 and n.
- Husain, Malik, Tājul-l-Mulk, uncle of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji, 229, 281.
- Husain Nizāmu-l-Mulk, son of Amīr Miran, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Firoz Tughlaq, 333 n 2.
- Husain Qudsī of Karbalā, Mir,—a poet, 623 and n 6.
- Husain, son of Shāhībeg Arghūn, 560 n 8. Same as Mīrzā Shāh Husain Arghūn (q. v.).
- Husain Sharqī, Sultān, son of Sultān Mahmūd of Jaunpur, contemporary of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 404 and n 5, 405, 406, 407, 408 and n 6, 409 and n 8, 415, 416.
- Husain Zargar of Qandahār, Qāzī, 420.
- Husainu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz, Malik, 86 and n 3. See Husāmu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz.
- Husainu-d-Dīn Ughal or Ughnī Beg, ruler of the Doāb at the time of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 81 and nn 2 and 3.
- Husāmu-d-Dīn Abūrija, the *Mustaufī*, one of the Maliks of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 308.
- Husāmu-d-Dīn Barāwar, Malik, of the Amīrs of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khilji, 285, 290.
- Husāmu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz,—or
- Husāmu-d-Dīn Khilji, Malik, 86 and n 3. Eventually becomes Sultān Ghayāṣu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz (q. v.).
- Husāmu-d-Dīn al-Muawzīnī, Maulānā, author of a commentary on the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 n 2.
- Husāmu-d-Dīn Tarmadī, Shaikh, 133 n 2.
- Hushyār, Malik, of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 396, 398.
- Hūt, the Zodiacal sign Pisces, 195 n 2.
- Huwa, name of the Almighty, 603 n 6.
- Huzail, a tribe of the Arabs, 28 n 1.
- Hwen Thsang, the Chinese Traveller, 382 n 4.
- Hyades, the, *ad-Dabarān*, 367 n 3.
- Hyarotis, the,—the river Rāvī in the Panjab, 23 n 3.
- Hydaspes, the,—the river Jhelam, 23 n 3.
- Hyderābād of the Deccan, 271 n 6. See Haidarābād.
- Hydraotes, the,—the river Rāvī in the Panjab, 23 n 3.
- Hypanis, the,—or
- Hyphasis, the,—the river Biah in the Panjab, 23 n 3.

I.

- Ibak, sobriquet of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn of the Slave dynasty of Dihlī, 77 n 2. See Aibak.
- Ibak, slave of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak or Ibak of Dihlī, 89.
- Ibn 'Abbās, uncle's son of the Prophet, 199 n 3.
- Ibn Arsalān, a relative of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 and n 2.

- Ibn Asîr [Athîr] Jazârî, the Arab Historian, author of the *Kâmilu-t-Tawârikh*, 27 n 3, 624 and n 8.
- Ibn Baiṭâr, author of the *Mufradât*, 146 n 6, 172 n 2, 173 n and nn 2 and 3, 182 nn 1 and 4, 550 n 1, 627 n 2.
- Ibn Baṭûḥa, *Travels*, 67 n 1, 127 n 4, 221 n 3, 223 n 1, 265 n 5, 272 n, 307 n 4, 311 n 5.
- Ibn Hauqal, the Arab Geographer, 30 n 1.
- Ibn Khaldûn, the Arab Historian, 151 n 4, 157 n 1, 181 n 2, 191 n 2, 217 n 5, 244 n 6.
- Ibn Khallikân, the Arab Historian, 6 n 3, 12 n 1, 30 n 1, 35 n 1, 38 n 8, 42 nn 1 and 3, 51 n 2, 55 n 3, 59 n 1, 73 n 1, 74 n 2, 149 n, 151 n 6, 152 n 2, 167 n 8, 198 n 2, 287 nn 1 and 2, 352 n 1, 481 n 6.
- Ibn Kulşüm, one of the poets of the *Mu'allaqât*, 109 n 4.
- Ibn Mâkûla, the Historian, 6 n 3.
- Ibn Muljim, the assassinator of 'Ali ibn Abî Tâlib, 207 n 6.
- Ibn Kutaibah [Qutaibah], an Arab author, 287 n 1.
- Ibn Sa'îd, the Arab Geographer, 17 n 4.
- Ibn Serapion, the Arab Geographer, 571 n 2.
- Ibn Sînâ (Avicenna), 533 n 1.
- Ibn 'Umar, the island of,—an island of the Tigris above Mosul, 624 n 8.
- Ibnu-l-'Amîd, a celebrated Arabic writer, 198 n 2.
- Ibnu-l-Hâjîb, author of the *Kâfiyah*, a famous treatise on Grammar, 428 n 6, 487 n 2.
- Ibrâhîm, Abraham of the Scriptures, 392 n 6. See under Abraham.
- Ibrâhîm, one of the guards at the palace of Sulṭân Quṭbu-d-Dîn Khiljî of Dihlî, 289.
- Ibrâhîm Khân, son of Quṭb Khân; one of the Amirs of the Wâli of Bangâla, 470.
- Ibrâhîm Khân, son of Ghâzî Khân Sûr, one of the cousins of Shér Shâh, 539, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547. Assumes the title of Sulṭân Ibrâhîm (q. v.).
- Ibrâhîm, Malik, son of Saiyyid Hasan Kaithâlî, feoffee of Sulṭân Muham-mad Tughlaq Shâh, 309.
- Ibrâhîm Lodî, Sulṭân, son of Sulṭân Sikandâr Lodî, 480, 481 n 1, 483 484, 486, 488, 489, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 467 and n 6, 468, 470.
- Ibrâhîm Mirzâ, son of Suleimân Mîrzâ of Badâkhshân, 581.
- Ibrâhîm, the Saiyyidu-s-Salâfiyn, ibn Sulṭân Maṣûd ibn Maḥmûd Ghaz-nâwî, 51, 52, 53 and n, 54 and n 1.
- Ibrâhîm Shâh Sharqî, Sulṭân of Jaunpûr, 361, 363 and n 2, 364 and n 3, 375, 386 n 2, 398, 398, 403.
- Ibrâhîm Sharqî, Sulṭân of Jaunpûr. See the above.
- Ibrâhîm Sûr, grandfather of Shér Shâh, 466.
- Ibrâhîm Sûr, Sulṭân, 542, 548, 549, 550, 552, 553, 554, 592, 597. See under Ibrâhîm Khân, son of Ghâzî Khân.
- Ibtidâ*, a term of Prosody, 606 n 4.
- Idrîs, Malik, Governor of Rohtak for Maḥmûd Shâh of the Tughlaq dynasty, 365 n 5, 375.

- 'Idu-l-az̄hā, the festival of Sacrifice, the chief of the Muhammadan festivals, 392 *n* 6.
- 'Idu-l-Fitr, the festival following the fast of Ramazān, 392 *n* 6.
- 'Idu-l-Qurbān, same as 'Idu-l-az̄hā (*q. v.*), 392 and *n* 6.
- 'Idu-l-Kabīr, or the great festival, a name for 'Idu-l-az̄hā (*q. v.*), 392 *n* 2.
- 'Idu-ṣ-Sağl̄ı̄r, a name for 'Idu-l-Fitr (*q. v.*), 392 *n* 6.
- Ignorance, Time of, the ages preceding the advent of Islām, 441 *n* 2.
- Ihdād, special ceremony of mourning by widows, 302 *n* 2.
- Ihnāt, miracle contrary to the intention of a prophet, 626 *n*.
- Ij, town of, 476 and *n* 5.
- Ijmā', theological term, 636 *n* 2.
- Ik, town of, 476 *n* 5.
- Ikdāla, a fortress of Bangāla, afterwards called Azādpūr, 324 and *n* 6, 329 and *n* 1.
- Ikdāla, the islands of, 329 *n* 1. Same place as the fortress of Ikdāla (*q. v.*).
- Ikhłāṣ, name of a Sūrah in the Qur'ān. See under Sūratu-l-Ikhłāṣ.
- Ikrājat, in the sense of taxes, 316 and *n* 1.
- Ikhtiyār Khān, one of the Amirs of Maḥmūd Shāh of the Tuglāq Shāhi dynasty, 366, 380.
- Ikhtiyār Khān, grandson of Malik Daulat Yār of Kanpila, of the Amirs of the Tuglāq dynasty, 363.
- Ikhtiyār Khān, Governor of Sāmāna under Khizr Khān of the Saiyyids, 365 *n* 4.
- Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn, a servant of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 243.
- Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Altūniyāh, one of the Maliks of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 121 and *nn* 5 and 7, 122 and *nn* 1 and 2.
- Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Beg Birlās, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 186 and *n* 5.
- Ikhtiyārn-d-Dīn Itkin, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 122, 123 *n* 1.
- Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Sanbal, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Khiljī dynasty, 272, 291.
- Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn, son of Shāyista Khān, otherwise Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 227.
- Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Tangras, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 186 *n* 5.
- Iksīr, the Elixir of life, 340 *n* 2.
- Ilāhābās, the modern Allahabad, otherwise called Prayāg, 415 and *n* 5.
- Ilāhpūr, one of the dependencies of Rantambhūr, 410 and *n* 3.
- Ilak Khān, son of Bughra Khān, called Ilak-i-Naṣr, King of Māwarau-n-Nahr, 16 *n* 2, 20 and *nn* 2 and 4.
- Ilak-i-Naṣr, King of Māwarau-n-Nahr, 16 *n* 2. See the above.
- Ilāq Sūrtaq, name of a place, 569 *n* 8.
- Ildighiz, first of the Atābaks of Āzar-baijān, 158 *n* 3.
- Ihanpūr, town of, 410 *n* 3.
- Illichpūr, town of, 237.
- Illuminati, a sect of philosophers called Ishrāqiyah, 181 *n* 2.
- 'Imāiu-l-ma'āni wal bayān, 428 *n* 2.

- Ilmās Beg Ulugh Khān, brother of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 232, 239, 240, 241, 242, 247. See also under Ulugh Khān.
- 'Ilmu-l-bayān, 428 n 2.
- 'Ilmu-l-Fiqh. See under Fiqh.
- Il shudan*, to become submissive, 574 n 5.
- Ilyās Ḥājī, Malik, contemporary of Sultān Muḥammad and Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, assumes the title of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn as ruler of Lakhnautī, 309, 324, 327.
- Ilyās, Khwāja, contemporary of 'Adlī, 541.
- Ilyās, Malik, of the slaves of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 352 and n 6.
- 'Imād Khān Karrānī, of the Afghān Maliks of Bangālā, 540, 541.
- 'Imādu-d-Dīn, Maulānā, translator of the *Rājā-tarangīnī* into Persian, 8 n 3.
- 'Imādu-l-Mulk, a court-servant of Sultān Ja'lū-d-Dīn Khiljī, 239.
- 'Imādu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Abū Bakr Shāh of the Tughlaq dynasty, 343, 344.
- 'Imādu-l-Mulk, Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan, of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392. See also under Maḥmūd Ḥasan.
- 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez-i-Sultānī, Malik, of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 314 and n 2.
- Imām*, Priest, 368 n 2, 472 and n 7, 572 n 5.
- Imām* Bukhārī, the celebrated author of Šaḥīḥu-l-Bukhārī, a collection of authentic traditions, 5 and n 3.
- Imāmīyah, a sect of Šī'ah Muslims, 572 n 5.
- Imāms of the Šī'ah, Twelve, 572 and n 5, 625 n 3.
- Imāms and Sa'iyyids of Omān, Badger's, 157 n 2.
- Imān*, Faith, 577 n, 636.
- Imānābād, town of, founded by Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 52.
- Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Hunter's, 36 n 10, 82 nn 1, 3 and 4, 83 n 2, 89 n 4, 95 nn 4 and 7, 121 n 8, 125 nn 1 and 3, 134 n 1, 185 n 1, 218 n 3, 221 n 3, 256 n 4, 257 n 7, 265 nn 2 and 4, 266 n 4, 293 n 5, 299 nn 2 and 3, 311 nn 3 and 6, 313 n 5, 325 n 3, 330 n 7, 331 n 3, 346 n 5, 355 n 1, 360 n 3, 362 nn 1 and 2, 364 nn 2 and 3, 365 n 8, 366 n 3, 377 nn 3, 5 and 6, 380 n 2, 382 n 4, 383 n 8, 384 n 5, 385 n 3, 386 nn 3 and 6, 389 n 2, 408 n 5, 409 n 5, 410 n 4, 419 n 3, 422 n 3, 423 n 5, 437 n 8, 445 n 2, 454 n 6, 466 n 6, 486 n 6, 517 n 9, 546 nn 3, 4 and 5, 547 n 5, 559 nn 5 and 6, 560 n 8, 598 n 10, 635 n 6.
- In'tām*, reward, 596 n 6.
- Indārī, town, 305.
- Indarpat, township of, 325 n 3. See under Indrapath.
- India, 12, 13, 17 n 4, 20 n 4, 28, 43, 84 n, 144 n 1, 256 n 4, 265 n 2, 301, 312 and n 7, 362 n 2, 411 n 1, 420 n 8, 494 n 11, 590 n 5. See also under Hind and Hindūstān.
- India, Map of, in Keith Johnson's Atlas, 419 n 6, 420 n 5.
- Indian Atlas, the, 81 n 4.
- Indian Empire*, Hunter's, 32 n 1.

- Indian Medical Gazette*, the, 586 n.
 Indor, fortress of, 385.
 Indra, the Hindū god, 294 n 4.
 Indrapath, a township outside Dihlī, 294 and nn 4 and 5, 295 and n 9.
 See also Indarpat.
 Indraprastha, original name of the township of Indrapath (*q. v.*), 294 n 4.
 Indri Karnāl, *pargana* of, 424 and n 3.
 Indus, the, 20 n 1, 23 n 3, 67 n 1, 72 n 2, 128 and n 3, 249, 320 n 5, 353, 358 n 6, 436, 465, 529, 560 n 8, 567, 591, 592, 593.
 Infidelity, the origin of '*adāwat*' in religious matters, 576 n 5, 577 n.
Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry, Lyall's, 99 n 6.
 Iqbāl Khān, chief cavalry commander under 'Azam Humāyūn Shirwāni, 434.
 Iqbāl Khān Malloo, one of the Maliks of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 129 n 2, 351 and n 6, 354, 356 and n 5, 357, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363 and n 1.
 See also under Malloo Khān.
 Iqbāl Khān, called Rahmatu-l-lāhi, one of the Amirs of Islem Shāh, 527.
 Iqbālmand, the Mughul, invades Multān in the reign of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 252 and n 3.
 Iqbāl Mudbir, the name which Mīr Khusrū gives to Iqbālmand, the Mughul, (*q. v.*), 252 n 3.
 Iqlim Khān, one of the Maliks of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 365 n 7.
 Iqtā' grants of land, 587 and n 7, 597.
 'Irē, name of a certain piece at the game of chess, 479 and n 7.
 'Irāk. See under 'Irāq.
 Iram of the Columns, a fabulous city in Arabia, 261 n 6, 262 n, 263 n.
 Irān, the native name of Persia, 86, 180 n 2.
 'Irāq, country of, 12 n 1, 15 n, 51, 64, 91, 205 n 1, 279 n, 287 n 2, 310, 443, 455, 456, 466, 481, 504, 505, 568, 571 n 2, 572, 575, 578, 624, 632.
 'Irāq, Persian, 30 n 1.
 Iravati, name of the Rāvi in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.
 Irshād, spiritual guidance, 507 and n 5.
 Irshād-i-Qāzī, the, 521 and n 5.
 'Isā, Jesus Christ, 207, 369, 372, 628.
 'Isā Khān Hajjāb, one of the Amirs of Shīr Shāh, 472, 485, 489, 513.
 'Isā Khān Lodi, Governor of Patiāli, a cousin of Sultān Bahlūl Lodi, 412 n 2, 413.
 'Isā Khān Niyāzī, one of the Amirs of Shīr Shāh, 486, 487, 488, 489, 492, 493, 494, 541.
 'Isā Khān Sūr, one of the Amirs of Islem Shāh, 495.
 Isaac of the Scriptures, 488 n 5.
 Iṣābāh, the,—a biographical dictionary of the Ṣahābah or Companions, 572 n 1.
 Isaiah, Book of, 474 n 1.
 Iṣfahān, district and town of, 30 and n 1, 86, 173 n, 279 n. See also under Ispahān.
 Iṣfandiyār, of the first dynasty of Persian Kings, 103 n 2, 116 n 3, 175, 321 n 1.

- Isfirān, a town of Khurāsān in the neighbourhood of Nishāpūr, 50 *n* 2.
- Isfirār, a city of Khurāsān, 50 and *n* 2.
- Ishāq, one of the palace guards of Sultān Qatbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.
- Ishq-Nāmah, one of the poetical works of Hakīm Sanāī, 56 *n* 2.
- Ishrāqī philosophy, the, 181 and *n* 2.
- Iskandar Sultān Osbak, of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463, 592 and *n* 1, 594.
- Iskandar Sūr, Sultān, 543, 596, 597. See under Sikandar Sūr.
- Islām under the Arabs*, Osborn's, 157 *n* 2.
- Islām Khān, son of A'zam Khān Humāyūn Shirwānī, of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 433, 434.
- Islām Khān Lodi, called also Sultān Shāh, Governor of Silhrud under Khizr Khān of the Sayyid dynasty, 380 *nn* 3 and 4, 383 *n* 11.
- Islām Khān, Mubashir Chap, the Vazir, one of the Maliks of Muham-mad Shāh ibn Fīroz Shāh, 345, 346.
- Islām Khān (Islem Shāh) Sūr, son of Shir Shāh, 493 and *n* 12.
- Islām Shāh, son of Shir Shāh, called also Islem Shāh (*q. v.*), and Salim Shāh (*q. v.*), 456, 477 and *n* 5.
- Islands of the Blest, the, 130 *n* 1.
- Islem Khān Sūr, afterwards Islem Shāh (*q. v.*), 485.
- Islem Shāh, son of Shir Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493 and *n* 2, 495, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 504, 505, 506, 513, 514, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 533, 534, 535 and *n* 7, 536, 537, 538, 541, 542, 583, 588 and *n* 1, 593. See also under Salim Shāh.
- Ismā'il (Ishmael), 139 *n* 5, 392 *n* 6.
- Ismā'il Fath, one of the Amīrs of hundreds of Daulatābād, rebels against Sultān Muham-mad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.
- Ismā'il Khān Lūhānī, one of the Maliks of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 413 and *n* 3.
- Ismā'il Khān, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 431 and *n* 1.
- Ismā'il Malik, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 391.
- Ismā'il, son of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Subuktigīn, 16 and *n* 1.
- Ismā'il Ṣafawī Husainī, Shāh of Persia, 449, 570, 572 *n* 8.
- Ismu-l-a'zam*, the most holy name of God, 603 *n* 6.
- Iṣnā 'Aṣḥābiyah, called also the Imā-miyah, a sect of the Shī'ah, 572 *n* 5.
- Ispahān, same as Īsfahān (*q. v.*), 30 *n* 1, 34 *n* 1, 582 *n*.
- Israel, 302 *n* 2.
- Israelites, the, 169 *n* 1, 302 *n* 2.
- Isrā'il-i-Beghū, chief of the Turko-māns at the time of Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 38 and *n* 3.
- Istidrāj*, miracles performed by infidels, 625 and *n* 6, 626 *n*.
- Istighfār*, formula of, 551 and *n* 2.

- Istihzār*, power of recollection, 427
n 6.
- Iṣṭilāḥati-l-Funūn*, the, 4 n 1, 5 n 4,
31 n, 142 n 1, 145 n 1, 162 n 4, 163
n 1, 193 n 1, 374 nn 5 and 7, 614 n
2, 625 n 6, 626 n. Full name *Kash-*
sháfi Iṣṭilāḥati-l-Funūn.
- Istiqaṭat*, a term of Astronomy, 374
n 7.
- Itāwah, district and town of, 334 and
n 4, 346 and n 4, 347, 359 n 4, 360,
362, 379, 380, 381, 386, 391, 403,
405, 410 and n 4, 413, 431, 443, 444,
463, 547, 556, 592. Called also
Etāwah (q. v.).
- Itimar Kachhan, Malik, one of the
Amirs of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Bal-
ban, 220, 226.
- Itimar, the *Mughūl*, one of the Gen-
erals of Chingiz Khān, 188 and n 1,
189, 221.
- Itimar Surkha, Malik, one of the Bal-
bāni Amirs, 227, 228.
- Iyal-timish, Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn
Abu-l-Muzaffar, of the Slave dynas-
ty of Dihli, 70 n 1, 88 n 3, 89, 96,
121 and n 4. See under Shamsu-
d-Dīn Iyal-timish.
- Iyal-timish, origin of the name, 88,
89 and n 1.
- Iṣad Yār, fifth son of Sultān Mas'ud,
son of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī,
44 n 2.
- Izhār-i-muẓmar*, 605 and n 9..
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban, Malik, one of the
Maliks of the Shamsiyah Sultāns,
124 and 3, 125, 130. Called also
'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Buzurg (q. v.),
- and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū
Khān (q. v.).
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Buzurg, or the
elder, 124, 125, 129. See the
above.
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān,
one of the Maliks of the Shamsiyah
Sultāns, 124 n 3, 130. See under
'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān.
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Iyāz, one of the Maliks
of the Shamsiyah Sultāns, 120 and
n 8. Called also 'Izzu-d-Dīn Ka-
bir Khān Ayāz (q. v.).
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Jānī, one of the Maliks of
Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish,
87 and n 3.
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kabir Khān Ayāz, Malik,
98 and n 2. See under 'Izzu-d-
Dīn Iyāz.
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān, Malik, 131,
132 and n 4, 133. See under 'Izzu-
d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān.
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālid Khānī, one of the
poets and *munshis* of the time of
Firoz Shāh, 332 and n 2.
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Maḥammad Sälāri, one of
the Maliks of the Shamsiyah Sul-
tāns, 98 n 2.
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Tugħā Khān, one of the
Maliks of the Shamsiyah Sultāns,
125.
- 'Izzu-d-Dīn Yaḥyā, *A'ẓamu-l-mulk*,
one of the Maliks of Sultān Muham-
mad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 308.
- 'Izzu-l-Mulk, Malik 'Alān-d-Dīn
Khāfi or Jānī, one of the Maliks of
Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish,
94 and n 3.

J.

- Jabal Ṣaur, a hill near Mecca, 149 *n*, 158 *n* 1.
- Jabīhān, town, 358 *n* 6.
- Jacob, the Patriarch, 302 *n* 2.
- Jacut. See under Yāqūt.
- Jāegir, land held in fief, 120 *n* 8.
- Ja'far, the Barmecide, Wazīr of Hā-rūn ar-Rashīd, 286.
- Ja'far Khwāndī. See under Shāh Ja'far Khwāndī.
- Ja'far Sādiq, one of the Imāms of the Shī'ah, 110 *n* 4.
- Ja'far, son of Sulaimān ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdu-lلah ibn al-'Abbās, a prince of the 'Abbāsides, 74 *n* 2.
- Jāfi, a tribe of the Arabs, 6 *n* 3.
- Jaghar Beg Saljūqī, contemporary of Sultān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 49 *n* 4.
- Jahāngīr Beg the Mughūl, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 459.
- Jahāngīr Qalī Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 461.
- Jahān Numā, a palace and a fortress at Dihlī, 343, 345 and *n* 1, 354 and *n* 1, 361 and *n* 1, 386 and *n* 1.
- Jahānpanāh, one of the three cities of Dihlī, 361 *n* 1, 366 *n* 1.
- Jahān Shāh, Amīr, one of the generals of Timūr, 358 *n* 6.
- Jāhi Yatmān, of Bukhārā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 618 and *n* 5, 620, 622.
- Jāhi Yatmīyān, 618 *n* 5. Same as Jāhi Yatmān (*q. v.*).
- Jēhi-i-Yatmīnān, 618 *n* 5. Same as Jāhi Yatmān (*q. v.*).
- Jāhiliyat, or time of Ignorance, the pre-Islāmic age, 99 *n* 6, 441 *n* 2.
- Jāhir Dev, the Rājā of Narwar, 129 and *n* 4. See under Chāhār Ajārī.
- Jāhiriyā, uncle of Khusrū Khān Barā-war, the favourite of Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.
- Jahjar, town, 351.
- Jahjar river, the, 325 *n* 3, 326 and *n*.
- Jahtara, name of a place, 414 and *n* 3.
- Jai Chand, a Zemīndār of Chartālī, at the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 431 *n* 4.
- Jai Chand of Jaunpūr, 364 *n* 3.
- Jai Chand, Rāi, Governor of Qanauj, contemporary of Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 70.
- Jaihūn, the,—or Oxus, 27 and *n* 1, 37 *n* 7, 38, 71, 570 *n* 7. Called also the Jihūn (*q. v.*).
- Jain architecture, 635 *n* 6.
- Jaipāl I., ruler of Hindūstān, contemporary of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 15, 18, 19 and *n* 2, 20 and *n* 4, 22 *n* 6.
- Jaipāl II., son of Anandpāl, grandson of Jaipāl I., the ruler of Hind, 21, 22 and *n* 6, 26.
- Jaipūr, district and town of Rājputāna, 93 *n* 1, 120 *n* 4, 129 *n* 2, 299 *n* 2. See under Jeypore.
- Jaisalmīr, district and town of Rājputāna, 298 and *n* 7, 465, 562, 563, 567 *n* 1.
- Jājarmī, one of the poets of the time of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.
- Jājnagar, called also Jājpūr, capital of Orissa, 86, 125 *n* 3, 186 and *n* 6, 299 and *n* 2, 329 and *n* 6, 330, 348.
- Jājpūr, on the Baitarāni in Orissa, 125 *n* 3. Same as Jājnagar (*q. v.*).

- Jalā*, baldness of the fore part of the head, 516 and *n* 2.
- Jalālābās*, called also Araïl, a town near Allahabad, 415 *n* 4.
- Jalāl*, greatness, 515 and *n* 6, 516.
- Jalāl* of Badān, Mīrān Saiyyid, one of the learned men of the time of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 427.
- Jalāl* Bhim of Agra, Mulla, contemporary of *Shaikh* 'Alāi, 515 and *n* 3, 516.
- Jalāl* Khān Jalū, one of the Amīrs of Shūr Shāh, 486 *n* 7, 489 *n* 9.
- Jalāl* Khān Jilwānī, one of the Amīrs of Shūr Shāh, 486 and *n* 7, 489 and *n* 9.
- Jalāl* Khān Lodī, son of Maḥmūd Khān of Kālpī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 422 and *nn* 4 and 5, 437.
- Jalāl* Khān Lūhānī, son of Sultān Muḥammad of Bihār, 468, 469, 470.
- Jalāl* Khān, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 404 *n* 5, 405.
- Jalāl* Khān Miwātī, contemporary of the Saiyyids of Dihlī, 375, 391.
- Jalāl* Khān, son of Shir Shāh, original name of Islem Shāh Sūr, 456, 457.
- Jalāl* Khān, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 423 and *n* 2, 430, 431 and *n* 1, 432, 433.
- Jalāl* Thim of Agra, Mulla, 515 *n* 3, 516. See *Jalāl* Bhim.
- Jalālī*, township of, 411, 412 *n* 2.
- Jalālu-d-Danlat*, title of Amir Muḥammad, younger son of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29, 33.
- Jalālu-d-Dīn* Firoz Shāh, Sultān, 507, 525. Same as Sultān *Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji*, (*q. v.*).
- Jalālu-d-Dīn* Jānī, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 132.
- Jalālu-d-Dīn* Kāsānī, Qāzī, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 125 *n* 2. See the next.
- Jalālu-d-Dīn* Kāshānī, Qāzī, 123, 234. See the above.
- Jalālu-d-Dīn* Khilji, Sultān, whose name was Maṭlik Firoz and his title Shāyista Khān (*q. v.*), 185, 226, 230 and *n* 1, 231, 239, 240, 243, 244, 245, 247 and *n*, 248, 249, 507, 525.
- Jalālu-d-Dīn* Maḥmūd Dīwān, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 585 and *n* 4.
- Jalālu-d-Dīn* Mangburnī, Sultān, son of Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, 91 and *nn* 1 and 2.
- Jalālu-d-Dīn*, son of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 124, 125, 131.
- Jalālu-d-Dīn*, Sultān, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 430. See under *Jalāl* Khān, son of Sultān Sikandar.
- Jalālu-d-Dīn*, Sultān, title assumed by Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Governor of Bangāla (*q. v.*), 552.
- Jalālu-l-Haqq wa-sh-Shar'* wa-d-Dīn al-Bukhārī, *Shaikh*, a famous Saiyyid, 376.
- Jālāmukhī*, idol temple of, in Nagar-kot, 331 *n* 9.
- Jālandhar*, town of, 342, 382 and *n* 4, 390, 391 and *n* 5, 592 and *nn* 6 and 7, 593.
- Jālesar*, town of, 343 *n* 3, 346 *n* 5, 377 and *n* 6, 407 *n* 1.
- Jālin* Bhatī, Rāi, Governor of the fort of Bhatī, at the time of Timūr's invasion, 355 and *n* 4.

- Jâlîr, fort of, 262, 265.
 Jalwur, town, 379 *n* 2.
 Jâm, a town of Khurâsân, 32 *n* 2,
 272 *n* 1.
 Jâm, the ruler of Thatha, 332 and
 n 6, 333 and *n* 4, 592 *n* 9.
 Jamâ'at, technical sense of, 626 and
 n 2.
 Jamâl Khân of Dihlî, one of the
 learned men of the time of Sultân
 Sikandar Lodi, 427.
 Jamâl Khân Muftî, Miyân, one of the
 learned men of the time of Islem
 Shâh, 506.
 Jamâl Khân Sârang-Khânî, one of
 the Amîrs of Sultân Ibrâhim Lodi,
 470.
 Jamâl Khân, one of the Amîrs of
 Sultân Sikandar Lodi, 466, 467.
 Jamâl, Shaikh, a poet of the time of
 Sultân Sikandar Lodi, 426 and *n* 2.
 See the next.
 Jamâlî, Shaikh,—or
 Jamâlî Kanbawî of Dihlî, Shaikh,
 one of the greatest of the 'Ulamâ
 of the time of Sultân Sikandar
 Lodi, 411 and *n* 10, 429, 455 and
 n 9.
 Jamâlu-d-Dîn Abî 'Umar 'Uşmân bin
 'Umar, commonly known as Ibnu-l
 Hâjîb (*q. v.*), 428 *n* 6, 467 *n* 2.
 Jamâlu-d-Dîn of Ilânsî, Shaikh, a
 celebrated saint, 322.
 Jamâlu-d-Dîn Işfahânî, the poet, con
 temporary of Khâqânî, 339 *n* 4.
 Jamâlu-d-Dîn, Mîr, the traditionist,
 contemporary of Bâbar, 449.
 Jamâlu-d-Dîn Muhammâd, surname
 of Salmân Sâwajî, the poet, 571
 and *n* 9, 633 *n* 1.
- Jamâlu-d-Dîn Muhammâd al-Ufî or
 'Anfî, author of a *Tâzâkîra* and
 other works, 33 *n* 1.
 Jamâlu-d-Dîn Sadr Astarâbâdî, Mîr,
 contemporary of Hamâyûn, 325.
 Jamâlu-d-Dîn Yâqût, the Abyssinian,
 Chief Anûn under Suljân Razziyâh,
 120, 121 and *n* 2.
 Jâmi, Mullâ Nûru-d-Dîn 'Abdu-r-Rahmân,
 the celebrated author and
 poet, 32 and *n* 2, 270 *n* 4, 272 and
 n 1, 429, 588. Called also by the
 title of Maulawî Mâkhâdûmî 'Arif.
 Jâmi'u-l-Akhbâr of Shaikh Sadûq, 139
 n 5.
 Jâmi'u-l-Hikâyât of Muhammâd Ufî
 of Merv, 29 *n* 1, 33 *n* 1, 220.
 Jâmi'u-r-Rashîdî, 8 *n* 2. See the *Jâ
 mî'u-t-Tawârikh* of Rashîdû-d-Dîn.
 Jâmi'u-t-Tawârikh of Rashîdû-d-Dîn,
 8 *n* 2, 73 *n* 2, 307 *n* 4. See the
 Târikh-i-Rashîdî.
 Jamna, the, 343, 354, 355, 356 and *nn*
 1 and 5, 357, 360 *n* 3, 364, 377 *n* 6,
 385 *n* 3, 386, 387, 393, 396, 406,
 408, 439, 444, 551, 555, 610. See
 also under the Jumna and Jamuna.
 Jamshîd, ancient king of Persia, 108,
 176, 201, 405, 454, 559, 613.
 Jammoo. See under Jamûn.
 Jammû. See under Jamûn.
 Jamûn, kingdom of. See Jamûn.
 Jamûn, river of,—the Jhelum, 355
 n 1.
 Jamûn, country of, 19 *n* 2, 349, 355
 n 1, 358 *n* 6, 383, 384 *n* 1. Called
 also Jammoo, Jammû and Jamû.
 Jamuna the, called also the Jann or
 Jon and the Yamunâ, 23 *n* 3. See
 under the Jamna and the Jumna.

- Jandī (*Junaidī*), the Wazir Nizāmu-l-Mulk, of the Amirs of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish, 90, 98, 120 and *n* 1.
- Janhār, fortress of,—in Jaunpūr, 415 and *n* 2, 416 *n* 4.
- Janjūhah, one of the two tribes inhabiting the Jūd hills, 128 *n* 3.
- Jannat Āshiyānī, invades Hindustān, 547.
- Jannatābād, new name of Gaur the capital of Bangālā, so called by Humāyūn, 82 *n* 3, 458.
- Jānoha, a tribe of the Hindūs, 500.
- Jānpānīr, fortress of, 455 and *n* 1.
- Jānūr, town, 379 *n* 2.
- Japhet, son of Noah, 61 *n* 5, 147 *n* 1, 231.
- Jārin Manjhūr, the country of Sīwīstān, 249 and *n* 7.
- Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbarī*, 13 *n* 1, 14 *n* 3, 17 *n* 4, 23 *n* 3, 25 *n* 5, 27 *n* 4, 28 *n* 2, 34 *n* 5, 36 *n* 10, 48 *n* 1, 52 *n* 3, 62 *n* 2, 65 *n* 1, 69 *nn* 2 and 5, 71 *n* 3, 72 *n* 4, 76 *n*, 81 *n* 2, 82 *nn* 3 and 5, 84 *n* 2, 87 *n* 1, 91 *n* 2, 92 *n* 2, 95 *n* 5, 124 *n* 4, 128 *n* 3, 129 *n* 2, 130 *n* 1, 133 *n* and *n* 2, 142 *n* 1, 193 *n* 1, 236 *n* 2, 248 *n* 2, 249 *n* 5, 264 *n* 6, 265 *nn* 2 and 5, 266 *n* 4, 304 *n* 4, 330 *n* 8, 332 *n* 5, 357 *n* 3, 380 *n* 2, 384 *n* 3, 410 *n* 4, 415 *n* 7, 416 *nn* 3 and 13, 417 *n* 7, 420 *n* 5, 422 *n* 3, 425 *n* 2, 439 *n* 2, 536 *n* 6, 546 *n* 7, 557 *n* 3, 573 *n* 3, 587 *n* 7, 588 *n* 4, 590 *n* 5.
- Jarrett's *History of the Caliphs*, 12 *n* 2, 15 *n* 4, 17 *n* 2, 18 *n* 1, 29 *n* 2, 571 *n* 2.
- Jartaulī, a famous city of Mawās, 386 and *n* 5.
- Jasrat Khākar,—or
- Jasrat Khūkar, son of Shaikhā Khūkar, contemporary of the Saiyyids, 381 and *n* 5, 382 and *nn* 2 and 5, 383 and *n* 3, 384 *n*, 390 and *n* 4, 391, 399.
- Jasrat Shaikhā, 382 and *n* 5. Same as the above (*q. v.*).
- Jatāmānsī*, Sanskrit name of the *nard* or Indian Spikenard, 374 *n*.
- Jāts, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, 29 and *n* 4, 121, 122 *n* 1, 129 *n* 2.
- Jauhar, essence, 397 *n* 3.
- Jauhar or Jāhar, a rite of self-sacrifice, 397 and *nn* 1 and 3.
- Jauhar, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 314.
- Jauharan, a term of Muslim theology, 614 *n* 2.
- Jaun, the,—a name of the river Jumna, 23 *n* 3, 24 *n* 4. Called also the Jon (*q. v.*).
- Jannān, original name of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 329 *n* 2.
- Jaunānpūr, origin of the name Jaunpūr, 329 *n* 2.
- Jaunpūr, town of, 185, 329 and *n* 2, 348 *n* 10, 359, 361, 363 and *n* 2, 364 and *n* 3, 387 *n* 2, 400, 403 and *n* 7, 404 and *n* 2, 408, 409 and *n* 8, 411 *n* 2, 413, 414, 415, 417, 420 and *n* 8, 430, 444, 445, 446, 451, 456, 457, 459, 467, 471 and *n* 1, 477, 508, 552.
- Jausā,—or
- Jausah, a village on the bank of the Ganges, 459 and *n* 4, 462 and *n* 3.
- Jauz, 535. See under *Jauzu māṣil*.

- Jauzhar*, the head and tail of Draco, 162 and n 4, 193 and n 1.
- Jauzu māqīl*, or Datura, a narcotic and intoxicant, 535 and n 2.
- Java*, 303 n.
- Jawāhiru-l-Khamṣa*, the,—name of a book, 459 n 2.
- Jawālāmukhī*, an idol temple of Nāgarkot, 331 and n 9.
- Jawālāpūr*, for the ford of Miāpūr on the Ganges, 131 n 1.
- Jawāngħār*,—or
- Jawāngħūl*, left wing of a Turkish army, 439 n 4.
- Jawāri*, the small variety of millet, 549 and n 14.
- Jawazahr*, the head and tail of Draco, 162 and n 4, 193 and n 1.
- Jazārī*, Ibn Aṣir, author of the *Kāmi-*
lu-i-Tawārīkh, 624 n 8.
- Jazirat* Ibn ‘Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul, 624 n 8.
- Jerusalem, 105 n 2, 151 n 2, 368 n 1, 613 n.
- Jesuits, the 130 n 1.
- Jews, the, 30 n 1, 279 n, 600 n 9.
- Jeypore State, the, 395 n 3. See under Jaipūr.
- Jhāban*, town, 379 n 2. Probably *Jhāīn* (q. v.) is intended.
- Jhāīn*, a city near Rantanbhor, better known as *Naušahr*, 257 and n 1, 259, 283, 379 and n 2. Called elsewhere Chhāīn (q. v.).
- Jhajhar*, town of, 325 n 3.
- Jhālawān*, a district of Bilūchistān, 48 n 4.
- Jhelam*, the,—or
- Jhelum*, the, one of the rivers of the Panjāb, 19 n 4, 23 n 3, 44 n 6, 89 n 5, 128 n 3, 355 n 1, 392. Called also the Jhilam.
- Jhilam*, river, the, 44 n 6. See the Jhelum.
- Jhilam*, town of, 389, 390.
- Jhilam*, a District of the Panjāb, 437 n 8.
- Jhosi*, a town near Allahabad, 415 n 4.
- Jhunjhnū*, a town in Rājputāna, 69 n 2.
- Jidjer*, the,—the river Jahjar, 325 n 3.
- Jigili*, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān, the *Khaqīb* of Samarqand, 159 n.
- Jihād*, holy war in defence of Islām, 293 and n 4, 356 n 4.
- Jihāds*, the two,—, 191 n 4.
- Jihādu-l-Akbar*, or the greater warfare, 191 n 4.
- Jihādu-l-Asghar*, or the lesser warfare, 191 n 4.
- Jihūn*, the,—the Oxus, 38, 45 n 2, 166 and n 1, 209. Called also the Jai-hūn (q. v.).
- Ji Ji Anāgah*, wet-nurse of Prince Akbar, 568 n 6.
- Jilaudār*, an attendant to run beside the horse, 503 and n 3.
- Jildū*, a Turki word in the sense of *in’ām* or reward, 596 n 6.
- Jir*, 593 n 9.
- Jirm*, the separate members of the body, 630 n 6.
- Jirm-i-Qamar*, rays of the moon, 630 and n 6.
- Jītal*, an imaginary division of the dām, 499 n 3.
- Job*, Book of, 198 n 2, 630 n 4.

- Jodhpūr, a city of Rājputānā, 379 *n* 1, 512, 563.
- Jodhpūr State, in Rājputānā, 379 *n* 1.
- John, St., the Gospel of, 146 *n* 6.
- Jomanes, the,—a name of the river Jumna, 24 *n* 6.
- Jon, the,—a name of the river Jamuna or Jumna, 24 and *n* 4, 25, 541. See also the Jaun.
- Jones, Sir William, 76 *n*.
- Joseph, the Patriarch, 89, 115 and *n* 2, 217.
- Joshua, the son of Nun, 373 *n*.
- Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 186 *n* 6, 191 *n* 3, 324 *n* 6, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 546 *nn* 1, 3 and 7, 609 *n* 3.
- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 16 *n* 2, 33 *n* 1, 47 *n* 2, 59 *n* 1, 87 *n* 1, 103 *n* 1, 109 *n* 4, 115 *n* and *n* 3, 141 *n* 4, 330 *n* 7, 479 *n* 7, 571 *n* 2.
- Jūd hills, the, 128 and *n* 3, 185, 186, 221. See also under the Koh-i-Jūd.
- Jūd tribe, the,—one of the two tribes inhabiting the Jūd hills, 128 *n* 3.
- Jūhar or Jauhar, a rite of self-sacrifice, 397 *n* 1, 422, 476.
- Jūki Bahādur Uzbakī, one of the Amirs of Mīrzā 'Askarī, 568 *n* 1.
- Jūlāha, a weaver, 528 *n* 1.
- Juldū, a Turki word in the sense of *in'ām* or reward, 596 *n* 6.
- Jūlga, a dale, 438 *n* 7.
- Julius Cæsar, 76 *n*.
- Jumlatu-l-Mulk, chief finance-minister of the State, 625.
- Jumna, the, 24 *nn* 4 and 6, 122 *n* 1, 220, 227, 228, 231, 235, 244, 325 and *n* 3, 326 and *n*, 327 *n* 5. See also under the Jamna.
- Jūnā Khān, or Jūnān Khān, Governor of Shamsābād under Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī, 403 and *nn* 4 and 5, 404 *n* 2.
- Jūnā Shāh, or Jūnān Shāh, Khān-i-Jahān, son of Malik Qubūl, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 333, 336 *n* 5, 337 *n* 7.
- Junaid, the famous Muhammadan Saint, 59 *n* 1.
- Junaid Birlās, Sultān, of the Amirs of Bābar, Governor of Karra and Mānikpūr, 439, 446, 468, 469.
- Junaidī, the Wazīr Nizāmu-l-Mulk, of the Amirs of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 90, 98, 120 and *n* 1.
- Jundi (Junaidī), the Wazīr, 120 and *n* 1. See the above.
- Junūbī,—or
- Junūnī Badakhshī, Maulānā, the enigmatist, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 605 and *n* 5.
- Jupiter, notes on the planet, 78 and *n* 2, 151 *n* 4, 154 *n* 4, 630 *n* 2.
- Jureah canal, the,—a canal leading from the Sutlej, 325 *n* 3.
- Jurjān, the capital of Khwārazm, 23 *n* 1, 34 *n* 2, 52 *n* 5. Called also Gargang.
- Jurjān, Sea of,—the Caspian, 153 *n* 1.

K.

- Ka'bah, the, 12 n 2, 97 n 4, 368 n 1, 584, 585, 612, 613 n, 624.
- Kubak, 622 and n 1.
- Ka'batain, the Temples of Mecca and Jerusalem, 151 n 2.
- Kabir, Amīru-l-Umarā Malik Mubārak, of the Amirs of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 842 and n 1.
- Kabir Khān Sultānī, one of the Maliks of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyāl-timish, 98 and n 2.
- Kābul, territory and town of, 13 n 1, 14 n 3, 46 n 1, 49, 132 n 6, 359, 388, 390, 435, 486, 443, 446, 448, 465, 466, 500, 501, 530, 559, 567, 568, 573, 575, 576, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582 and n 7, 584 and n 3, 585, 590, 591, 604, 617, 618, 632.
- Kachha, one of the fords of the Jamna, 406 n 6. Called also Kīchā.
- Kachhan, Malik, called Itimar or Hīmār, one of the Amirs of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 220, 226.
- Kadha, name of a country, probably Garha-Katanka, 433 n 3.
- Kāethar, the district of Rohilkhand, 131 n 4. Called also Kāīthar (q. v.), Katīhar, and Keīthal (q. v.).
- Kāf, 615 n 5.
- Kājīr, a Non-Muslim, 576 n 5, 577 n.
- Kājīyah of Ibnu-l-Hājīb, a famous treatise on Grammar, 428 and n 6, 467 and n 2.
- Kafsh 'Alī, a common name among the Shī'ah, 604.
- Kāftan, cutting or cleaving, 615 n 5.
- Kāfür Hazār Dīnārī, name of Malik Mānik, slave of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 251 and nn 3 and 7, 265 and n 1.
- Kahf, Sūratu-l-, name of a Chapter in the Qur'ān, 207 n 1.
- Kahfu-d-Daulat wa-l-Islām, one of the titles of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 29.
- Kāhī, Maulānā Qāsim, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 584 and nn 1 and 3, 601.
- Kāhī Kābulī, Miyān, 584 n 2. Same as Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī, see the above.
- Kahwar, town of,—now known as Shamsābād, N.-W. P., 377 and n 3.
- Kaiķāüs, one of the ancient Kings of Persia, 43 n 1, 216.
- Kai Kāüs, son of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kai-Qubād of the Balbāni dynasty, 227, 230 n 1. Same as Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Kai Kāüs.
- Kai Khusrāu, one of the ancient Kings of Persia, 116 n 4.
- Kai Khusrū, son of sultān Muham-mad, son of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 213, 219, 220 n 2, 222, 224. He was called by the title of Khusrū Khān.
- Kai Qubād, Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, son of Sultān Nūṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, of the Balbāni dynasty, 185 n and n 1, 213, 219, 220 and n 2, 221, 224, 230 n 1.
- Kaiqubād, one of the ancient Kings of Persia, 595.

- Kaiqubād, son of Sultān Muḥammad, son of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 218.
- Kairwān or Qairawān, the ancient Cyrene, in the province of Tunis, 167 n 4.
- Kaithal or Katīhal, a village in the neighbourhood of Dihlī, 121 n 8, 131 and n 5, 294 n 5.
- Kaithal, the country of Kaithar (q. v.), 335 and n 9.
- Kaithar country, the district of Rohilkhand, 185 and n 2, 335 and nn 5 and 9, 359 and n 4, 365, 375, 377, 379, 380, 384, 385, 387. Called also Kāethar (q. v.), Katihar or Kateher and Kaithal.
- Kaithar, the river of, 387.
- Kaitharis, the, 185 and n 3.
- Kaiumours (or Kaikūs), son of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbāni dynasty, 230 n 1.
- Kaiwān, the planet Saturn, 582 n 1.
- Kajak, the hook in the game of qabac andāzī, 621 n 5.
- Kajwī Khattrī, a protégé of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 and n 3, 394.
- Ka'kī, or Cakes, origin of the name of Ka'kī (q. v.), 92 n 2.
- Ka'kī, a name of the famous saint Khwāja Qutbū-d-Dīn Ushī, 92 n 2.
- Kālā Bhār Shaikh Muḥammad Farmaṇī, nephew of Sultān Bahlūl Lodi, 411 n 2, 413 n 13.
- Kālā Bhār, or Kālā Pahār, brother of Sikandar Sūr (q. v.), 544 and n 1.
- Kalān Beg, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of Bābār, 439, 448 453, 455, 456, 462, 466.
- Kalānor or Kālānor, fort of, 305, 324, 383 and n 8. See also Kalānūr.
- Kalānūr, town of, 436, 437. See also under Kalānor.
- Kalān want,—or
- Kalān-wat, a Hindī word meaning a singer or musician, 557 and n 1.
- Kālā Pahār. See under Kālā Bhār, brother of Sikandar Sūr.
- Kālāpānī, the,—a river lying between the Jumna and Ganges, 360 and n 8, 386 n 8. Called also the Kālī Nādī or Kālinī (q. v.).
- Kalārchal, mountains of,—the mountains of Sirinor, 307 n 4.
- Kalāwant, a singer or musician, 557 n 1. See Kalān-wat.
- Kal Chāndar, governor of the fortress of Mahāwun on the Jon, at the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī's invasion, 24 and n 5.
- Kālewār, fortress of, 95, 268 n 4. Same as the fortress of Gwāliār.
- Kālī, the goddess, 484 n 1.
- Kālichār, for the fortress of Kālinjar, 451 n 4.
- Kālidāsa, the famous poet, 95 n 6.
- Kālī Kābulī, Miyān, 584 n 3. See under Kāhī Kābulī.
- Kalikavartta, town, 24 n 6.
- Kalilah and Damnah, the famous book of Fables, 56.
- Kalimah, the Muḥammadan creed, 446 and n 5, 447.
- Kālī Nādī, the, 360 n 3, 378 n 1. Called also the Kālāpānī (q. v.), and the Kālinī (q. v.).
- Kālindī, the, 378 n 1. Same as the Kālī Nādī (q. v.).
- Kālinī, the,—a river between the Jumna and Ganges, 360 n 3, 378 n 1, 386 and n 8. See the Kālī Pānī.

- Kâlinjar, fortress of, 25 and n 5, 26, 35, 36, 451, 471 and n 8, 481 n 5, 482, 486.
- Kâli Pânî, the,—a name of the river Biâh, 251, 386 n 8. See the Kâlinî.
- Kali-Sind, the,—a tributary of the Chambal river, 385 n 8.
- Kâlpî, district and town of, 375, 393, 394, 408, 409, 411 n 2, 414, 422 n 4, 423, 430, 431, 443, 446, 463, 526, 541, 548, 549, 552, 555.
- Kamâl Khân, one of the Maliks of Sultân Mubârak Shâh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 384.
- Kamâl, Râi, governor of Talaundi, 382 n 1. Same as Kamâlu-d-Dîn Mubîn (q. v.).
- Kamâlu-d-Daulah Shérzâd, Sultân, son of Sultân Mas'ûd, son of Ibrâhim Ghaznawî, 55 and n 2.
- Kamâlu-d-Dîn, a protégé of Muham-mad Shâh, son of Sultân Firoz Shâh, 338.
- Kamâlu-d-Dîn 'Ali Shâh Quraishi, grandfather of Shaikh Bahâ'u-d-Dîn Zakariyâ, 133 n 2.
- Kamâlu-d-Dîn Garg,—or
- Kamâlu-d-Dîn Kark, Malik, one of the Amîrs of Sultân 'Alâ'u-d-Dîn Khilji, 265, 267, 282.
- Kamâlu-d-Dîn Mubîn, Malik, one of the Amîrs of the Firûz Shâhi dynasty, 352, 362, 382, and n 7.
- Kamâlu-d-Dîn Nâib-i-Lashkar, 393 and n 1. See under Kamâlu-l-Mulk.
- Kamâlu-d-Dîn, Qâzî,—one of the Qâzîs of Sultân Nâṣiru-d-Dîn Ma-hmûd Shâh of Dihli, 128 n.
- Kamâlu-d-Dîn Sadr-i-Jahân, Qâzî,—one of the Qâzîs of Sultân Muham-mad Tughlaq Shâh, 318.
- Kamâlu-d-Dîn Shûfi, one of the Maliks of Sultân Qanâbu-d-Dîn Khilji, 291.
- Kamâlu-d-Dîn Sulaimân, son of Far-rukh Shâh of Kâbul, 132 n 6.
- Kamâlu-l-Mulk, Maliku-sh-Shârq, the Nâib-i-Lashkar, one of the Maliks of Mubârak Shâh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 393 and n 1, 395, 396, 397, 398.
- Kamângar, Maulâna Zainu-d-Dîn Ma-hmûd, of the Naqshbandî Shaikhs, 588 and n 4.
- Kâmil fi-t-Târikh,—or
- Kâmilu-t-Tawârikh of Ibn Aşîr Jazâri, a general History, 624 and n 8.
- Kamkhaâb, 588 n 4.
- Kâmrân, country of, 83.
- Kâmrân Mirzâ, brother of Humâyûn, 453, 456, 462, 464, 465, 494, 500, 501, 502, 503, 567, 574, 578, 579, 580, 581 and n 3, 582 and n 7, 583 and n 8, 584 and n 8, 585, 586, 588, 606 n 3.
- Kâmrân Mirzâ, grove of,—outside Lâhor, 494.
- Kâmrûd, country of, 84 and n and n 1, 86, 87, 135.
- Kanbhâyat (Cambay), in Gujarât, 311 n 3, 454 and n 6.
- Kanbû, Shaikh Samâ'u-d-Dîn, one of the Ulamâ of the time of Sultân Sikandar Lodî, 411 and n 9.
- Kandama, fortress of, called also Gandaba, 28 n 4.
- Kandarkhî, township of, 545.
- Kandhû, one of the Maliks of Sultân Husain Sharqi of Jaunpûr, 416 n 9.

- Kāngra, town, 331 *n* 3.
- Kāngū Khatri, a protégé of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 and *n* 3, 396.
- Kanhaiyā, one of the names of Krishna, 478 *n* 7.
- Kanhaiyā, minister and agent of Rāi Mäldeo, the ruler of Nagor and Jaunpūr, 478 and *n* 7, 479 and *n* 6.
- Kanhar Dev, governor of the fort of Jālor in the reign of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 265.
- Kāni, a coin, 87 *n* 1.
- Kāni, name of a place, 548 *n* 3.
- Kanjū Khatri, 393 *n* 3. See under Kajwi Khatri.
- Kanpilah, town of, 81 and *n* 4, 185 and *n* 1, 363, 377 and *n* 4, 384, 407.
- Kansa, Rājā, of Mathra,—the enemy of Krishna, 24 *n* 6.
- Kānt, town in the Shāhjahānpūr District, N.-W.P., 546 and *n* 3.
- Kānthar, country of, 185 *n* 2. See Kaithar.
- Kantit, one of the fords of the Ganges, 416 and *n* 3.
- Kānt-o-Golah, country of, 546 and *n* 3, 598 and *n* 8.
- Kanyā, or Kanhaiyā, minister of Rāi Mäldeo, 479 and *n* 6.
- Kanz-i-Fiqh*, the,—a work on Muhammadan Law, 545.
- Kapak, the Mughul, invades Multān in the reign of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 252 and *n* 3.
- Kapanak, a felt garment, 628 *n* 1.
- Kapisthala, the village of Kaithal (*q. v.*), 121 *n* 8.
- Karāchi, 67 *n* 1.
- Karāchi district, 560 *n* 8.
- Karāchil, mountains of,—the mountains of Sirinor, 307 *n* 4.
- Kara-Kanka, or Garha-Katanka, country of, 433 and *n* 3.
- Kara-Katanka, country of, 433 and *n* 3, 554. Called also Garha Katanika (*q. v.*).
- Kara Khijāi, the, 108 *n* 3.
- Karamanians, the,—a sect of false religionists, 30.
- Karāmat, a miracle performed by a pious person, 625, 626 *n*.
- Karan, Rāi, of Gujerāt,—contemporary of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 255, 256.
- Karāsū river, the, 360 *n* 3, 386 *n* 8. Same as the Kūlā Pānī or Kūlinī (*q. v.*).
- Karāwān, a province of Central Asia, 43 *n* 4.
- Karbālā, town of, 205 and *n* 1, 481 *n* 8, 622 *n* 3, 628 *n* 6.
- Kardiz, a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustān, 66 and *n* 1.
- Karimū-l-Mulk Auħadī, Malik, brother of Shams Khān Auħadī of Baiñna, 378.
- Karmat (Qarmat), founder of the Karmatian sect of Muslim heretics, 21 *n* 1.
- Karmatians, the,—an heretical sect founded by Karmat (Qarmat), 21 and *n* 1, 66.
- Karnāl, town of, 121 *n* 8, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 3.
- Kārnāma, record of deeds, 605.
- Kārnāmah-i-Balkh, one of the works of Ḥakīm Sanāl, the famous poet, 56 *n* 2.
- Karpattan, town of, 85 *n* 1.

- Karra, district and town of,—on the river Ganges, 125 and n 1, 129, 221 and n 3, 229, 231, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 243, 247 n, 249, 258, 328, 329 and n 3, 330, 335, 341 n 1, 349, 411 n 2, 415 and n 7, 432, 433, 434, 468.
- Karra Mānikpūr, district of, 411 n 2.
- Karrānī Afghāns in Baugāla, the, 541.
- Kas, fortress of, 570 n 7. See under Kash.
- Kasam Kūr, same as the town of Shamsābād, 232.
- Kash, fortress of, otherwise known as Nakhshab in Māwarāu-n-Nahr, 570 and n 7.
- Kāshghār, country of, 443, 448.
- Kāshif, enigma on this name, 450.
- Kashlū Khān, title of Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Balbūn-i-Buzurg (q. v.), 130.
- Kashmīr, 8, 20, 22, 26, 36 and n 1, 381, 383 n 2, 465, 495, 498, 500, 530 and n 5, 589.
- Kashmīr pass, the, 22.
- Kashmīr Shāls (Shawls), 589 and n 7.
- Kashmīris, the, 22, 465, 495, 500.
- Kashshāf, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān by az-Zamākhsharī, 28 n 1.
- Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥati-l-Funūn, 4 n 1, 5 n 4, 31 n, 142 n 1, 145 n 1, 162 n 4, 163 n 1, 193 n 1, 374 nn 5 and 7, 614 n 2, 625 n 6, 626 n.
- Katah, a bamboo shaft, 537 n 2.
- Kaṭauba, one of the dependencies of Patna, 415 n 3.
- Kateher, the district of Rohilkhand, 185 n 2, 359 n 4, 408 n 4. See under Kaithar.
- Katehr, country of, 408 n 4. See the above.
- Kath, catechu, 302 n 6.
- Katiba-bāgh, 537 and n 2.
- Kātibī, a poet of the time of Sulān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.
- Katīhal, a village in the vicinity of Dihlī, 121 and n 8.
- Kaṭīhar, country of, 131 n 4. See under Kaithar.
- Katit, one of the fords of the Ganges, 416 and n 3.
- Katlū, original name of Khān-i-Jahān Malik Maqbūl or Qubūl (q. v.), 337 n 7.
- Katoch, the Rājpūt kingdom of, 382 n 4.
- Kauṣar, name of a river in Paradise, 3 n 1, 485 and n 2.
- Kawāl Khān Ghakkar, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 490, 491.
- Kawārān, the,—or
- Kawārs, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, 122 and n 1, 231 and n 5, 493.
- Keith Johnson's Royal Atlas, 417 n 7, 419 n 6, 420 n 5, 567 n 1, 570 n 7.
- Kelardjek, mountains of,—the mountains of Sirinor, 807 n 4.
- Kerauli, town, 420 n 5.
- Kerbela, town of, 205 and n 1, 481 n 8, 622 n 3, 623 n 6.
- Kesh, a town in Bokhārā (Māwarāu-n-Nahr), 570 n 7.
- Ketu, one of the Daityas in Hindū mythology and in astronomy the descending node, 163 n 2.
- Khaberān, a district of Khurāsān, 43 n 2.
- Khāf,—or

- Khāff, a district and town in Kharā-sān, called also Khawāf, 609 *n* 5.
- Khāfi, Shaikh Zainu-d-Din, one of the poets of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 609 and *n* 5.
- Khāfi, Zainu-d-Din, a famous saint, 609 *n* 5.
- Khaibarīs, the, 214.
- Khairābād, a town built by Sultān Ibrāhim Ghaznawī, 52.
- Khairu-d-Din Khān, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Khizr Khān and Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 380, 390.
- Khairu-d-Din Tulfa, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 386.
- Khaizurān, a cemetery at Baghdād, 59 *n* 1.
- Khajand, a town in Khurāsān, 88 *n* 4.
- Khāki, author of a *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh*, 11 *n* 1.
- Khalīfa, Amīr, prime minister of Bābar, 451.
- Khalifahs, the Four rightly-guided, 3 and *n* 6, 128, 151 *n* 3, 158 and *n* 2, 626 *n* 1
- Khalifahs of Baghdād, the, 17.
- Khālīl, Shaikh, of the descendants of Shaikh Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkar, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 460, 482.
- Khāliṣkol, town of, 355 *nn* 1 and 3.
- Khāliṣ Kotalī, town, 855 *n* 1.
- Khalj, etymology of the name, 230 and *n* 4.
- Khalj, son of Yāfiṣ, son of Nūḥ (Noah), 231.
- Khalj, tribe, See under Khilj.
- Khallikān. See under Ibn Khallikān.
- Khamārtāgh, commander-in-chief of Khwārnzm at the time of Sultān Muḥmūd Ghaznawī, 23.
- Khambāt (Cambay), 454 *n* 6. See Khambhāt.
- Khambha, the pool of Mahādeva, 256 *n* 4, 454 *n* 6.
- Khambhāt, a port of Gujerāt, 256 *n* 4, 454 *n* 6.
- Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrū, a collection of five of his works, 269 and *n* 5.
- Khamṣa of Shaikh Nizāmī, 269 *n* 5, 298 *n* 4.
- Khamūsh, Malik, a name of Malik Asadu-d-Din ibn Yaghrash Khān, uncle's son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din Khilji, 283.
- Khān, title of the subordinate princes of the Chaghatai and other Chin-gizi lines, 145 *n* 2.
- Khānazād, a slave born in the house, 334 *n* 1.
- Khandhār, fortress of, 445.
- Khandī Rāi, brother of Rāi Pithūrē, the ruler of Ajmir, 69, 70.
- Khān-i-Ālam, governor of Miwāt,—one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and *n* 2.
- Khān-i-A'zam, title of Saiyyid Khān, son of Saiyyid Sālim—one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 396.
- Khān-i-Buzurg, Qāñ-i-Mulk, Sultān Muḥammad, son of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban, 217.
- Khān-i-Ghāzi, Sultān Muḥammad, son of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban, 191.
- Khān-i-Jahān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 406, 407.

- Khān-i-Jahān, Husain Khān, ibn-i-
Khān-i-Jahān, one of the Amirs of
Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 407, 411, **416**.
Called Khān-i-Jahān Lodī.
- Khān-i-Jahan Jūnā or Jūnān Shāh,
son of Malik Qubūl or Maqbūl,—
one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz
Shāh Tughlaq, 333, 336 and n 5,
337 and n 7.
- Khān-i-Jahān Lodī,—one of the
Amirs of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 407,
411, **416**.
- Khān-i-Jahān Lodī,—one of the
Amirs of Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of
Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 435.
- Khān-i-Jahān Lūhānī, Governor of
Rāpī,—one of the Amirs of Sultān
Sikandar Lodī, 430 and n 7.
- Khān-i-Jahān, Malik Firuz 'Alī, the
Wazīr, son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn,—
one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz
Shāh, 342 and n 2.
- Khān-i-Jahān, Malik Qubūl or Maq-
būl, the Vazīr,—one of the Amirs
of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 324, 328, 333,
337 n 7.
- Khān-i-Jahān, Malik Sarwār-u-l-Mulk,
—one of the Amirs of the Saiyyid
dynasty, 395. See under Sarwa-
rū-l-Mulk.
- Khān-i-Jahān, Malik Shāhik Bārbak,
one of the Amirs of Sultān Kai-
qubād Balbanī, 221.
- Khān-i-Jahān, the Vazīr, 336. See
under Khān-i-Jahān Jūnā Shāh.
- Khān-i-Jahān, the Vazīr, 333. See
Khān-i-Jahān Malik Qubūl.
- Khān-i-Jahān, the Wazīr,—one of the
Amirs of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 342
and n 2.
- Khān-i-Khānān Bairām Khān, one of
the great Amirs of Humāyūn, 447.
See under Bairām Khān.
- Khān-i-Khānān, son of Dānlāt Khān
Lodī, 436 and n 9, 436, 437.
- Khān-i-Khānān-i-Dihlī, one of the
Amirs of Sultān Sikandar Lodī,
411 n 7.
- Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, one of the
Amirs of Sultān Sikandar Lodī,
411 and n 7, 412 n 2, 414, **418**.
- Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, one of the
Amirs of Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of
Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 434.
- Khān-i-Khānān Husāmu-d-Dīn Barā-
war, brother of Khusrū Khān Barā-
warbacha, 290, 293, 296.
- Khān-i-Khānān, son of Sultān Jalālu-
d-Dīn Khiljī, 231, 232, 233.
- Khān-i-Khānān Lūhānī, one of the
Amirs of Sultān Sikandar Lodī,
419.
- Khān-i-Khānān, Malik Buhlūl Lodī,
afterwards Sultān Buhlūl, 402.
- Khān-i-Khānān Mu'nīm Khān, one of
the great Amirs of Humāyūn, 562.
- Khān-i-Khānān Sarwānī, Governor of
the fort of Ranthanbūr, 476.
- Khān-i-Shahid, Sultān Muhammad
ibn Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban,
187, 188 and n 2, 199 n 3, 205 n 2,
219, 220 and n 2.
- Khān-i-Zamān 'Alī Quli Shaibānī, son
of Haidar Sultān Osbak-i-Shaibānī,
one of the Amirs of Humāyūn,
592 and n 9. See under 'Alī Quli
Khān.
- Khanpal, a township in the Doāb,
407 n 1.
- Khans, a Chinese Emperor, 853 n 1.

- Khānwah, a township in the vicinity of Baiāna, 549.
- Khānzāda race, the rulers of Miwāt, 366 n, 398, 447.
- Khāqān, title of the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, 145 n 2, 232 and n 5.
- Khāqān Manūchihr, Shirwān Shāh, patron of the poet Khāqāni, 583 n 4.
- Khāqāni, the famous Persian poet, 137, 339 n 4, 583 and n 4, 584 n.
- Khāqāni Shirwāni, Ḥakīm, 339 n 4. See the above.
- Khārā, brackish water, 345 n 2.
- Kharābābād, City of Ruin, 393.
- Kharās, Maulāna Ḥasan ‘Alī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 587.
- Kharazat, shell for polishing, 630 n 1.
- Khārī, brackish water, 345 n 2.
- Khār-i-Aqrab, a name of the planet Mars, 195 n 1.
- Khārijis, a sect of Muḥammadan heretics, 157 and n 2.
- Khār-i-Mughailān, a thorny tree, 624 n 1.
- Kharisur, country of, 468 n 2.
- Kharkū, the chief of Kaithar at the time of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 nn 5 and 7.
- Khartang, a village near Samarcand, 6 n 3.
- Khas, a fragrant grass, 411 n 1.
- Khas Khas tatties, 411 n 1.
- Khāṣṣ-i-Khail, Chief of Cavalry, 439.
- Khātampūr. See under the township of Kūra Khātampūr.
- Khaṭā. See under Khiṭā.
- Khatāni musk, 426.
- Khathai, the country of Khiṭā (Cathay), 143 n 4, 147 n 1.
- Khaṭib, Al.—the Historian of Baghdād, 17 n 2.
- Khaṭibpūr, town of, 389 n 3.
- Khaṭīrū-d-Dīn, Khwāja-i-Jahān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Kaiqubād Balbāni, 220, 222.
- Khatra, country of, 408 n 4.
- Khatrī family, the,—protégés of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 and n 3, 897.
- Khatt, meanings of the word, 615 n 5.
- Khatt-i-Bābāri (the Bābāri script), invented by Emperor Bābar, 450.
- Khatṭu, a village near Nāgor, 357 n 3.
- Khaulah, wife of ‘Abdu-l-lah ibnu-z-Zubair, the Khalīfah of al-Hijāz, 287 n 2.
- Khawāf, a district and town in Khurāsān, 609 n 5.
- Khawāfi, Zainu-d-Dīn. See under Khāfi.
- Khawārij, the,—a sect of Muḥammadan heretics, 157 n 2.
- Khawāriqu-l-Ādat, meaning of the expression, 424 n 9.
- Khawāṣṣpūr, a dependency of Rohtās 466, 468, 512.
- Khawāṣṣ Khān, one of the Maliks of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 418, 419.
- Khawāṣṣ Khān, servant of Sher Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 457, 468, 474, 486, 487, 488, 489, 492, 493, 494, 495, 512, 525, 537.
- Khāwind Naqshbandī, Khwāja, contemporary of Bābar, 446.
- Khazāinu-l-Futūh, known also as the Tarīkh-i-‘Alāi, 252 and n 1, 266.

- Khilī, the betel in the form it is offered for sale, 303 n.
- Khiljī, the,—a Turkish tribe of Ghūr, 81 n 2, 86, 88 & 1, 191, 230 & 1, 231.
- Khiljī, son of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muhammād Sām Ghūrī, 69.
- Khiljī, Rāo, Governor of the fort of Bhaṭ at the time of Timūr's invasion, 355 n 4.
- Khiljī Sultāns, the, 475.
- Khiljis, the. See under the tribe of Khiljī.
- Khing bud, or the white idol, one of two enormous images in Bāmiān, 46 n 1.
- Khirad Nāma, one of the works of Maulānā Jāmī, 272 n 1.
- Khīrī, a flower, 173 and n 3.
- Khitān (Cathay), country of, 125, 143 and n 4, 170, 172 n 2, 232 n 5.
- Khitāb, the Afghān, Malik,—one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 335.
- Khitāī Kings of Turkistān, 71 and n 7.
- Khizr, the Prophet, 92 n 2, 267, 282, 372 and n 3, 373 n, 485 and n 1.
- Khizr Khān, son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 256, 258, 266, 267 and n 1, 268, 272, 275, 276, 281, 283, 284.
- Khizr Khān, Masnad-i-'Alī, ibn Maliku-sh-Sharq ibn Malik Suleimān,—first of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 335, 343, 352, 358, 359, 360, 362, 363, 364, 365 and n 4, 375, 376, 378, 379 and n 2, 380, 381 and n 3, 384, 388 and n 1, 395, 400 n, 409.
- Khizr Khān, Saiyyid, son of Malik Mubāruk,—one of the Amirs of Masnad-i-'Alī Khizr Khān, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378.
- Khizr Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Gāuria, Governor of Kor, assumes the title of Sultān Muḥammad Bahādur, 556.
- Khizr Khān Sarak, one of the commanders of Shīr Shāh, 474.
- Khizr Khwāja Khān, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 591.
- Khizrābād, a name of Chitor, 258.
- Khocares, the, 129 n 1. See the Khūkhars.
- Khondī, Shāh Tāhir, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 626 n 6. See under Shāh Tāhir.
- Khoozdār, town of, 48 n 4. See under Kusdar.
- Khor, otherwise known as Shams-ābād, 384 and n 4.
- Khorāsān. See under Khurāsān.
- Khudādād, name of an elephant of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 25 and n 3.
- Khudādād, brother of Jalāl Khān Jilwānī, one of the Afghān Amirs of Islam Shāh, 490.
- Khndāwanda-i-Jahān, title of Shāh Turkān, mother of Ruknā-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh, son of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98 n 1.
- Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Dīn, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.
- Khūkhār Rāi, Chief of Kaithar, contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 and n 5.
- Khūkhars, the,—a tribe of the Hindus, 67 and n 3, 72, 89, 121, 129 and n 1, 335.

- Khulāfā-e-Rāshidīn, the rightly-guided Khalifahs, 3 and n 6.
- Khul Gānw, one of the dependencies of Lakhnautī, 416.
- Khulūf, signification of the word, 176 n 1.
- Khumak, meaning of, 155 n 3.
- Khünzā, Bibi, Malika-i-Jahān, chief wife of Sultān Husain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 409 and n 2.
- Khūran, Shaikh, one of the Hindūstānī Amirs of Bābar, 444, 445.
- Khurāsān, 12 n 1, 13 n 1, 14 n 1, 15, 16 and n 2, 27 n 1, 29 and n 6, 32 n 1, 34 n 2, 35 nn 1 and 2, 42 n 1, 45 n 2, 49, 51, 52 n 1, 55 n 3, 59 n 1, 62, 64, 65 n 2, 132, 167 n 3, 250, 272 n 1, 305, 310, 320, 321, 353, 443, 449, 509, 588, 609 n 5, 632.
- Khurram, Malik, the Vakīldar,—one of the Amirs of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 242.
- Khurram, Malik, Zahīru-l-Juyūsh, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 302.
- Khushanjar, Malik, 390 n 8. See Malik Khushkhabr.
- Khushkhabr, Malik, the slave of Malik Sikandar, the Governor of Lāhor under the Saiyyids, 390 and n 8.
- Khusrau Ghāzi, Sultān Muizzu-d-Dīn Muhammād Sām Ghūrī, 75.
- Khusrau Malik, son of Khusrau Shāh, the last of the Ghaznevide dynasty, 14, 62 and n 3, 63 and n and n 1, 64 n 1, 66, 67.
- Khusrau Shāh, son of Bahram Shāh, Ghaznawī, 61, 62 and nn 3 and 4, 63 n 1, 64 and n 1, 67.
- Khusrū, an ancient king of Persia, 136, 216.
- Khusrū, Amir,—one of the Amirs of Bābar, 437.
- Khusrū, Amir—or,
- Khusrū, Mīr, the famous poet of Dihlī, 96 and n 2, 134 and n 4, 187, 187 and n 2, 188 n 5, 196 and n 1, 197 n 1, 205 n 2, 216, 221, 222, 223, 232, 245, 247 n, 251, 252 and n 3, 256, 264, 266, 267 n 1, 269 and n 5, 270 and nn 1 and 6, 271 and n 4, 273 nn 3 and 4, 274 n 1, 275 and n 1, 298, 301, 339, 340, 455, 610 n 4, 611 n.
- Khusrū Dehlavī, Mīr, the poet. See the above.
- Khusrū Khān, Hasan Barāwar bacha, the favorite of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 274, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 269, 297.
- Khusrū Khān, son of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 219, 220 and n 2, See under Kaikhusrū.
- Khusrū bād, town of, 389.
- Khusrū-i-Shā'irān, Prince of Poets, title of Mīr Khusrū the famous poet of Dihlī, 269.
- Khusrū-o-Shirin of Shaikh Nizāmī, the poet, being one of his Khamsah, 298 n 4.
- Khusūf, an eclipse of the moon, 163 n 1.
- Khuṭbah, public prayer in the name of the sovereign, 3 n 3, 15 and n 3, 83 and n 3.
- Khūtpūr town, 389 and n 3, 390 and n 5.
- Khūtrā, Bibi, chief wife of Sultān Husain Sharqī, of Jaunpūr, 4. 9 n 2.

- Khuza'a, a tribe of the Arabs, 28 n 1.
Khuzdār, the capital of Jhālawān in Bilūchistān, 48 n 4.
Khwāja Amīr, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 446.
Khwāja Bāyazid, eldest son of Sultān Buhlāl Lodī, 401 n 4, 410 n 1, 414.
Khwāja Ghīyāṣ Vazir, Salmān Sīwājī's *Qaṣidah* in his honour, 605.
Khwāja Hāji, one of the Generals of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 265 n 6.
Khwāja-i-Jahān, Malik Aḥmad Aiyyāz, one of the Maliks of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, 309, 313, 315, 323 and n 3, 328.
Khwāja-i-Jahān, Malik Khaṭīrū-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbāni dynasty, 220, 222.
Khwāja-i-Jahān, Sultānu-sh-Shārq, one of the Maliks of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty, 348 and n 9, 359.
Khwāja Khiżr, a ford on the river Jumna, 220.
Khwāja Khiżr. See under Khiżr, the Prophet.
Khwāja Mu'azzam, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 568.
Khwāja Rashīd Vazir, Mir Saiyyid Zul-l-fiqār Shirwāni's *Qaṣidah* in his honour, 605.
Khwāndgār, title of the Sultān of Rūm, 480.
Khwāndī, Shāh Tāhir, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624 and n 6. See under Shāh Tāhir.
Khwāndī family, the, 624.
Khwārazm, a country on both banks of the Oxus, 23 and n 1, 27 nn 1 and 2, 29, 71, 90, 133 n 2.
Khwārazm, Sea of,—the Lake Aral, 153 n 1.
Khwārazmians, the, 71, 90.
Khwārazm Shāh, 'Abbās ibn Māmūn, ruler of Khwārazm at the time of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 23.
Khwārazm Shāh Altun Tāsh, an officer of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī whom he appoints governor of Khwārazm, 23.
Khwārazm Shāhi dynasty, the 23 n 1, 91 n 1.
Khyrābād, or Khairābād, in the Province of Multān, 389 n 4, 402, 546.
Kibār, an enigma on this name, 615 and n 5.
Kicha, fort of, in the vicinity of Dihlī, 364. See the next.
Kichā, a ford on the banks of the Jamna, 396, 406 and n 6. See the above.
Kikar, the *Acacia Arabica*, 335 n 10, 550 n 1.
Kilan Rāī, the Rājā of Patialā, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 413 n 8.
Kili, town of, 250 nn 4 and 5, 311 and n 5.
Kilūghārī or Kilūkhārī, a suburb of Dehlī, 98 and n 3.
Kilūghārī, Palace of, on the banks of the Jumna, called also the Mu'izzī palace, 220, 227, 228, 229, 231.
Kilūkhārī. See under Kilūghārī.
Kīmiyā, Alchemy, 244 and n 6.
Kings of Ghaznī, the, 16 n 2.
Kings of Lahore, of the Ghaznivide Dynasty, 18 n 1.
Kinjā, a huge elephant, 364 n 1.

- Kinkuteh**, fort of, one of the dependencies of Malot, 437 n 7.
- Kinū**, 411 n 9. See under **Shaikh Samī'�-d-Dīn Kānbū**.
- Kiran**, Rāī, ruler of Bhūngānw, contemporary of Sultān Buhlūl Lodi, 403 and n 5, 404 n 2.
- Kiri**, fortress of, 44 and n 8.
- Kirmān**, province of, 78 and n 3, 91.
- Kisā'i**, Al,—the celebrated Grammatician and Reader of the Qur'ān, 30 n 1.
- Kishan**, son of Basudev,—worshipped by the Hindus as a divinity, 24, 28.
- Kishan Rāī**, the Rājā of Patialā, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 413 n 8.
- Kishlī Khān**, title of Malik Chhajū, brother's son to Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 227, 229, 230, 231. See also under Chhajū.
- Kishlū Khān**, title of Bahrām Iba (q. v.), the adopted brother of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 207, 323 n 8.
- Kishwar Khān**, son of Kishlū Khān Bahrām, one of the servants at the Court of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 323 n 3.
- Kisrā**, the Chosroes, title of the Kings of Persia, 145 and n 2.
- Kistī**, ford of, 548 and n 3.
- Kūtūbū-l-Milā wa-n-Nihāl**, Cureton's 22 n 3.
- Kittah Beg**, one of the Amirs of Bābār, 438.
- Kizil Arslān**, son of Ildighiz, one of the Atābaks of Āzrbaijān, 158 n 3.
- Knight of the Seven Places**, the seven labours of Isfandiyyār, 103 and n 2.
- Koela**, called also **Kola**, country of, 231.
- Koh**, town of, 261.
- Koh-i-Jehoud**,—or
- Koh-i-Jūd**, the mountainous region between Ghazna and Lahore, 16 and n 1, 128 n 3. See also under the Jūd hills.
- Koh-i-Qāf**, a fabulous mountain round the world, 485.
- Kohpāya-i-Sanbūz**, the Kumāon hills, 186 n 1.
- Kōkā**, the Rānī of Mālwā, contemporary of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 264 and n 4.
- Koka**, the Rājā of Mālwā, contemporary of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 264 n 4.
- Kol**, fort of, in the province of Agra, 70 and n 4, 98, 231, 363, 379.
- Kol**, *pargana* of, better known as *Mawās* (q. v.), 431 n 4.
- Kola**, called also Koela, country of, 231.
- Koonbhā**, or Kanhaiyā (q.v.), minister of Rāī Māldeo, 478 n 7.
- Koorban** festival, the, 488 n 5. See under 'Idu-l-Qurbān.
- Kor**, country of, 556.
- Kora**, town in Fathpūr district, N.-W. P., called also Kūra **Khātampūr** (q. v.), 486 n 6.
- Koram**, for the country of Kuhrām (q. v.), 80 n 1.
- Korān**. See under the Qur'ān.
- Korān**, Sale's, 499 n 5.
- Kornish**, a mode of salutation, 501 and n 7.

- Kos**, a measure of length, 132 n 8.
- Kota**, town of, 387 and n 1. Called also Mālikota.
- Kotila** of Miwāt, 344 and n 7, 345, 347, 352, 381, 384 n 1. Called also Kotla and Kūtila (*q.v.*).
- Kot Karor**, fort of, 133 n 2.
- Kotla**, village of, 352. See also Kotila of Miwāt.
- Koṭlā**, a Hindi word meaning 'a small fortress,' 344 n 7.
- Kotwāl** of Dihlī, Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhrn-d-Din, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din Qaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 220 nn 2 and 3, 227, 229, 233, 260 n 2.
- Kowah**, the 329 n 2. Same as the Gunti, which is also called the Godi (*q.v.*)
- Krishna**, the god of the Hindūs, 24 n 6, 478 n 7.
- Kroh**, from the Sanskrit *krosh*, a measure of length, 69 n 5, 132 n 3.
- Krosa**, an ancient measure of length, 132 n 3.
- Krosh**, 69 n 5. See under Kroh.
- Kuch**, province of, 91.
- Kudāhma**, for the town of Lüdhiana, 382 n 2.
- Kūfah**, in Arabia 'Irāq, 12 n 1, 207 n 6.
- Kufr**, infidelity, 576 n 5, 577 n.
- Kuhanbāyat**, a well-known port of Gujrāt, 256 and n 4. See under Cambay.
- Kuḥl**, used as a collyrium, 153 and n 8.
- Kuhrām**, a country of Hindūstān, 70, 80, 131, 395.
- Kükā**, a Zamīndār of Miwāt, contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 387 and n 3. See the next.
- Kükā Chūhān**,—or.
- Kükāne Chanhān**, a Zamīndār of Miwāt, 387 and n 3. See under Kükā.
- Kuki**, Hājī Muḥammad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 578, 581, 586.
- Kū Kū**, the song of the dove, 144 and n 1.
- Kul Chand**, governor of the fortress of Mahāwun, 24 n 5. See Kal Chandar.
- Kul Chander Khākhar**, one of the servants of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309.
- Kulindrine** of Ptolemy, same as Jālan-dhar, the original capital of the Rājpūt kingdom of Katoch, 382 n 4.
- Kullāh**, a hat worn by men, 120 and n 7.
- Kulliyāt** of Shaikh Sa'dī of Shirāz, 187 n 2.
- Kumāon** hills, the, 186 n 1, 335, 379, 385, 489, 490, 495.
- Kunch**, one of the tribes between Tibet and Lakhnautī, 83 n 4, 84 n.
- Kun fakāna**, meaning in the technical language of Sūfi philosophy, 105 n 1.
- Kuntīl**, town of, 81 n 4. See Kuntīlah.
- Kuntīlah**, town of, the Kuntīl of the Indian Atlas, 81 n 4.
- Kūnwar Rāī**,—or
- Kurah**, the ruler of Qanauj at the time of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn's invasion, 28 and n 4.

- Kūra Khātampūr, township of, 480 and n 6, 489. See under Kora.
- Kurkān, or Gurgān, a title applied to a prince who is allied by marriage with some mighty monarch, 353 n 1.
- Kusdar, a town to the south of Bust, the present Khuzdār, 48 n 4.
- Kushk Sabzī, a palace in the Suburbs of Dihlī, 295 and n 10.
- Kushk-i-Sirī, a palace outside Dihlī, 295 n 10.
- Kusūf, an eclipse of the sun, 163 n 1.
- Kütīla, town of, 358 n 4. See under Kotila of Miwāt.
- Kūlam (Cavalum), in the country of Ma'būr or Coromandel, 265 n 5.
- Kuzil Bāsh. See under the Qizil Bāsh.

L.

- Lādan, resinous balsamic juice, 182 and n 1.
- Ladar Mahādeo, Rāi, ruler of Tilang, contemporary of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297, 299.
- Laddar Dev, the Rāi of Arangal, contemporary of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 265 n 4.
- Ladhar Mahādev, Rāi of Tilang. See under Ladar Mahādeo.
- Lahār,—or
- Lahāyar, a town in the vicinity of Gwāliār, 423 and n 5.
- Lāhor. See under Lahore.
- Lahore, 13 and n 1, 15 n 1, 26, 36 n 8, 37, 48, 54 and nn 1 and 2, 61, 62 and n 3, 63, 66, 67, 69, 72, 78, 79, 80, 81, 87, 88 n 1, 90, 91, 97, 98 n 2, 128, 130, 131, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 199, 221, 305, 309, 332, 347, 349, 358 and n 6, 359, 383, 389, 390, 391, 392, 399, 435, 436, 437, 442, 453, 456, 462, 463, 464, 465, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 530, 590, 592 and n 6, 594, 596. The name is also written Lāhor.
- Lahore, Kings of, 13 n 1.
- Lahore, river of,—the Rāvī, 128, 188, 190, 191, 465.
- Lahorī, a servant of the Mughūl, the captor of Mir Khusrū, the famous poet, 196.
- Lāhorīs, the, 592.
- Lailī, the mistress of Majnūn, 620.
- Lailī-o-Majnūn of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.
- Lailī-o-Majnūn of Mir Khusrū of Dihlī, 269 n 5.
- Lailī-o-Majnūn of Shaikh Niẓāmī, 298 n 4.
- Lak-Bakhsh, the bestower of lakhs, surname of Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn Aibak, 77 and n 4, 78.
- Lakhmia, Rāi,—or
- Lakminīa, Rāi, the ruler of Nadīyā, contemporary of Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn Aibak, 82 and n 5, 83 n 1.
- Lakhnau, 411 n 2, 471.
- Lakhnautī, the ancient capital city of Bengal, 81 n 2, 82 and n 3, 83 n 4, 84 n, 86, 87, 88 n 1, 91, 94, 125 and n 3, 132, 133, 185, 186, 216,

- 218, 219 and n 3, 221 n 3, 222, 223,
227, 238, 239, 240, 299, 301, 308,
309, 324, 327, 328, 341, 349, 416.
Lakshman Sen, son of Ballâl Sen,
King of Bengal, 82 n 4.
Lakshmanâwati, original name of
Lakhnautî (q. v.), 82 n 3.
Lakhmaniya, Râî, the ruler of Nadiya,
83 n 1. See under Lakminia.
Lamâî, Mahmûd bin Aşmân, author
of a Turkish romance on the loves
of Wâmiq and 'Azrâ, 40 n 1.
Lamghân, a town in the mountains
of Ghaznah, 15 n 2.
Lamghânât, the general name of a
collection of places in the moun-
tains of Ghaznah, 15 and n 2.
La'n, cursing, an element of faith
with the Shi'ah, 636.
Lane's Arabian Nights, 148 n 1.
Lane's Lexicon of the Arabic Language,
2 n 1, 7 n 1, 8 n 4, 10 n 1, 142 n 8,
145 n 1, 147 n 3, 151 n 6, 162 n 4,
163 n 1, 176 n 1, 190 n 5, 194 n 6,
195 n 4, 198 n 2, 278 n 4, 371 n 5,
372 n 2, 412 n 1, 424 n 9, 426 n 9,
429 n 1, 441 n 2, 457 n 7, 516 n 2,
527 n 3, 548 n 14, 614 n 2, 622 n 4,
630 n 6.
Lane's Modern Egyptians, 177 n 4,
192 n 3, 503 n 2.
Langâhs, the tribe of, in Multân, 398.
Langana, a town at the junction of
the Chinâb and Râvî, 355 n 1.
Laqwa or facial paralysis, notes on,
226 n 5.
Lâr, the country of, on the coast of
Guzerât, 17 n 4.
Larâs, Great—, town of, 326 n, 327
n 1.
- Larâs**, Little—, town of, 326 n, 327
n 1.
Lâri Bandar, an ancient port of Sind,
67 n 1.
Lârjal, mountains of,—the mountains
of Sirinor, 307 n 4.
Lât, idol worshipped by the Arabs,
12 n 1, 110 n 3.
Laṭâif-i-Ghiyâṣî of Imâm Fâkhrû-d-
Dîn Razî, 78 and n 1.
Lazarns, brother of Martha and Mary,
198 n 2.
**Le Strange's translation of Ibn Sera-
pion**, 571 n 2.
Letâif El-Ghiyâthiyeh, 78 n 1. See
under Laṭâif-i-Ghiyâṣî.
Leyden, Dr., translator of the com-
mentaries of Bâbar, 421 n 8.
Libra, sign of the Zodiac, notes on, 75
n 2, 76 n, 142 n 2.
**Library of the Asiatic Society of
Bengal**, 511 n 2, 609 n 3.
Life of Khwâja 'Alî Shâfranjî, Auha-
di's, 114 n 2.
Life of Mahomet, Muir's, 97 n 4, 105
n 2, 149 n, 216 n.
Lîgh, a Turkî termination, 589 n 5.
Lily, notes on the, 100 n 5, 101 n 1.
Linnæus, 109 n 4.
Lion Dynasty of Orissa, called the
Gajpati or Lords of Elephants, 125
n 3.
Liq, lîgh, lüq or lûgh, a Turkî termi-
nation, 589 n 5.
Lisânn-l-Mulk, author of the *Nâsiḥat-Tawârîkh*, 154 n 8.
Little Larâs, town of, 326 n, 327 n 1.
Lizard, story of a, 110 n 3.
Lobâb, the,—a geographical work, 80
n. See also under *al-Lubâb*.

- Looch Awe, 301 n 3.
- Lodī, Shaikh Ḥamīd, first ruler of Multān, 19 n 5.
- Lodī family of Afghāns in Dihlī, 402, 411, 430, 443, 470.
- Lodī party in Hindūstān, the, 407, 409, 412 n 2. See the above.
- Logos, the, 374 n 5.
- Lohar Kot,—or
- Lohkot, name of a fortress in Kashmīr, 22 and n 7, 26.
- Lohrī, township of, near to Bakkar, now called Rohri, 559 and n 6, 560.
- Lōmasā*, a Sanskrit name of the Indian Spikenard or *nard*, 374 n.
- Lonā, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Khīzr Khān, first of the Saiyyid dynasty, 375.
- Lounī, 356 n 1. See under Lūnī.
- Love-lies-bleeding, called *būstān aṣrūz*, 629 n 1.
- Lowe's translation of the Second Volume of Budāoni's *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh*, 592 n 9.
- Lower Bengal, 303 n.
- Lubdb*, a geographical work, 36 n 3. See also the *Lobāb*.
- Lubābu-l-Albāb*, a Tazkira by Muḥammad Ūfi of Merv, 83 n 1.
- Lubbu-t-*Tawārikh* of Yāhyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Latīf Qazwīnī Dimishqī, 34, 49 and n 3, 51, 624 and n 9.
- Lubbu-t-*Tawārikh-i-Hind*, 69 n 2.
- Lud, a village of Palestine, 279 n.
- Lūdhīāna, town of, 380 n 2, 382 and nn 2 and 3.
- Ludhiānā District of the Panjāb, 590 n 5.
- Ludhiānā river, the, 382.
- Lūdiānā. See under Lūdhīāna.
- Lāğh*, a Turkī termination, 569 n 5.
- Lūhānī Afghāns, the, 413 and nn 3 and 12, 444, 470 and n 2, 537 and n 5.
- Luhṛasp, an ancient King of Persia, 35 n 2.
- Luhrī, a township near Bakkar, now called Rohri, 559 n 6.
- Lūnī, one of the fords of the Rāvī, 383 n 10.
- Lūnī, a town near Dihlī, on a Doāb between the Jamna and the Hulīn, 356 and n 1.
- Lāq*, a Turkī termination, 569 n 5.
- Lürak, the hero of a *Muṣnawī* in Hindi, lover of Chāndā, 333. See under Chandāban.
- Lyall's *Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry*, 99 n 6.
- Lyre, the constellation, 630 n 1.

M.

- Ma'add ibn 'Adnān, ancestor of the Arabs of the Ḥijāz, 12 n 1.
- Ma'ārik, battle-fields, 622 and n 6.
- Ma'arri, Abu-l-'Alā' Al-—, a famous Arab poet, 183 n 1.
- Ma'bar, country of, (Coromandel), 261 n 5, 265 and nn 5 and 6, 283, 286, 309.
- Macan, Mr. Turner, editor of the *Shāh-nāmah*, 88 n 1, 103 n 2, 116 n 5, 178 n 2, 207 n 7, 435 n 2.

- Macbeth, Shakesper's, 115 *n* 4.
 Machhlīgār̄, township in Jaunpūr,
 417 *n* 4.
 Māchīn, country of, 147 and *n* 1.
 Māchīn, son of Chin, son of Japhet,
 147 *n* 1.
 Māchiwāra, an ancient city on the
 banks of the Sutlej, in the Lādhī-
 āna District of the Panjab, 380
 n 2, 418 *n* 9, 590 and *n* 5.
 Madā, one of the servants of Islam
 Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty,
 530.
Madad-i-ma'āsh, rent-free land, 424
 and *n* 3, 496 and *n* 1, 509 and
 n 8, 520.
 Madāin, the capital of the Sassanide
 dynasty of Persia, near Baghdād,
 572 *n* 1.
 Madan Khān, or Qadr Khān, son of
 Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khilji, of Mālwa,
 399 *n* 1.
 Madārān, name of a place, 99 *n* 2.
 Madārik, the sources from which are
 sought the ordinances of the law,
 429 and *n* 1.
 Madda, the cross line over the *Alif*
 mamduhah, 634 and *n* 1.
 Mādhugār̄, for the fortress of
 Bāndhugār̄, 417 *n* 7.
 Madrael, for the fortress of Mandrā-
 yal (*q. v.*), 420 *n* 5.
 Magadh, an ancient kingdom of
 Hindūstān, 82 *n* 1, 182 *n* 3.
 Maghlatī, Malik,—one of the Amirs
 of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji, 238.
 Maghrib, Sea of,—the Atlantic, 153
 n 1.
 Magians, the, 509 *n* 5.
 Magic, notes on, 151 *n* 6, 459 *n* 2.
 Mahāban, a fortress on the banks of
 the river Jon, 24 *n* 3.
 Mahābat Khān, the Wāli of Badāon,
 under the Firuz Shāhi and Saiyid
 dynasties, 375, 377, 379, 384 and
 n 2.
 Mahābbat, religious love or worldly
 affection, 576 *n* 5, 577 *n*.
 Mahābhārata, the, 185 *n* 1, 380 *n* 2.
 Mahā Chin, country of, 147 *n* 1.
 Mahādeo,—or
 Mahādeva, the chief of the Hindū
 gods, 27 *n* 4, 256 *n* 4, 293 *n* 5, 454,
 n 6.
 Mahākāl, name of the idol temple of
 Ujain, 95.
 Māham Anaga or,—
 Māham Anka, one of the wet-nurses
 of Akbar, 580 and *n* 5.
 Mahandūrī river, the, 329 and *n* 7.
 Maharashtra or Marhaṭ, country of
 the Marhattas, 265 *n* 4.
 Mahāwan, a township on the Jamna,
 444. See also the next.
 Mahāwūn, a fortress on the banks of
 the river Jon, 24 and *n* 3. See also
 the above.
 Mahdawī, Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgor
 (*q. v.*), 516.
 Mahdawis, the,—the followers of
 Shaikh 'Alā'i of Baiāna (*q. v.*),
 520.
 Mahdawiyah, the—a sect of Muslim
 heretics, 626 and *n* 3.
 Mahd-i-'Irāq, sister of Sulṭān Sinjar,
 and wife of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn
 Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm
 Ghaznawī, 55 *n* 4.
 Mahdī, the promised, 420 and *n* 8,
 608, 512, 513, 514, 515 and *n* 4,

- 516, 517, 520, 522, 571 and *nn* 1 and 2, 589.
- Mahdī Khwāja, Saiyyid, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 440, 444.
- Mahdī, son of al-Manṣūr, the ‘Abbāside Khalīfah, 75 *n*.
- Mahdī, Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr, 420 and *n* 8, 421.
- Mahdūda, Amīr, for Amīr Majdūd, son of Sultān Maṣṭūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 44 *n* 1.
- Mah-dum*, a kind of bird and a pigeon, 152 and *n* 3.
- Mahfil-shikān, or the assembly room, a title of the famous controversialist Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aūliyā, 71 *n* 2.
- Mahjaulī, a village in the Gorakhpur District on the banks of the Gāndak, 409 and *n* 5.
- Mahligārī, township in Jaunpūr, 417 and *n* 4.
- Mahmūd Gasnavī, 66 *n* 7. See under Maḥmūd Ghaznawī.
- Maḥmūd, one of the servants of Islem Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 530.
- Maḥmūd ibn Aṣmān Lamānī, author of a Turkish romance on the loves of Wāmiq and ‘Azwā, 40 *n* 1.
- Maḥmūd of Badāon, Saiyyid,—brother of Saiyyid Muḥammad, governor of Badāon under Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 *n* 6.
- Maḥmūd of Bihār, Sultān, 435 *n* 7. See under Sultān Muḥammad of Bihār.
- Maḥmūd Ghaznawī,—or
- Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, Sultān, son of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Sabuktigīn, 13 and *n* 1, 15, 16 and *nn* 1 and 2, 17, 18, 19, 20 and *n* 4, 23 and *nn* 2 and 3, 24, 25, 26, 27 and *n* 4, 28 and *n* 4, 29 and *n* 3, 30 and *n* 2, 31 *n*, 32 and *n* 1, 33 and *n* 2, 35, 36 *n* 6, 44, 45 *n* 3, 50, 64 and *n* 1, 66 *n* 7, 72, 256, 310, 365 *n* 8.
- Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, Sultān, contemporary of Islem Shāh of the Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 533, 534.
- Maḥmūd Ḥasan, Maliqu-sh-Sharq, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 and *n* 11, 386, 387.
- Maḥmūd ibn Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn, 54 *n* 3.
- Maḥmūd Khān, the son of ‘Ādil Khān, son of Shīr Shāh Sūr, 477 and *n* 2, 490.
- Maḥmūd Khān, son of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297.
- Maḥmūd Khān Lodi, one of the Maliks of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 414 *n* 2, 422 *n* 4.
- Maḥmūd Khān, grandson of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwā, 424 *n* 6.
- Maḥmūd, Khān-i-Khānān, son of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231, 232, 233.
- Maḥmūd Khiljī, Sultān of Mālwā, contemporary of the Lodi dynasty in Dihlī, 398, 399, 424 and *n* 4, 425, 432, 433.
- Maḥmūd, father of Mir Khusrū, the celebrated poet of Dihlī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 269 *n* 5.
- Maḥmūd Mālwī, Sultān, 230. See under Maḥmūd Khiljī, the Sultān of Mālwā.

- Mahmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Sām ibn Ḫusain**, 78. See Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn
- Mahmūd**, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn
- Muhammad Sām** Ḡūrī.
- Mahmūd Sālim**, a servant of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 243.
- Mahmūd Shāh**, 136. See Sultān
- Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish.
- Mahmūd Shāh**, Sultān, ibn-i-Muham-
- mad Shāh ibn Firoz Shāh, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 348, 349, 350, 351, 354, 356, 357, 358 n 6, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365 and n 5, 366 and n 5, 367 and n, 368, 369, 370, 375, 376, 380.
- Mahmūd Sharqī** of Jaunpūr, Sultān, contemporary of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 402, 403 and nn 3 and 7, 420 n 8.
- Mahmūd**, Sultān, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, the ruler of Patna, 470, 471 and n 1.
- Mahmūd I**, Sultān, 420 n 8. See Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī of Jaunpūr.
- Mahmūd Tarmatī**, Malik, one of the Amirs of Mahmūd Shāh of the Firoz Shāhī dynasty, 363.
- Mahmūd ibn Tughlaq Shāh**, for Sultān Muhammad ibn Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 135 n.
- Mahmūd Zābulī**, a name of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, 17.
- Mahnah**, a small town between Abī-ward and Sarakhs in Khurāsān, 43 and n 2.
- Mahoba**, district of, 335.
- Mahomed Qūsim**. See under Muhammad ibn Qāsim as-Saqafī.
- Mahometans**, the, 80 n 5, 82 n 1, 129 n 2. See also under the Muham-
- madans and the Muslims.
- Mahtah**, a small town in Khurāsān, 43 n 2.
- Māhurā** or **Mathra**, a sacred city of the Hindūs, 24 n 6.
- Maihana**, a small town between Abī-ward and Sarakhs in Khurāsān, 43 n 2.
- Mainpūrī**, town of, 377 n 5, 386 n 3, 414 n 13.
- Mainpūrī District**, 386 n 3.
- Mainpūrī Chauhāns**, a tribe of Rāj-
- pūts, 414 n 13.
- Maisir**, *Al-*, a game of the ancient Arabs, 369 n 1.
- Maithilī country**, the, 286.
- Majbaristān**, province of, 84 and nn 6 and 7.
- Majdūd**, Aūnīr, son of Sultān Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 44 n 1.
- Majhanlī**, a village in the Gorakhpūr District on the north bank of the Gandak, 409 n 5.
- Majma'u-l-Baḥrain** of Šaikh Nāṣif, containing his Maqāmāt, 369 n 1.
- Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā**, Lives of the Poets, 17 nn 1 and 3, 35 n 1, 38 n 4, 46 n 4, 53 n, 54 nn 1, 2 and 3, 56 nn 2 and 3, 73 n 1, 76 n, 78 n 2, 99 nn 2; 3 and 4, 106 n 6, 134 n 3, 135 n, 165 n 1, 187 n 2, 270 n 6, 271 n 4, 297 n, 298 n 4, 339 n 4, 341 nn 1 and 2, 571 n 9, 582 n, 584 n.
- Majūn**, the hero of the romance of *Lailī-o-Majnūn*, lover of Lailī, 620.
- Makhdūm ‘Ālam**, the Governor of Hajipūr, one of the Amirs of the

- Wālī of Bangāla, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 469, 470.
- Makhdūm. Ganjshakar, Shaikh Fari-dū-d Dīn Mās'ūd, 132. See under Ganji-shakkar.
- Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Sayyidu-s-Sādāt Shaikh Jalālu-l-Haqq al-Bukhārī, 376.
- Makhdūma-i-Jahān, mother of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 391.
- Makhdūma-i-Jahān, mother of Sultān Muḥammad, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 303.
- Makhdūmu-l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu-llāh of Sultānpūr, Shaikhul-Islām and Šadru-s-Šudūr under Islem Shāh, 506 and n 2, 513, 514, 515, 517, 518, 519, 521, 523, 525, 584.
- Makhdūmzāda-i-'Abbās of Baghdād, a prince of the House of 'Abbās, the Khalīfahs of Baghdād, 311 and n 4, 322.
- Makhdūmzāda-i-Baghdādī, Prince Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, 311 n 4. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Makhzan-i-Asrār of Shaikh Nizāmī, being one of his five works called collectively Khamṣa-i-Nizāmī, 298 n 4, 449 and n 2.
- Makhzanu-l-Adviyah, a work on medicine, 41 n 2, 101 n 1, 109 n 4, 117 n 4, 118 n, 172 n 2, 182 n 4, 452, 484 n 1, 535 n 2, 550 n 1, 586 n, 627 n 2.
- Makhzanu-l-Asrār of Shaikh Nizāmī, 298 n 4. See under Makhzan-i-Asrār.
- Makka, city of, 8 and n 4, 21 n 1, 51, 56, 110 n 4, 111 n, 133 n 2, 149 n, 151 n 2, 158 n I, 176 n, 216 n, 279 n, 368 n 1, 420 and n 8, 443, 450, 480 and nn 1 and 5, 504, 507, 508, 582, 583 and n 4, 585 and nn 1 and 6, 600 n 9, 634. See Mecca.
- Makrān, province of, 91.
- Mākūla. See under Ibn Mākūla.
- Malabar, 484 n 1.
- Malāgīr. See under Malayāgīr.
- Malēnwah, township of, 598 n 10.
- Malāün, a hill fort in the Panjāb, 598 and n 10.
- Malāwah, township of, 598 n 10.
- Malayāgīr, the yellow sandal, uses of, 484 n 1.
- Malayālam or Malabar, 484 n 1.
- Mäldeo, Rāī, the ruler of Nāgor and Jaunpūr and Rējā of the kingdom of Mārwār, contemporary of Sher Shāh and Humāyūn, 476, 477, 478, 479, 562, 563, 564 and n 6, 565 n 1.
- Malfūzāt-i-Tīmūri, the, 355 nn 1 and 4, 356 n 5, 358 nn 2, 4 and 6, 366 n 1, 386 n 8.
- Malgarh, fortress of, 500 n 8.
- Malhab, name of a place, 258 and n 4.
- Malik Ahmad, son of Amir Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 339, 340.
- Mālik ibn Anas, founder of the Mālikī School of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence, 18 n 1, 59 n 1.
- Mālik al-Aṣṭar, one of the Generals of 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib, the fourth Khalifah, 157 n 2, 158 n.
- Malik Chhajū. See under Chhajū.
- Malik Shāh Saljūqī, Sultān, of the Saljūqī dynasty in Khurāsān, 38 n 4, 40, 55 and n 3.

- Malika-i-Jahān**, daughter of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn of Badāon, 405.
- Malika-i-Jahān**, the Queen-consort of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 272.
- Malika-i-Jahān Bibi Khūnzā**, chief wife of Sultān Husain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 409 and n 2.
- Malika-i-Jahān**, the Queen-consort of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 237, 244, 247 n.
- Malik-i-Jahān**, mother of Nāshiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Sham-sū-d-Dīn Iyāl-timish, 131.
- Malikhūlā**, Melancholia, definition of, 5 and n 3.
- Malikota**, town of, 387 n 1.
- Maliku-l-Kalām**, or Lord of Eloquence, a literary title, 134.
- Maliku-l-Kalām Fakhru-l-Mulk 'Amīd Tūlakī** (Lūmakī), 99 and n 4. See 'Amid Lūmakī.
- Maliku-l-munajjimīn**, or Prince of Astrologers, 622 and n 2.
- Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn**, the Kotwāl of Dihli, one of the Amirs of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, of the Balbanī dynasty, 220 nn 2 and 3, 227, 229, 260 and n 2, 261 and n 4.
- Maliku-sh-Sharq 'Imādu-l-Mulk Maḥmūd Hasan**, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty, 383, 386, 387, 392.
- Maliku-sh-Sharq Kamālu-l-Mulk**, the Vazīr, one of the Amirs of the Sayyid dynasty, 395, 396.
- Maliku-sh-Sharq Malik Sikandar**, Governor of Lāhor under Shaikh 'Alī of Kābul, 389.
- Maliku-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat**, called Nuṣrat Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 335.
- Maliku-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh** Qaranqal, the ruler of Jaunpūr, 360, 361.
- Maliku-sh-Sharq Suleimān**, son of Malik Marwān-i-Daulat, of the Amirs of Firoz Shāh, 335 and n 4, 352, 375.
- Malli**, the,—a people of the Panjab, 389 n 2.
- Malloo Khān**, brother of Sārang Khān, one of the Amirs of the Firoz Shāhī dynasty, 349 and n 10, 350 and n 3, 351, 354. See under Iqbāl Khān Malloo.
- Mallū Khān**, Governor of Mālwā, one of the slaves of the Khiljī Sultāns, 475.
- Malot**, in the Jhīlam District of the Panjab, 437 and n 8, 438 and n 7.
- Malūta**, district, 349.
- Mālwā**, or Mālwah, 95 and n 4, 129, 264 and n 4, 274, 292, 313, 379 n 2, 384 n 5, 385 n 3, 398, 399, 422 n 3, 423, 424 and n 4, 425, 432, 433, 454, 474, 475, 492, 495, 554.
- Ma'mūn**, Al-, the 'Abbāside Khalifah, 157 n 1.
- Man**, a weight, 72 n 4.
- Mān**, Rājā, the Governor of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sultān Buhlūl and Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 410, 414 and n 5, 432 and n 7.
- Manāt**, an idol worshipped by the old Arabs, 28 and n 1.
- Mandāgar**,—or
- Mandāgarh**, a town in the district of Agra, 552 and n 12.

- Mandākar, 552 n 12. See the above.
- Mandalayer, a fortress on the western bank of the Chambal, 420 n 5.
- Mandāwar, fortress of, 93 n 1, 233, 286.
- Mandawī, name of a place, 326 n 2.
- Mandilī, town of, 326 and n and n 2.
- Mandir, town of, 455.
- Mandlāer, town of, 420 n 5.
- Mandla Gārī, one of the two chief fortresses of the province of Bāndhū, 417 n 7.
- Mandler, town of, 420 n 5, 422 n 2.
- Mandrīyal, fortress of, 420 and n 5.
- Mandsūr, a dependency of Mūlwān, 454.
- Mandū, town of, 93 n 1, 472 and n 5. Called also Mandawar.
- Mandū (Mandilī), town of, 326 and n and n 2.
- Mandūr, fort of, 93 and n 1.
- Mandwar, town of, 93 n 1.
- Manér, or Munér, a town on the banks of the Ganges, 82 and n 1.
- Māngalātī, a Turkī word signifying advance-guard of an army, 592 n 5.
- Māngaph, fortress of, 500 and n 8, 527 and n 2.
- Mangburnī, Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, son of Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh,—the last of the Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty, 91 and n 1.
- Manghalātī, advance-guard of an army, 592 n 5.
- Mangsāl, fort of, variously called Walaj and Bajj, 84 n 7.
- Mangū Khān, nephew of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 269.
- Mangū Khān, infant son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.
- Mangūtah, the Mughūl, one of the Generals of Chingiz Khān, 126 n 1.
- Mānī, Mirzā, or Mīrzā Amānī (q. v.), a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 587 and n 3.
- Mānī Mālā, a treatise on gems, 631 n.
- Manīk, one of the blank arrows in the game of *māisir*, 369 n 1.
- Manījeh,—or
- Manizha, daughter of Afrāsiyāb, one of the heroines of the *Shāh-nāma*, 116 n 5, 180 and n 2.
- Mānīk, Malik, a slave of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251.
- Manik Deo, Rānī, the Rājā of Dholpūr, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and n 4.
- Manikganj, pass of,—in Gujrāt, 313.
- Mānīkpūr, district and town on the Ganges, 221, 241, 243, 247 n, 325, 411 n 2, 415, 468.
- Manikpūr, ford of, on the Ganges, 325.
- Mankarnin, for Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī (q. v.), 91 n 1.
- Mānkot, a fort in the northern hill-range of the Panjab, 498.
- Manoarpūr, town of, 93 n 1.
- Manqabat, use of the word, 627 n 3.
- Manqalātī, in Turkī the advance-guard of an army, 592 n 5.
- Mān Singh, Governor of Gwāliār, 414 n 5, 432 and n 7. See under Rājā Mān.
- Manṣūr, Al-, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 74 n 2.
- Manṣūr, Saiyyid, one of the Generals of Amir Muḥammad, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 46.
- Manṣūr, son of Sultān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 48.

- Mansūr ibn Nūh, of the dynasty of the Sūmānis, the Kings of Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n-Nahr, 13 n 1, 14 and n 1, 16 and n 2.
- Mansūr ibn Sa'íd, Khwāja, 94.
- Mansūrah, or Al-Mansūrah, old capital of Sindh, 36 and n 10.
- Mansūrpur, town, 98, 330.
- Manūchihir Shirwān Shāh, King of Khurāsān, patron of the famous poet Khāqānī, 583 n 4.
- Manūchihri Dāmaghānī, Hakim Abu-n-Najm Ahmad, a poet of the time of Sultān Mas'ud Ghaznawī, 46 and n 4.
- Maqāmāt of 'Amid Abū Naṣr, Al-Baihaqī's, 32 n.
- Maqāmāt of Qāzī Ḥamīd of Balkh, 76 n 1.
- Maqāmāt of Shaikh Ahmad Khatṭān, surnamed Ganjbahksh, 358.
- Maqāmāt-i-Harīrī, 348.
- Maqbūl, Malik, 337 n 7. Same as Khān-i-Jahān Malik Qubūl the Vazīr, of the Amīrs of Sultān Firoz Shāh.
- Mardhan Kot, or Bardhan Kot, a city of Tibet, 84 n.
- Magan, a Turkī word signifying 'an archer,' 250 and n 6.
- Marghūb, a slave of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 444.
- Marhabā, Malik, slave of Iqbūl Khān

Mārhara, township of, in the Doāb, 407 n 1. See also Mārhira.

Marhat or Maharashtra, country of the Marhattas, 265 and n 4, 283.

Marhattas, the, 283.

Mārhira,—or

Mārhira, town of, 123 and n 2. See under Mārhara.

Maria, sister of Martha and Lazarus, 198 n 2.

Mariam, the Mother of Jesus, 372 and n 1.

Mārī galah, fortress of, 46. Called also Mārikala (q. v.).

Mārikala, a frontier fort on the Jhilam river, 44 and n 6. Called also Mārkala and Mārī galah (q. v.).

Mārikala, a pass between Rāwal Pindī and Attock, 44 n 6.

Mārkala, on the Jhilam, 44 n 6. See under the Mārikala fort.

Markanda river, the, 330 n 7.

Mārī Muhra, a mineral of an emerald colour, 117 n 4.

Mars, notes on the planet, 217 n 5.

Martha, sister of Maria and Lazarus, 198 n 2.

Martyr Prince, the, 188 n 2, 199 n 3. See the Khān-i-Shahīd Sultān Muhammad, son of Sultān Ghīyāṣ-u-d-Dīn Balban.

Ma'rūf Farmalī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of the Lodi dynasty, 444.

Marv, a city of Khurāsān, 35. See under Merv.

Marwān, Malik, 335, 352. See under Marwān-i-Daulat.

Marwān ibn-l-Hakam, a Khalifah of the Umaiyyad dynasty, 59.

Marwān Daulat,—or

Marwān-i-Daulat, Maliku-sh-Sharq, Nāṣiru-l-Mulk Firuz Shāhī, Governor of Multān under Sultān Firoz Shāh, 335, 352, 376.

- Mārwanī**, Walid ibn ‘Abdu-l-Malik, the Umaiyyad Khalifah, 12 and n 2.
Mārwar, the country of, 384 n 3, 485, 476, 562, 563.
- Mashhad** (Meshed), the holy city of, in Persia, 589, 573 and n 3.
- Mashk**, goat-skin bag for carrying water, 831 n 10.
- Masīh**, Christ, 267.
- Masiḥu-d-Dajjāl**, Antichrist, 490 n 5. See also the next.
- Masiḥu-l-Kazzāb**, Antichrist, 278 n 4. See also the above.
- Māsik**, constant as applied to the pulse, 532 n 7.
- Masnad-i-‘Alī** Saiyyid Khizr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 352, 375, 376. See under Khizr Khān Masnad-i-‘Alī.
- Massagetæ**, an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 n 1.
- Mas’ūd Beg**, metre of,—a kind of prosodical metre, 426.
- Mas’ūd Khān Ghilzāī**, one of the Afghan Amirs of Sher Shāh Sūr, 542, 544.
- Mas’ūd**, Sultān, ibn Sultān Ibrāhim Ghaznawī, called by the title of ‘Alāu-d-Dīn, 55 and nn 2 and 4.
- Mas’ūd**, Sultān, son of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36 and n 9, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44 and nn 1 and 2, 45 and nn 2 and 3, 46, 47 n 2, 50, 53 and n, 54, 61 n 5.
- Mas’ūd**, Sultān, son of Sultān Maṇdūd ibn Mas’ūd Ghaznawī, 49, 50 and n 1.
- Mas’ūd Sa’d Salmān Jurjānī**, known sometimes as Hamadānī, a famous poet of Jurjān, contemporary of Sultān Mas’ūd and Sultān Ibrāhim Ghaznawī, 52 and n 5, 54 and n 1, 60.
- Mas’ūdī**, the celebrated Arab Geographer and Historian, 157 n 1.
- Matar** Sen Kahtariya, Rājā, the ruler of Sambhal at the time of the Afghan Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 545.
- Mathew**’s Mishkātu-l-Maqābih, 150 n 2, 200 n, 293 n, 302 n 2, 412 n 1, 509 n 3.
- Māthī Khān**,—or
- Māthīn Khān**, one of the courtiers of Humāyūn, 624 and n 2.
- Mathra**, a sacred city of the Hindūs, 24 and n 6.
- Maṭla’u-l-Anwār**, one of the poetical works of Mir Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 270 and n 1.
- Maudūd**, Sultān, son of Sultān Mas’ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 37, 43, 45 n 3, 46, 47 and n 2, 48, 49, 50 and n 1.
- Maulānā Baqī’ī**, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 449.
- Maulānā Ḥasan**, one of the contemporaries of Shāh Bābar, 449.
- Maulānā ‘Imādū-d-Dīn**, translator of the Rājā-taranginī into Persian, 8 n 3.
- Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn** the Enigmatist, one of the learned men of the time of Bābar, 449.
- Ma’ünat**, a miracle performed by the ordinary believer, 626 n.
- Māwarā an-Nahr**,—or
- Māwarāu-n-Nahr** (Transoxiana), the region beyond the river, 15 and n 5, 20 and n 3, 27 nn 1 and 2, 29 n 6, 37 n 7, 167 n 3, 250, 353, 448, 570 n 7, 632.

- Mawās, a district in the Doāb, 386 n 5, 431 and n 4.
- Mawās,—or
- Mawāsāī, a place at seven *krohs* from Badāon, 336 and n 1.
- Mazdr, signification of the word, 271 and n 3.
- Mazdakiah, Al-, another name of the heretical Bājīni sect of Shī'ah Muslims, 22 and n 3.
- Maghar Karra, Maulānā, one of the poets of the time of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 341 and n 1.
- Maghārī, the poet, 341 n 1. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Maghar-i-Hindi, Qāzī of Agra (? Karra), panegyrist of Firūz Shāh, 341 n 1. See the two above.
- Māzindarān,—or
- Māzinderān, a province of Persia, 32 n 1, 36 n 3.
- McCrindle's *Ancient India*, 364 n 4.
- Mecca. See under Makkah.
- Medak river, the, 419 n 6. Otherwise known as the Mendaki or the Asī.
- Medes, the, 394 n 5.
- Medical and Surgical Reporter, the, 586 n.
- Medina, the City of the Prophet, 12 n 1, 75 n, 106 n 1, 149 n, 156 n 5, 158 n 1, 215 n 7, 279 n, 443, 480 n 1, 585 n 6, 600 n 9.
- Medina and Mecca, Burton's *Pilgrimage to*, 97 n 4.
- Mediterranean, the, 167 n 4.
- Mehrān, the,—the river Indus, 36 n 10, 67 n 1.
- Mehrān, the seventh month of the Persian year, 166 and n 1.
- Melancholia, *Mālik-Kūliā*, definition of, 5 and n 8.
- Memoir, Rennell's, 129 n 2, 326 n, 327 n 8.
- Memoirs of Bāber*, Erskine's, 121 n 8, 437 n 7, 439 nn 4, 6 and 7, 440 n, 448 n 4, 570 nn 5 and 6, 609 n 5.
- Mendaki river, the,—in Gwālīār, 419 and n 6. Otherwise known as the Medakī or the Asī.
- Mengbürūn, origin of the name of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī (q. v.), 91 n 1.
- Meos, the, a tribe of the Rājpūts inhabiting the province of Mīwāt, 365 n 8.
- Mercury, the planet, held to rule over intelligence, 630 n 8.
- Merv, a city and province of Khurāsān, 16 n 2, 17 n 3, 22 n 2, 33 n 1, 34 n 3, 35, 38, 43 and nn 1 and 3, 51 n 2, 55 n 3, 167 n 3.
- Mieshed (Mashhad), in Persia, 569, 573 and n 3.
- Methora of Pliny, same as the town of Mathra (q. v.), 24 n 6.
- Methoras of Arrian, same as the town of Mathra (q. v.), 24 n 6.
- Mēvāt, district of, 129 n 2. See under Mīwāt.
- Meynard's *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 30 n, 35 n 2, 43 nn 1, 2 and 3, 46 n 1, 50 n 2, 573 n 3.
- Mhow, a town of Central India, 285 n 3.
- Mīāpūr, a ford on the Ganges, 181 and n 1.
- Mich, 83. See under Mij.
- Michæl, the Archangel, 58 and n 2.
- Miftāh, the,—or .

- Miftāhu-l-Ulām*, of Sirāju-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī as-Sikkūkī, 428 and n 2.
- Mihaffa*, a kind of litter, 457 n 7.
- Mihir, town of, 123 n 2. Called also Mārhira (*q. v.*).
- Mihr, name of the sun, 166 n 1.
- Mihr, an ancient king of the Persians, 166 n 1.
- Mihrajān, Day of, 166 n 1. See under Mihrgāu.
- Mihrān, the,—the river Indus, 36 n 10, 67 n 1.
- Mihrgān, the seventh month of the Persian year, 166 and n 1.
- Mihrgān, a great feast of the Persians, 166 n 1.
- Mihrgān-i-'āmm*, 166 n 1.
- Mihrgān-i-khāṣṣ*, 166 n 1.
- Mij, one of the tribes between Tibet and Lakhnautī, 83 and n 4, 84 n.
- Mil, the bodkin or style used for applying kuhl, 153 n 8.
- Milal wa-n-Niṣāl*, of ash-Shahrastāni, Cureton's edition, 22 n 3, 157 n 2.
- Milwat, town of, 438 n 7. Called also Malot (*q. v.*).
- Minas, a tribe of the Hindūs, 365 n 8.
- Minhāju-s-Sirāj, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāqirī*, 88 n 1, 98 n 5, 122 n 3, 127 nn 1 and 2.
- Mir Abu-l-Baqā, one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time of Humāyūn, 465, 560, 578.
- Mir 'Adl, an officer of justice under the *Sadr*, 546 n 7, 610 n.
- Mir Amor, Master of the horse, 274 and n 5.
- Mir Ḥasan, son-in-law of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 338.
- Mir Ḥasan Dihlāvī, a famous poet of Dihlī, contemporary of Mir Khusrū, 115 n, 187, 188, 245, 269, 270 and n 6.
- Mir Jamālu-d-Dīn, the traditionist, contemporary of Shāh Ismā'il Šafawī, 449.
- Mir Khond, the Historian, contemporary of Humāyūn, 27 n 3, 450.
- Mir Khusrū, son of Amīr Maḥmūd Saifu-d-Dīn, the famous poet of Dihlī, 96 and n 2, 99 and n 3, 134 and n 4. See under Khnsrū.
- Mir Saiyyid Khān of Jaunpūr, 420 n 8.
- Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr, son of Mir Saiyyid Khān, one of the great *walīs*, 420 and n 8, 508 and n 8.
- Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad Mir 'Adl, 546.
- Mir Saiyyid Na'matu-l-lāh Rusūlī, the poet, contemporary of Islem Shāh, 533 and n 7, 534 and n 4.
- Mir Saiyyid Rafi'u-d-Dīn Ṣafawī of Ij, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 476 and n 5, 479, 513, 514.
- Mir Saiyyid Sharīf, a distinguished author, 560.
- Mi'rāj*, or the Ascent, nocturnal journey of Muḥammad to heaven, 105 n 2, 292 n 6.
- Mirak ibn Hassan, the Vakil, one of the Amīrs of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 48, 49.
- Mirak, town of, 406 n 9.
- Miran, Amīr, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 333 n 2.

- Mīrān Ṣadr Nūib-i-‘Arz-i-Mamālik, a protégé of the Mubāruk Shāhī family, 393, 394, 395, 397.
- Mīrān Saiyid Jalāl of Badāon, one of the learned men of Hindūstān, 427.
- Mīrat,—or
- Mīrath, fortress of, 24 n 1, 345, 358 n 3, 359, 406, 597.
- Mīr’āt-i-Jahān Numā, an historical work, 66 n 2.
- Mīr-i-Kūe, Superintendent of Roads, 401.
- Mīrzā Handāl,—or
- Mīrzā Hindāl, 453, 458, 459, 462, 464, 465, 559, 560, 567 and n 10, 574, 578, 579, 580, 586, 587.
- Mīrzā Ḥusain Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 574.
- Mīrzā Kāmrān, brother of Humāyūn, 453, 456, 462, 464, 465, 494, 500, 501, 502, 503, 567, 574, 578, 579, 580, 581 and n 3, 582 and n 7, 583 and n 3, 584 and n 3, 585, 586, 588, 606 n 3.
- Mīrzā Murād, son of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 572, 573 and n 1, 575, 576.
- Mīrzā Pir Muḥammad, grandson of the great Amīr Timūr, King of Khurāsān and Māwarā-an-Nahr, 352, 353, 355.
- Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 402, 463, 464, 485, 560, 561, 562.
- Mīshk, or Musk, notes on, 172 n 2.
- Mīshkātu-l-Maqābik, Mathew’s, 58 n 3, 150 n 2, 191 n 5, 199 n 3, 200 n, 279 n, 292 n 6, 293 n, 302 n 2, 356 n 4, 412 n 1, 449 n 8, 509 n 3, 571 n 1, 585 n 10, 601 n, 603 n and n 5, 613 n, 625 n 5.
- Mīqāl, a weight for gold and silver and also a coin, 19 n, 25 and n 1.
- Mīqal,—or
- Mīqalat, shell for polishing, 620 and n 1.
- Mīrāt’, hemistich, a term of Prosody, 606 n 4.
- Mīwāt, district and town of, 129 and n 2, 134 and n 1, 185, 337, 343, 344 and n 7, 345, 360, 358, 359, 365 and n 8, 366 n, 375, 381, 385, 391, 398, 419, 447, 488, 489, 537.
- Mīwātīs, the, 447.
- Miyān ‘Abdu-l-luh Niyāzī, a Niyāzī Afghan who adopted the manners of a Mahdī, 508, 509, 510, 512, 518, 520.
- Miyān Abu-l-Fath of Thanesar,—a learned doctor of the time of Islem Shāh, 513.
- Miyān Bahwa Lūbānī, Governor of Bāiāna, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 518 and n 4, 519.
- Miyān Bhoh, the Vazīr and chief of the Amīrs of Suljān Sikandar Lodī, 432, 435.
- Miyān Ḥātim Sambalī or Sambhalī, a learned Doctor of Hindūstān, 428, 506, 545.
- Miyān Husain Farmālī, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 435.
- Miyān Jamāl Khān Muftī, one of the Chief ‘Ulamā of the time of Islem Shāh, 506.
- Miyān Kūlī or Kāhī Kābulī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 584 n 3. See under Kāhī.
- Miyān Lādan, one of the learned men of Hindūstān, 427.

- Miyān Shaikh of Gwāliār, a learned dootor, 427.
- Miyān Shaikh Abu-l-Fath, son of Shaikh-allahdiyah of Khairābād, contemporary of Badāoni, 546.
- Miyān Tāusīn, the well-known musician, contemporary of 'Adlī, 557.
- Miyān Yahyā Paran, one of the generals of Sikandar Sūr (q. v.), 547.
- Miyān Yahyā Tūran, governor of Sambhal, one of the generals of Sulṭān Ibrāhim Sūr (q. v.), 545, 546.
- Miyānī Afghāns, the, 554.
- Mizān, the constellation Libra, 142 n 2.
- Modern Egyptians*, Lane's, 177 n 4, 192 n 3, 412 n 1, 503 n 2.
- Moghuls, the, 80, 103 n 3. See under the Mughuls.
- Mongir, town of, 458.
- Mongol dynasty of China, the, 353 n 1.
- Mongols, the. See under the Mughuls.
- Monorpour, fortress of, 93 n 1.
- Moon, Splitting of the, miracle performed by Muḥammad, 110 n 4.
- Morādābād, in Rohilkund, 364 n 4.
- Moradabad District, N.-W. Provinces, 546 n 5.
- More, a peacock, 502 and n 3.
- Mosambique, 454 n 7.
- Moses of the Scriptures, 372 and n 3, 873 n.
- Mosul, capital of Mesopotamia, 61 n 5, 394 n 5, 624 n 8.
- Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarī, Khwāja,—one of the Amirs of the Ghori dynasty, 74 and n 1, 77 n 1, 80.
- Mu'allq, name of the seventh arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.
- Mu'allaqāt, the,—seven well-known poems of the Jāhiliyat, 99 n 6, 109 n 4.
- Mu'ammq, enigma, 456 n 7, 605 and n 8.
- Mu'awiyah, first Khalifah of the House of Umaiyyah, 157 n 2, 158 n.
- Mu'azzam, Khwāja, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 568.
- Mu'azzin, the crier of the hour of prayer, 472 and n 6, 600 and n 9, 601 n.
- Mubaiyyin, a book on the Ḥanīfite Theology, 450 and n 7.
- Mubārak, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 233.
- Mubārakbād, a city on the Jamna, 393 and n 7.
- Mubārak Kabīr, Malik,—one of the Amirs of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 342 and n 1.
- Mubārak Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī 272, 273. See Sulṭān Qutbu-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.
- Mubārak Khān Auhadī, of the Auhadī family of Baiāna, 385.
- Mubārak Khān, son of Bahādur Nāhir, one of the Amirs of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 360 and n 5.
- Mubārak Khān Lūhānī, Malik,—one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 409, 413 and n 12.
- Mubārak Khān, son of Malik Rājū, one of the Amirs of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 349.
- Mubārak Khān, Governor of Sambal, contemporary of Sulṭān Husain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 406 n 3.
- Mubārak Kotwāl, one of the Amirs of the Saiyid dynasty, 398.

- Mubārak of Nāgor, Shaikh, father of Shaikh Abu-l-Fażl 'Allāmī, 421, 516.
- Mubārakpūr, 398.
- Mubārak Qarānqal, Mālik, assumes the title of Mubārak Shāh as ruler of Jaunpūr, 360 and n 1.
- Mubārak Shāh, son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī. See under Sulṭān Qutbū-d-Dīn Khiljī.
- Mubārak Shāh, son of Sultān Buhlūl Lodi, 409.
- Mubārak Shāh, son of Masnad-i-'Āli Khiṣr Khān, of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 10 n 2, 307, 381 and n 3, 382, 383, 384, 385 and n 3, 386, 387, 388 and n 2, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 398, 400 and n, 403.
- Mubārak Shāh, Sulṭānu-sh-Shārq, Qarānqal, ruler of Jaunpūr, 360 and n 1, 361, 363.
- Mubārak Shāhī*, an historical work by Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad Sirhindī, 10 n 2, 67 and n 2. See under *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*.
- Mubāriz Khān, one of the great Amirs of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 375.
- Mubāriz, Malik, one of the Amirs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 384.
- Mubāriz Khān, son of Nizām Khān Sūr, ascends the throne with the title of Muḥammad 'Adlī or more commonly 'Adlī, 495 and n 4, 535 and nn 6 and 7, 586. See under 'Adlī.
- Mubashir Chap, Islām Khān, the Vazīr, one of the Amirs of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 344, 345. See also under Islām Khān.
- Mubashshir, one of the Sirdars of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 273.
- Mubin*, a commentary by Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn on the *Muhaiyyin* (q. v.), 450 and n 7.
- Mufarrīb Sulṭānī, Mālik, governor of Gujrāt under Sulṭān Firoz Shāh, 334 and n 3, 337, 346. See under Farḥatu-l-Mulk.
- Mufīz, Al-*,—the man in charge of the arrows in the game of *māisir*, 369 n 1.
- Muftī*, a law officer who gives *fatwās* or legal decisions, 317 and n 6.
- Mughailān*, for *Ummu-ghailān*, a thorny tree, 550 and n 1, 624 n 1.
- Mughaiyyir*, variable as applied to the pulse, 533 n.
- Mughals*, the. See under the *Mughūls*.
- Mughirah* ibn al-Aḥnaf Yezdibah or Yezdezbah, ancestor of Imām Bukhārī, 6 n 8.
- Mughīs* of Hānsī, Qāzī, one of the most learned men of the time of Sulṭān Jalāla-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.
- Mughī fi-sharhi-l-Mūjaz*, Sadidi's commentary on the *Mūjaz* in Medicine, 31 n, 320 n.
- Mughul* Road from Agra to Allahabad, 486 n 6.
- Mughulpūr*, popular name of the town of *Ghiyāspūr*, 236.
- Mughūls*, the, 125 and n 3, 126 and n 1, 129 n 2, 132, 145 n 2, 186, 187, 188, 190 n 2, 192, 196 and n 1, 205 n 2, 207, 220, 222, 236, 249, 250 and n 5, 251, 252, 254, 256, 258, 261, 264, 292, 293, 305 n 3, 323, 328, 335, 359, 365 n 8, 441, 454, 463, 464, 469, 471, 474, 486 n 6, 503, 543, 552,

- 556, 575 n 1, 592, 593 and n 9, 618 n 1.
- Muhájirín, the,— Meccan Muslims who emigrated with Muhammád, 215, 216 n.
- Muhammád, the Prophet, 2 n 5, 3 nn 4 and 6, 4, 12 n 1, 18 n 1, 46 n 5, 57, 59 and nn 2 and 4, 74 n 2, 97 n 4, 105 and n 2, 106 nn 1 and 5, 110 nn 1, 3 and 4, 111 n, 139 n 5, 147 n 3, 149 n, 156 n 5, 158 n 1, 194, 201 n 2, 207, 216 n, 254, 292 n 6, 303 n 4, 368 n 1, 369 n 3, 376, 412 n 1, 420 n 8, 446 n 5, 473, 474, 480, 488 n 5, 490 n 5, 505 n 6, 519 and n 4, 572, 577 n, 585 n 10, 589, 596, 602 n 7, 622 and n 3, 626 n 1, 627 and n 3, 631 n 1, 633, 636.
- Muhammád ibn 'Abdu-l-láh ibn al-Hasán ibn al-Hasán ibn 'Alí ibn Abí Tálib, 74 n 2.
- Muhammád ibn 'Abdu-s-Şamad, one of the Amírs of the Ghaznívídé dynasty, 44.
- Muhammád 'Ádil, commonly known as 'Adlí, of the Afghán Súr dynasty of Dihlí, 495, 536. See under Mubáriz Khán, son of Nizám Khán Súr and also under 'Adlí.
- Muhammád 'Ádil, of the Tughlaq Sháhi dynasty, 274. See under Muhammád ibn Tughlaq Sháh and also under Malik Fakhru-d-Dín Júná.
- Muhammád 'Aufí, author of the *Jámi'u-l-Hikáyát* and *Tazkiratu-sh-Shu'ará*, 220. See Muhammád Ufí.
- Muhammád 'Aziz, Mullá, one of the Amírs of Humáyún, 460 and n 1.
- Muhammád of Badón, Saiyyid, one of the Maliks of Sultán Firoz Sháh, 335 and n 6.
- Muhammád Bahádur, Sultán of Kor, 556 and n 3. See Khizr Khán, son of Muhammád Khán Gauria.
- Muhammád Bakhtyár Ghúrí, Malik, one of the Generals and slaves of Sultán Mu'izzu-d-Dín Muhammád Sám, 81 and n 2, 82, 83 and nn 2 and 3, 84 and n, 85 and n 1, 86. See the next.
- Muhammád Bakhtyár Khiljí, Malik, 81 n 2. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Muhammád Bāqí Majlisí, author of the *Hayátu-l-Quláh*, 110 n 8.
- Muhammád, son of Bihár Khán, Sultán of Qanaunj and the eastern districts, contemporary of Sultán Ibráhím Lodi, 443. Same as the next (q. v.).
- Muhammád, son of Daryá Khán Lühání, Sultán of Bihár, originally called Bihár Khán or Bahádur Khán, 435 and n 7, 436, 468, 469. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Muhammád Farmali, Shaikh, known as Kálá Bhár, nephew of Sultán Buhlúl Lodi, 411 n 2, 413 n 13, 414.
- Muhammád Ghans of Gwálíár, Shaikh, contemporary of Bábár, 445, 459.
- Muhammád, son of Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín Balban, 187, 190 n 2, 205 and n 2, 213. Called the Khán-i-Buzurg, the Khán-i-Gházi, the Khán-i-Shahid and Qáán-i-Mulk.
- Muhammád Ghorí, popular name of Sultán Mu'izzu-d-Dín Muhammád Sám, who is also known as Shihábu-d-Dín Ghorí, 65 n 2.

- Muhammad Gokultash, one of the Amirs of Bâbar, 441.
- Muhammad ibnu-l-Hasan, the famous jurisconsult, 30 n 1.
- Muhammad Hasan of Ispahân, Mirzâ, — the poet known as Zarif, 582 n.
- Muhammad Humâyûn Mirzâ, son of Bâbar, 439, 442, 444, 445. See under Humâyûn.
- Muhammad Humâyûn Pâdishâh, Emperor of Hindûstân, 450, 451, 453, 454, 472, 500, 503, 529, 559, 596, 608 and n 5. See the above and also under Humâyûn.
- Muhammad, son of Ildighiz and his successor as Atâbak of Azarbajîan, 158 n 3.
- Muhammad Khân Auhadî, ruler of Baiâna, contemporary of Mubârak Shâh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 386, 387 and n 4.
- Muhammad Khân, son of Sultân Firoz Shâh Tughlaq, 324, 336, 337. See Nâshiru-d-Din Muhammad Shâh, and also Muhammad Shâh.
- Muhammad Khâu Gauria, the ruler of Kor, contemporary of 'Adlî, 555, 556.
- Muhammad Khân Kûkî, Hâjî, one of the Amirs of Humâyûn, 578, 581, 586.
- Muhammad Khân of Nâgor, contemporary of Sultân Sikandar Lodi, 423 and n 11.
- Muhammad Khân, grandson of Sultân Nâshiru-d-Din of Mâlwa, contemporary of Sultân Sikandar Lodi, 423, 424 and n 6.
- Muhammad Khân Salû, one of the Amirs of Humâyûn, 618 and n 7, 619.
- Muhammad Khân Sharafu-d-Dîn Ughlî Taklû, Vazîr of Sultân Muhammad Mirzâ of Khurâsân, 569 and n 6.
- Muhammad Khân Sûr, assumes the title of Sultân Jalâlu-d-Dîn as governor of Bangâla, 552.
- Muhammad Khân Sûr, governor of the country of Chaund, 468, 469.
- Muhammad Khân Taklû, Vazîr of Sultân Muhammad Mirzâ, ruler of Khurâsân, 569 and n 6.
- Muhammad Khân, son of Zirak Khân, Governor of Sâmâna under the Saiyid dynasty, 397.
- Muhammad Khwârazm Shâh, Sultân, of the Khwârazm Shâhi dynasty of Khurâsân, 71 and n 7.
- Muhammad Lodî, Sultân, son of Sultân Sikandar Lodî, 444, 471 n 1. See also under Mahmûd Lodî.
- Muhammad, younger son of Sultân Mahmûd of Ghaznîn, 29, 33, 34, 44, 45 and nn 2 and 3, 46, 47 n 3.
- Muhammad ibn Mahmûd, the Khalj, feudatory of Kashmandî, uncle of Muhammad Bakhtyâr, 81 n 2.
- Muhammad, son of Sultân Mas'ûd ibn Mahmûd Ghaznawî, 44 and n 1.
- Muhammad Muqaffâr Vazîr, one of the Amirs of the Firuz Shâhi dynasty, 351.
- Muhammad pur 'Azîz, Mullâ, one of the Amirs of Humâyûn, 460 n 1.
- Muhammad Qandahârî, Hâjî, the Historian, 300 n 3.
- Muhammad ibn Qâsim as-Saqâfi, the conqueror and first governor of Sind, 11 and n 8, 12 n 2, 13 n and n 1, 136 n 6.

- Muhammad ibn-i-Qāsim ibn-i-Munabbih, governor of Sindh, 36 n 10.
- Muhammad Sām, founder of the Ghori dynasty of India, 10 n 2, 74, 75, 89. See Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām.
- Muhammad Shāh, Mir, leader of a band of robbers in the reign of Sultan 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 262, 263.
- Muhammad Shāh, of the Mughal dynasty of Dihlī, 25 n 5.
- Muhammad Shāh I., son of Ahmad Shāh, Sultan of Gujurāt, 357 n 8.
- Muhammad Shāh ibn-i-Farid Khān, of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 395, 397, 398, 399 and n 7.
- Muhammad Shāh, son of Sultan Firuz Shāh, of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty of Dihlī, 337, 338, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345 and nn 2 and 3, 346. See under Muhammad Khān.
- Muhammad Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Sharqī, Sultan of Jaunpūr, 403 and n 8, 404 and n and n 2.
- Muhammad, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodī, 444, 471 n 1. See also under Maḥmūd.
- Muhammad Sultan Mirzā, Khwājā, one of the Amirs of Bābar, 437, 438, 440, 444, 458, 462, 463, 464, 574.
- Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, Sultan, 87 n 1, 269 n 5, 271 and n 6. See the next.
- Muhammad, son of Tughlaq Shāh, the second of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty of Dihlī, 290, 297 n, 301, 309, 315, 318, 321, 322, 323 and n 3, 327, 329 n 2, 331. See under Muhammad 'Ādil and also under Ulugh Khān.
- Muhammad Turtāq, the Mughal, of the royal house of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sultan 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 250 and n 10, 252 and n 2.
- Muhammad Ufi of Merv, author of a Taṣķīra, 33 and n 1. See Muhammed 'Aufi.
- Muhammad Yaḥya, 602.
- Muhammad Yamin, Sultan, the ruler of Khurāsān, 99 n 4, 138 n 1.
- Muhammad Yarghāri, Mullā, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 460 n 1.
- Muhammad Zaitūn the Afgān, one of the Afgān Amirs of Bābar, 445.
- Muhammad Zamān Mirzā ibn-i-Badi'u-z-Zamān Mirzā ibn-i-Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā, contemporary of Humāyūn, 451, 452, 456, 458, 461.
- Muhammadābād, the town of Nagar-kot, 331.
- Muhammadābād, a city built by Sultan Muhammad Shāh ibn Firoz Shāh, 346, 347.
- Muhammadans, the, 271 n 6, 302 n 2, 412 n 1, 415 n, 445 n 6, 488 n 5, 523 n 5, 635 n 6. See also under the Mahometans and the Muslims.
- Muharra, for Mutmara. See Shi-hāb-i-Mutmara, the poet, 99 and n 2.
- Muhar or Muhur, a coin, 306 and n 1.
- Muharram, annual ceremonies of the, 623 and n 1.
- Muhazzab,—or
- Muhazzabu-d-Dīn Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, Khwājā, Wazīr of Sultan Rażziyah, 120, 123 n 3, 124.

- Muhra-i-Mār**, the Bezoar stone called in Arabic *Hajaru-l-Haiyyah*, 117 n 4.
- Muhur** or **Muhar**, a coin, 306 and n 1.
- Muīd Jājarmī**, one of the poets of the time of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji, 245.
- Mu'id** of Tarkhān, author of a Turkish romance on the loves of Wāmiq and 'Azrā, 40 n 1.
- Mu'in Wāiz**, Maulānā, 590.
- Mu'inu-d-Dīn Chishtī**, Khwājā, a famous saint, 70 and n 2. See under Mu'inu-l-Haqq.
- Mu'inu-d-Dīn Hasan Chishtī**, Khwājā, 70 n 2. See the above.
- Mu'inu-d-Dīn**, Shaikh, grandson of Maulānā Mu'in Wāiz, Qāzi of Lāhor under Humāyūn, 590.
- Mu'inu-l-Haqq wa-d-Dīn Ajmīrī**, Khwājā, 430. Same as Mu'inu-d-Dīn Chishtī, (q. v.).
- Mu'inu-l-Mulk Mīrān Ṣadr**, 395. See under Mīrān Ṣadr Nāib-i-'Arz-i-Mamālik.
- Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, 97 n 4, 105 n 2, 149 n, 216 n.
- Mu'izzī** palace, the Kīlūgharī palace (q. v.), on the banks of the Jumna, 231.
- Mu'izzī** Sultāns, those of the slaves of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām who attained sovereignty, 87 n 5.
- Mu'izzīyah Kings**, the Amirs of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 87, 90.
- Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Hāris Sinjar**, 55 n 3. See under Sinjar.
- Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh**, son of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 121 and n 4, 122, 123 and n 2, 124, 186.
- Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād**, Sultān, ibn Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn ibn Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 220 and n 2, 221 and n 3, 222, 223 and n 1, 224, 226, 227, 228 and n 4, 229, 245. See also under Kaiqubād.
- Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī**, well-known under the title of Sultān Šihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 10 n 2, 63, 64 and n 3, 65 and n 2, 66 n 2, 67 and n, 69, 71, 72, 73 and n 2, 74, 75, 76, 77 and n 1 and 3, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83 n 3, 85, 86, 89, 90.
- Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Tughral**, Governor of Lakhnautī, 186. See under Tughral.
- Mujāhid Khān**, one of the Amirs of 'Adlī, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 557.
- Mu'jamu-l-Buldān** of Yāqūt, a Geographical Dictionary, 8 n 2, 263 n, 476 n 5.
- Mujawwaf**, hollow or weak, 301 and n 1.
- Mējaz**, a work on medicine, 5 n 3, 31 n. See under *al-Mughnī*.
- Mujil**, the man in charge of the arrows in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.
- Mujiru-d-Dīn Abūrijā**, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305.
- Mujizah**, a miracle performed by a prophet, 626 n.
- Mujtahid**, highest title among Muslim divines, 636 n 2.
- Mujtag-i-muṣammān**, a kind of metre, 607 n.

- Mukâbir**, a stubborn disputant, 614 and *n* 6.
- Mukhâlafat**, opposition, 576 *n* 5.
- Mukhlîs**, a servant of Malik Fakhru-d-Dîn Silâhdâr (*q. v.*), 308.
- Mukhlîs Khân**, brother of Sultân Ibrâhim Shâh Sharqî, of Jaunpûr, 386 and *n* 7.
- Mukhtaşar**, of Sa'du-d-Dîn at-Taftâzânî, 428 *n* 3.
- Mukhtâş Khân**, brother of Sultân Ibrâhim Shâh Sharqî of Jaunpûr, 386 and *n* 7.
- Mulâhidah**, the, a sect of Muslim heretics, 73 *n* 2. See the next.
- Mulâhidah**, the, another name of the Bâtiî sect of Shî'ah Muslims, 22 *n* 3. See the above.
- Mullâ Muhammad 'Azîz**, one of the Amîrs of Humâyûn, 460 and *n* 1.
- Mulmul**, the bodkin or style for applying *kuhl*, 153 *n* 8.
- Multân**, 12, 19 and *n* 5, 20 and *n* 4, 21, 28, 44, 60, 66 and *nn* 2, 3 and 5, 69, 79 *n* 3, 80 and *n* 1, 87, 90, 95, 98 and *n* 2, 120 and *n* 8, 128 and *n* 1, 129, 130, 132, 133 *n* and *n* 2, 187, 188, 189 *n* 1, 190 *n* 2, 197, 198, 199, 208, 213, 217, 219, 220 and *n* 2, 221, 222, 226, 229, 232, 233, 236, 244, 247 and *n* and *n* 4, 248, 249, 252, 284, 292, 293, 297, 298, 304, 328, 335, 343, 352, 353 and *n* 8, 355, 358, 362, 363, 376, 387, 388, 389 and *nn* 2 and 4, 390, 392, 398, 399, 402, 427, 464, 543.
- Multân river**, the, 29.
- Multânîs**, the, 304.
- Mûminpûr**, fort of, otherwise called Patiâlî, on the Ganges, 218.
- Mûnâr**, town of, 82 and *n* 1. Also written Manâr.
- Mun'im Khân**, Khân-i-Khânân, one of the great Amîrs of Humâyûn, 562, 565, 567 and *n* 2, 591.
- Munshîf**, one of the high officers of the State, 497.
- Muntakhabu-t-Tawârîkh** of Badâoni, 11 and *n* 1, 332, 442, 447, 478, 497, 545, 579, 610, 632.
- Muntahabu-t-Tawârîkh** of Haran ibn Muhammad al-Khâkî ash-Shirâzî, 11 *n* 1.
- Muqaddasa**, a title of the town of Ij, 476.
- Muqaddasî**, the Arab Geographer, 217 *n* 2.
- Muqaddamzâda**, a slave born in the house, 334 and *n* 1.
- Muqaddam-zâda** of Kâbul, 501.
- Muqâm-i-Salmân**, in the desert of Arzhan between Bushire and Shirâz, 572 *n* 1.
- Muqarrab Khân**, title of Muqarrabu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of the Firûz Shâhi dynasty, 348 and *n* 7, 349, 350 and *n* 3, 351, 354.
- Muqarrabu-l-Mulk**, Malik, 346, 348. See the above.
- Muqbil**, the servant of Khwâja-i-Jahân *nâib-i-Vazîr* of Gujrât, 313.
- Muqbil Khân**, Malik, one of the retainers of Mubârak Shâh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihli, 386.
- Muqîm Harawî**, Khwâjâ, Diwân of the household of Bâbar, 9 *n* 2, 63 *n*.
- Muqtî'i**, holder of a *qit'*, 396 *n* 2.
- Murâd**, Shâh, son of Shâh Tahmâsp of Persia, 572, 573 and *n* 1, 575, 576.

- Murajjab, Al,—a title of the month of Rajab, 441 n 2.
- Mursad, son of Shaddad ibn 'Ad, a king of the ancient Arabs, 263 n.
- Murtazā, the chosen, a title of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, 74, 629 and n 5.
- Mūsā al-Hādī, the 'Abbāside Khalifah, 75 n.
- Mu'sab, a traditionist, 18 n 1.
- Musbal, name of the sixth arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.
- Muṣṭaf*, meanings of the word, 615 n 5.
- Muṣṭarik* of Yāqūt, a Geographical work, 15 n 5.
- Musk, notes on, 172 n 2.
- Muṣla sākhtan*, meaning of the expression, 296 n 2.
- Muslim ibn-u-l-Walid, a poet of the Court of Hārūn-u-r-Rashid, 74 n 2.
- Muslim theologians, 614 n 2.
- Muslims, the, 83, 120, 143 n 3, 150 n 4, 176 n, 191 and n 3, 194 and nn 4 and 5, 204, 235, 256 n 4, 361, 368 n 1, 377, 385 n 3, 387, 393, 395, 428 n 4, 432, 477, 483, 509 n 5, 514, 522 and n 5, 550, 565 and n 1, 576 n 5, 577 n, 600 n 9, 632 n 7, 603 n 6, 625 n 5, 626 and n 6, 636 n 2. See also under the Muḥammadas and the Mahometans.
- Muṣṭafā, the Prophet Muḥammad, 59, 74, 475.
- Muṣṭafā Farmalī, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Hindūstān, 444.
- Muṣṭafābād, *pargana* of, 596.
- Mustakfi bi-llāhi Abu-r-Rabi' Sulaimān, third of the 'Abbāsi Khalifahs in Egypt, 327 n 6.
- Mustanṣir billāh, the 'Abbāside Khalifah of Baghdād, 88 n 3, 94 n 2, 311 n 4.
- Mustung, village in the neighbourhood of Quetta, 567 n 9.
- Mutaraſiẓ-i-ghālī*, a fanatical heretic, 626 and n 4.
- Mu'taṣim billāh, eighth Khalifah of the House of 'Abbās, 571 n 2.
- Muṭawwal* of Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftāzōnī, 428 and n 3.
- Mu'tazid bi-llāhi Abū Bakr ibnu-l-Mustakfi bi-llāhi, sixth of the 'Abbāsi Khalifahs in Egypt, 327 n 6.
- Muñhra or Māhurā, a sacred town of the Hindūs, 24 n 6.
- Mutmara. See *Shihāb-i-Mutmara*, the Poet.
- Mutra, District of, 134 n 1, 366 n.
- Mutra, town of, in the Doāb, 377 n 6.
- Muwazzinī, Maulā Husāmu-d-Dīn, author of a commentary on the *Miftāhu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 n 2.
- Mu'yad Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 574.
- Muzaffar, Malik, Governor of Gujrāt under Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq Shāh, 314.
- Muzaffar Khān, nephew of Shaikh 'Ali ruler of Kābul, 389, 390, 392.
- Muzaffar Shāh of Gujrāt, contemporary of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 363 n 2.
- Muzaffarnagar District, 378 n 1.
- Mu'zam, Khwājā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 566.

N.

- Nabadwip, another name of Nadiya, old capital of Bengal, 82 *n* 4.
- Nabih, of the tribe of Quraish, killed at the battle of Badr, 74 *n* 2.
- Nadar Dev, Rai, Governor of Arankal under Sultân ‘Alâu-d-Dîn Khilji, 265 and *n* 4.
- Nadim, foster-brother of Humâyûn, 564 and *nn* 8 and 9.
- Nâdirî-i-Samarqandî, Manlânâ, one of the poets of the time of Humâyûn, 611, 612, 613, 616 and *n* 2.
- Nadiya, once the capital of Bengal, 81 *n* 2, 82 *n* 4. Called also Nûdiyâ.
- Nafâhâtu-l-Uns* of Maulânâ ‘Abdu-r-Rahmân Jâmi, 270 and *n* 4, 609 *n* 5.
- Nafâ’isu-l-Ma’ârif*, Lives of the Poets, 616 *n* 4, 618 *n* 5.
- Nâfis*, name of the fourth arrow in the game of *mâsir*, 369 *n* 1.
- Nafs*, the soul, 144 *n* 2, 145 *n* 1.
- Nafsu-l-Aql*, the reason or discriminating faculty, 145 *n* 1.
- Nafsu-l-Hayât*, the breath of life, 145 *n* 1.
- Nafsu-n-Nâfiqah*, the reasoning faculty, 145 *n* 1.
- Nagar Cott, fortress of, 20 *n* 5. See Nagar Kot.
- Nagar Kot, fortress of, 20 *n* 5, 331, 341, 342, 495. Also called Bhîmnagar and Kot Kangra.
- Nagaur,—or
- Nâgor, city of, 124, 129, 130, 251, 357 *n* 3, 379 and *n* 1, 423, 425, 477, 563.
- Nahar Pâl, nephew of Hîmûn Baqqâl, the Hindû General of ‘Adlî, 553 *nn* 5 and 6.
- Naharwâlân, a city of Gujrât, called also Patan or Pattan, 28 and *n* 2, 71 and *n* 3, 89, 256 and *n* 4. 282.
- Nâhîd, name of the planet Venus in Persian, 138 and *n* 3.
- Nâhir, a Hindû General in the service of Sultân Mus’ûd ibn Mahmûd Ghâzawî, 36 and *n* 9.
- Nâhsân, Mars and Saturn as the two stars of ill omen, 217 *n* 5.
- Nahv (Tuḥfa) Tâju-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Khîzr Khân of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlî, 376 and *n* 2.
- Nâi, fortress of, 53 *n*, 54 *nn* 1 and 3.
- Nâib of the barids, 286 *n* 1.
- Nâib-i-Shâhzâda, Malik Sadhû Nâdir (*q. v.*), 378.
- Nâib Malik,—or
- Nâibu-l-Mâlik Kûfûr, title of Malik Mânîk, the slave of Sultân ‘Alâu-d-Dîn Khilji, 251 and *n* 7, 252, 256, 265 and *nn* 1 and 6, 267, 268, 271 *n* 6, 272, 273 and *n* 1. Called also Hazâr Dînârî.
- Nails, Paring of, 139 *n* 5.
- Narîmân, one of the heroes of the Shâhnâma, 35 *n* 2, 72.
- Naisân or Nisân, first month of the Jewish year, 108 *n* 4.
- Najam-i-Şâni. See Najm-i-Şâni.
- Najâtu-r-Rashîd of Badâoni, 511 and *n* 2, 609 and *n* 3.
- Najm, An-, the Pleiades, 630 *n* 4.
- Najm Shâh, one of the Amîrs of Shâh Ismâ‘il Şafawî of Persia, 570.
- Najm-i-Awwal, one of the Amîrs of Shâh Ismâ‘il Şafawî of Persia, 570 and *n* 5.

- Najm-i-Şâni Isfahânî, one of the Amîrs of Shâh Ismâ'il Şafawî of Persia, 570 n 5.
- Najmu-d-Dîn, Saiyyid, regent of Malik Sikandar of Lâhor (*q. v.*), 390.
- Najmu-d-Dîn Abû Bakr, the Sadru-l-Mulk, Wazîr of Sultân 'Alâ'u-d-Dîn Ma'mûd Shâh of the Shamsiyâh dynasty, 124.
- Najmu-d-Dîn Hasan, Shaikh, 270 n 6. Same as the famous poet Mîr Hasan Dihlavi (*q. v.*)
- Najmu-d-Dîn 'Umar bin 'Alî Qazwînî, author of the *Shamsiyâh*, 427 n 1.
- Nakhshab, fortress of, in Kharûsân, 570. Otherwise called Kusâh.
- Nâma-i-Khirad Afzâ of Badâoni, 95 and n 6.
- Na'mat Khâtûn, wife of Quṭb Khân Lodî (*q. v.*), 423 and n 2.
- Na'mat Rusûlî,—or
- Na'matu'l-lâh Rusûlî, Mir Saiyyid, one of the poets and learned men of the time of Islem Shâh Sûr, 533 and n 7, 534 and n 4.
- Nâmî, son of Muhammad, son of Sultân Mahmûd Ghâznawî, 47 and n 3.
- Nandâ, the Râjâ of Kâlinjar, contemporary of Sultân Mahmûd Ghâznawî, 25, 26.
- Nandana, a city on the mountains of Bâlnâth, 22 and n 5, 128 and n 3.
- Nandanpour, 128 n 3. Same as Nandana (*q. v.*).
- Naqîr, the small groove on the date stone, 498 n 10.
- Naqqâra, a kind of drums, 143 n 2.
- Naqsh, ornamental figures, 588 n 4.
- Naqshband, a weaver of Kamkhabâs adorned with figures, 588 n 4.
- Naqshband, Khwâjâ Bahâu-d-Dîn, of Bokhârâ, a famous saint, 588 n 4.
- Naqshbandî, Khwâjâ Khâwind, contemporary of Bâbar, 446.
- Naqshbandî School, the, 588 n 4.
- Naqshbandî Shaikhs, the followers of the renowned saint Khwâjâ Bahâu-d-Dîn Naqshband of Bokhârâ, 588 n 4.
- Narain, town of, on the banks of the river Sarsutî, 69 and n 4.
- Nâran-Koe, town of, 85 n 4.
- Narbadâ river, the, 517 n 9.
- Narcissus, notes on, 373 and n 3.
- Nârdîn, a perfume, 146 n 6.
- Narelu, a place in the neighbourhood of Dihlî, 21 n 4.
- Nargis or Narjis, the poet's narcissus, 373 n 3.
- Nârkila, town of, 186 and n 4.
- Narma Shirîn, the Mughal, brother of Qutlogh Khwâjâ (*q. v.*), 305.
- Nârnâlî, District of, 85 and n 4.
- Narnaul, in the province of Miwât, 365 n 8. See the two next.
- Narnol, capital city of the district of Miwât, 129 n 2, 365 and n 8, 395, 466.
- Nârnûl, district and town of, 365, 466. See the two above.
- Nârsingh, Râi, 361 n 2. See Râi Harsingh.
- Nârwan, the tree called Gulgânâr, 172 and n 3.
- Narwar, fortress of, a dependency of Mâlwa, 129 n 4, 130 and n 1, 422 and nn 3 and 5.
- Narwar, Sarkâr of, 130 n 1.

- Nasaf, a town of Khurāsān, called also Nakhshab, 570 *n* 7.
- Na'ṣh La'āzar, the Chariot or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear, 198 *n* 2.
- Naṣib Khān Tughūchī,—or
- Naṣib Khān Tughūjī, one of the Amirs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 542, 593.
- Naṣib Shāh, Governor of Bangāla, contemporary of Shīr Shāh and Humāyūn, 457.
- Naṣibin, a town of Mesopotamia, 61 *n* 5.
- Nasikhū-t-Tawārikh of Lisānu-l-Mulk, 154 *n* 8.
- Naṣir Khān Afgān, one of the Amirs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 592.
- Naṣir Khān Lūhānī, one of the Generals of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodī, 434, 444, 446 and *n* 1.
- Naṣirābād, in the Jodhpur State, Rājputānā, 379 *n* 1.
- Naṣirī, a poet of the time of Sultan Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 92.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Abu-l-Khair 'Abdu-llah Baizāwī, Qāzī, 6 *n* 4. See under Baizāwī.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Ahmad Khaṭṭu, Shaikh, surnamed Ganjbaksh, 357 *n* 3.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, Sultan, son of Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 135 and *n* and *n* 1, 186, 187, 218, 219, 220 *n* 2, 221 *n* 3, 222, 223 and *n* 1, 224.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, 219 *n* 1. See Naṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, Shaikh, contemporary of Sultan Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 322, 323.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Husain, the Amīr-i-Shikār, one of the Maliks of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 74 *n* 1.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Ismā'il Fath, Sultan, 314. See Ismā'il Fath.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Khusrū Khān, the favourite of Sultan Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 290. See Khusrū Khān Hasan Barāwar bāchā.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn of Lakhnautī, Sultan, contemporary of Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd I., Sultan, son of Sultan Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 91, 126 *n* 3.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd II., Sultan, son of Sultan Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, of the Slave dynasty, 124, 125, 126 and *n* 3, 127 and *n* 1, 134, 135 *n* and *n* 1, 136, 139, 187.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh, of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 348, 350 *n* 3. See under Maḥmūd Shāh.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwā, Sultan, contemporary of the Lodī dynasty of Dihlī, 423, 424.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādišhāh-i-Ghāzī, 451, 559. See under Humāyūn.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sultan Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 324, 337. See under Muḥammad Shāh.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shah, Sultan, 361. See Tātār Khān, son of Zafar Khān.
- Naṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad, Malik, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 87 and *n* 2.

- Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Nuṣat Shāh, son of Fath Khān, son of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, 350. See under Nuṣrat Shāh.
- Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Qabāchah, Sultān of Sind, one of the slaves of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 79 and n 3, 80, 88 and n 1, 90 and n 2.
- Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyāl-timish, 94. See under Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd.
- Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Subuktigīn, ruler of Kābul and founder of the Ghaznīvide dynasty, 13 and n 1, 14 and n 1, 15.
- Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Tūsī, Khwāja, a celebrated mathematician and Shī'ah divine, 577 n.
- Nāṣiru-l-Haqq, a title of kings, 161.
- Nāṣiru-l-Mulk 'Ādil Khān, one of the Maliks of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 354.
- Nasr-i-Tā'ir, the constellation Eagle, 321 and n 3.
- Nasrain-i-falak, the constellations Eagle and Lyre, 630 n 1.
- Nuṣrat Khān, 129 n 2. See Nuṣrat Khān, son of Fath Khān and grandson of Sultān Firūz Shāh.
- Nuṣrat Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān 'Alān-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249. See under Nuṣrat Khān Jalīsārī.
- Nuṣru-llāh of Bangāla, Shaikh, uncle of Shaikh 'Alāi of Baiāna, 507.
- Nāth, one of the Chiefs of Hind under Sultān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznavī, 36 n 9.
- Naubat, music played daily by a band at stated hours, 498 and n 3.
- Nauroz, the greatest feast among the Persians, 166 n 1.
- Naušahr, a name of the town of Jhāin (q. v.), 257.
- Naušahra, the town of Nowshera, 465 and n 2.
- Nauširwān, Chosroes I., son of Kobad, King of Persia of the Sasanide dynasty, 46 and n 5, 162.
- Nawāfił, voluntary prayers, 488 n 7.
- Nawār, wife of al-Farazdaq, the famous Arab poet, 287 n 2.
- Nawāsa, a name of Sūkhpāl, the grandson of Jaipāl, contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 20 n 4.
- Nazar Shaikh Jūli or Juma'ālī, one of the court officers of Humāyūn, 601 and n 3.
- Nazarenes, the, 207.
- Nūzimu-d-Dīn, Maulānā, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shah, of the Afgān Sūr dynasty of Dihli, 482 and n 3.
- Nāzukī Marāghī, the Poet, contemporary of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 75.
- Nebula of the Pleiades, 630 n 4.
- Nehrōāla, a city of Gujrāt, 28 n 2. Same as Naharwāla (q. v.).
- Nellore (Nilāwar), town of, 265 n 5.
- Nerimān le Pehlevān, 35 n 2. See under Narimān.
- Newa Kishore Press, 487 n 6.
- Ney, Marshal, 157 n 2.
- Ney Elias, Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, 305, 464 n 8. See under Elias and Ross.
- Nijim Sani (Najm-i-Şāñī) İṣfahānī, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī of Persia, 570 n 5.
- Nikāh, marriage contract, 522 and n 5.
- Nilāwar (Nellore), town of, 265 n 5.
- Nile, the, 310.

- Nim tree (*Melia azadirachta*), 129 n 2.
- Nimak*, meanings of the word, 493 n 2.
- Ni'matu-l-lah of Baiāna, Saiyyid, one of the learned and holy men of the time of Sūlṭān Sikandar Lodi, 424.
- Nimrod, 154 n 8, 207, 234. See also under Nimrūd.
- Nimroz, territory of, 13 n 1, 29.
- Nimrūd, 155 n, 176. See also under Nimrod.
- Nisān or Naisān, first month of the Jewish year, 108 n 4.
- Nīgārī Tūnī, a celebrated Persian poet, 622.
- Nīsapur,—or
- Nīshānpūr, a town of Khurāsān, 16 n 2, 34, 42 and n 1, 43 n 1, 50 n 2, 54 n 1, 633.
- Nīghtar*, a lancet, 504.
- Nījās, Sea of,—the Black Sea, 153 n 1.
- Nīwār, 495 n.
- Niyāl Tigin Amir Aḥmad, treasurer of Sūlṭān Maṣ'ud ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36 and nn 6, 8 and 9.
- Niyāzī Afghāns, the, 492, 493, 495, 497, 498, 499, 500, 508, 518, 520, 525.
- Nīzām, a governor, one who orders and directs, 612 n 1.
- Nīzām, the water-carrier who rescued Humeyūn from drowning, 461 and n 3.
- Nīzām, a youth mentioned in the poetry of Maulānā Nādirī-i-Samarqandī (q. v.), 611.
- Nīzām's dominions, the, 299 n 3.
- Nīzām Astarābādī, a master in astronomical poetry, 621, 626.
- Nīzām Khān of Baiāna, one of the Amirs of the Lodi family, 443, 445.
- Nīzām Khān, son of Sūlṭān Buhlūl Lodi, afterwards Sūlṭān Sikandar Lodi, 411.
- Nīzām Khān, son of Ḥasan Khān Sūr and full brother of Shīr Shāh, 467 n 5, 468, 495 and n 4.
- Nīzām Shāh Bahri, ruler of the Dakkan, 625 and n 3, 635, 636. See also under Nīzāmu-l-Mulk Bahri.
- Nīzām Shāhī dynasty of the Dakkan, 533 n 6.
- Nīzāmī, *nom de plume* of Khwāja Nīzāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 10, 45 and n 1.
- Nīzāmī,—or
- Nīzāmī Ganjawi, Shaikh, the famous Persian poet, 96 n 1, 114 n 2, 174 nn 2 and 3, 269 n 5, 298 and n 4.
- Nīzāmu-d-Dīn, Malik, nephew of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihli (q. v.), 220 and n 3.
- Nīzāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, father of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.
- Nīzāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Khwāja Muqīm Harawī, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 9 n 2, 10 n, 45 n 1, 62, 63 n, 569 n 6, 580 n 5, 585 n 7.
- Nīzāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad Iliās ibn Abī Yūsuf al-Muṭarrazı, name of the celebrated poet Nīzāmī, 298 n 4.
- Nīzāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa, Malik, Wazir of Sūlṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 220, 221, 222, 224. See also under Nīzāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa.

- Nizāmu-d-Din Auliya, son of Ahmad Dānyāl,—the Prince of Holy men, 71 n 2, 236 and n 2, 266 and n 1, 267, 269 n 5, 270 and n 6, 271 nn 1 and 4, 284, 301, 610 and n 4, 611 n. Nizāmu-d-Din Beghū Malik Shāh, the Turkomān, contemporary of Sultān Mas'ud Ghaznawī, 39.
- Nizāmu-d-Din Malik Shāh, the Saljūq, 41. See under Malik Shāh Saljūqī.
- Nizāmu-d-Din of Ondh, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 334.
- Nizāmu-l-Anliyā, 236 and n 2. Same as Nizāmu-d-Din Auliya (q. v.).
- Nizāmu-l-Mulk 'Alīqa, Wazir of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 222, 224, 226, 230 n 1. See also under Nizāmu-d-Din 'Alīqa.
- Nizāmu-l-Mulk Bahri, King of the Dakkan, 533, 534, 625 and n 3. See also under Nizām Shāh.
- Nizāmu-l-Mulk Hussain, son of Amir Miran, one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 333 and n 2.
- Nizāmu-l-Mulk Jandi (Junaidī), Wazir of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 90, 98, 119, 120.
- Nizāmu-l-Mulk Jundi (Junaidī), 120. See the above.
- Nizāmu-l-Mulk of Karra, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muhammed Tughlaq Shāh, 311.
- Nizāmu-l-Mulk Muhazzabu-d-Dīn, Wazir of the Shamsiyah Sultāns, 120, 122, 123 and n 3, 124.
- Nizāmu-t-Tawārikh of Baizawi, 10 n 3, 34 n 7, 51.
- Nizāmu-t-Tawārikh of Nizāmu-d-Dīn Ahmad, more commonly known as the Tubaqāt-i-Akkāri, 10 and n 3.
- Noah of the Scriptures, 61 n 5, 154 n 2, 198 n 1.
- Nöldeke's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araben*, 99 n 6.
- North-Western Provinces of India, 218 n 3, 377 n 3, 410 n 4, 486 n 6, 546 nn 3, 4 and 5.
- Northern Asia, 191 n 2.
- Northern India, 23 n 2.
- Noshāba or Nūshāba, image of, 381, 332 n.
- Nowshera (Naushahra), town of, 465 and n 2.
- Nūda Bahādur Shāh, Governor of Sunār Gānw, contemporary of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299, 300.
- Nūdiā,—or
- Nudiyā, old capital of Bengal, 82 and n 4. Called also Nadiya (q. v.).
- Nūh and Patal, name of a place, 359. See also under Nūh Patal.
- Nūh ibn Lamak, Noah of the Scriptures, 154 and n 2, 556. See also under Noah.
- Nūh, son of Mansūr, son of Nūh Sāmāni, of the dynasty of the Sāmanis, the kings of Khorāsān and Transoxiana, 14 n 1, 15 and n 4.
- Nūh Patal, a ford on the river Jamna, 386. See also Nūh and Patal.
- Nuh Sipihr, one of the poetical works of Mir Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 273 n 3, 274 n 1.
- Nūhānī, for Lūhānī (q. v.), 413 n 8.
- Nūhānī Afghāns of Baiāna, 549.

- Nūkhānī, for Lūhānī (q. v.), 413 and nn 3 and 12.
- Nuk̄batu-d-Dahr* of Dimashqī, 147 n 3.
- Numbers, the Book of, 302 n 2.
- Nūru-d-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, Mu'lā, 32 n 2, 272 n 1. See under Jāmī.
- Nūru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ūfi of Merv, 33 n 1. See under Muḥammad Ūfi.
- Nūshāba or Noshāba, image of, 331, 332 n.
- Nuṣrat Jalīsārī, Malik, 247. See under Nuṣrat Khān Jalīsārī.
- Nuṣrat Khān, son of Fath Khān, son of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 350. See under Nuṣrat Shāh.
- Nuṣrat Khān, son of Ghayṣū-d-Din Tughlaq Shāh, 297.
- Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz, one of the Maliks of the Firuz Shāhi and
- Saiyyid dynasties, 364 and n 1, 390, 391.
- Nuṣrat Khān Jalīsārī, one of the Maliks of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 247, 248, 249, 254, 256, 258.
- Nuṣrat Khān Karkandāz, 364. See under Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz.
- Nuṣrat Khān Lūhānī, one of the Generals of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 446 n 1. See under Nasir Khān.
- Nuṣrat Khān Maliku-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 335 and n 1, 376.
- Nuṣrat Khūkhar, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Mahmūd of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 358 n 6.
- Nuṣrat Shāh, Sultān, son of Fath Khān, son of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 350, 351, 352, 354, 359.

O.

- Ochus, father of Parysatis, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 n.
- Old Dihli, 366 n 1, 472.
- Oloug Beg, the royal astronomer, 198 n 2.
- Omar Khayyām, the celebrated Poet, 144 n 1, 474 n 1.
- Onyx, notes on, 147 n 3.
- Oodypur, called also Udhāfar, town of, 12, 18 n.
- Oozbuky, Abū Manṣūr, 47 n 7. See under Abū Manṣūr Zangi.
- Opium, notes on, 161 and n 3.
- Oriental Biographical Dictionary, Beale's, 32 n 1, 33 n 1, 38 n 4, 53 n, 54 n 2, 55 n 3, 58 n 5, 236 n 2,
- 297 n, 298 n 2, 332 n 2, 389 n 4, 507 n 2, 533 nn 1 and 6, 571 n 9, 584 n and n 3, 633 n 1.
- Oriental Proverbs, Roebuck's, 57 n 2, 58 n 1, 218 n 2, 244 n 5, 301 n 3.
- Orientals, the, 147 n 1.
- Orissa, 125 n 3, 299 n 2, 471 and n 8, 554.
- Osbaks, the. See under the Ozbaks.
- Osborn's Islām under the Arabs, 157 n 2.
- Osrūshna, a town beyond Samarcand in Transoxiana, 59 n 1.
- Oudh, 81, 87, 98, 125, 131, 222 and n 3, 236, 239, 243, 311, 312, 329 n 2, 334, 349, 415.

Owl, the,—the type of ill-omen, 58 n 1, 157 and n 1, 191 n 3.
 Oxus, the, 15 n 5, 23 n 1, 27 nn 1 and 2, 61 n 5. See also under the Jaihūn and the Jihūn.

Oxyartes, father of Roxana, wife of Alexander the Great, 381 n 10.
 Ozbaks, the, a tribe of the Turks, 570, 582, and n 7, 592 and n 9, 627 and n 7. See the Osbaks.

P.

- Pābandh Khabrak,—or
 Pābandh Khazak, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihli, 495 and n 5.
 Pādhām, town of, 377.
 Padmāwati, name of a place, 329.
 Pādzahr, the Bezoar stone, called Hajaru-l-Haiyyah, 118 n.
 Paik or Paik, a runner, 302 and n 3.
 Pāk Patan,—or
 Pāk Pattan, the town of Ajūdhan, 133 n, 355 n 1, 362 n 2, 363 n, 520 n 2.
 Pakhāwaj, a large kind of drum, 557 and n 3.
 Pālam, town of, 311, 351 and n 10.
 Pālhanpūr, for the town of Ilāhpūr, 410 n 3.
 Palmer's Qur'ān, 194 n 4, 216 n, 372 n 1, 519 n 7.
 Palwal, township of, 547 and n 5.
 Pān, or betel, 303 n.
 Panchānā river, the,—in Magadh, 82 n 1.
 Pandūah, town of, 325 n 3, 329.
 Pandūs, family of the, 293 n 5.
 Paneālī, town of, 81 n 4.
 Panipat,—or
 Panipath, town of, 21 n 4, 343, 351, 352, 354, 366 and n 8, 391, 440, 468, 592, n 9, 609 n 5.
 Panjāb, the, 78 and n 8, 90, 123, 217, 388, 389 n 2, 391, 437 n 8, 448, 462, 464, 466 n 6, 491, 492, 498, 505, 518, 520, 523, 530, 534, 542, 543, 559, 590 n 5, 594, 596, 598 n 10, 601.
 Panj Bhaiya, or the five brothers, Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihli, 544, 547.
 Panjgāh, town of, 622.
 Panj Ganj, one of the poetical works of Mir Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihli, 269 n 5.
 Panjanad river, the, 66 n 3.
 Panna, town and district of, 416 n 6, 417 and nn 5, 6 and 7, 433 n 3.
 Pāntar, township of, 559 and n 7, 560.
 Panwārs, the,—a clan of the Rājpūts, 384 and n 3.
 Parak, the star Canopus, 152 n 6.
 Param Talāo, name of a place, 829.
 Parama Dev, one of the Rājās of Hindūstān at the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī's invasion, 29 n.
 Parbatī, the,—a tributary of the Chambal river, 385 n 3.
 Parīhān Dev, Rāi, contemporary of Sultan Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 829 and n 9.
 Paring of nails, 139 n 5.

- Pari**, 67 n 1, 223 n 1, 265 n 5, 272 n, 311 n 5.
Parshādar, for **Parshāwar** (*q. v.*), 591 n 4.
Parshāwar, halting-place of, 591 and n 4.
Parshāwara, original name of the town of Peshāwar, 48 n 5.
Parshūr, the modern Peshāwar, 48 and n 5, 66 and n 6.
Parysatis, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 n.
Pashāla, town of, 583 and n 2.
Patal, town of, 359.
Patal, a mat, 618 n 2.
Patan or **Pattan**, a city of Gujerāt, anciently called Naharwāla, 28 and n 2, 71 and n 3.
Patani-Panjab, the same as Pāk Patan or Ajūdhan, 133 n, 520.
Pātar or **Pātur**, a dancing girl, 332 n 5, 496 and n 4.
Pātar, name of a place, 559 n 7.
Pathān Kings of Dehli, Thomas's, 64 n 3, 77 n 2, 83 n 3, 87 nn 1 and 6, 88 n 1, 91 n 5, 210 n 1, 126 n 3, 135 n 1, 269 nn 1 and 2, 307 n, 310 n 2, 311 n 4, 325 n 1, 326 n, 327 n 6, 337 n 4, 344 n 7, 345 n 4, 346 n 5, 347 n 3, 351 nn 4, 9 and 11, 352 n 2, 359 n 4, 366 nn 1 and 4, 399 n 7, 400 n 1, 556 n 5, 618 n 1.
Pathna, for the town of Panna, 417 n 5.
Pathurā, Rāī, Governor of Ajmīr, contemporary of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din Muhammed Sām Ghūrī, 69, 70, 257 and n 3.
Patiālā, town of, 99 n 3, 134 n 4. See the next.
Patīlī, town in Aliganj tahsil Etah District, N.-W. Provinces, 81 and n 4, 185 and n 1, 218 and n 3, 413 and n 10. See the above.
Patitah, town of, 81 n 4.
Patna, town of, 82 n 1, 415 and n 3, 416, 417, n 5, 470, 471, 485.
Patna, for the town of Thatta, 408 n 7.
Patta, name of a place, 416 n 6.
Pattan or **Patan**, a city of Gujerāt, 28 and n 2, 71 and n 3.
Pattan of the Panjab, the same as Pāk Pattan or Ajūdhan, 520 and n 2.
Pātur or **Pātar**, a dancing girl, 332 n 5, 496 and n 4.
Pātur bāzī, a kind of entertainment, 332 and n 5.
Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental*, 91 n 1, 215 nn 1 and 5, 240 n 6, 250 n 6, 258 n 5, 259 n 1, 292 n 3, 313 n 3, 325 n 2, 353 n 1, 354 n 7, 424 n 3, 439 nn 4 and 7, 440 n, 464 n 5, 468 n 2, 494 n 7, 497 n 1, 543 n 1, 568 n 5, 569 nn 5 and 6, 574 n 5, 578 n 9, 580 n 5, 592 n 5, 596 n 6.
Payāk, for the town of Prayāg (*q. v.*), 415 n 5.
Pāyik, a runner, 302 n 3.
Perceval. See under Caussin de Perceval.
Persia, 33 n 1, 46 n 5, 119 n 5, 141 n 4, 209 n 3, 233, 421, 618 n 1.
Persian Game of Chess, 103 n 1, 115 n, 479 n 7.
Persian Grammar, Platt's, 546 n 1.
Persian 'Irāq, 30 n 1.
Persians, the, 35 n 2, 43 n 1, 93 n 4, 104 n 3, 109 n 4, 166 n 1, 170 n,

- 175 n, 198 n 2, 230 n 4, 253 n 6, 280 n 8, 476 n 5.
- Persico-Latinum Lericon*, Vüller's, 440 n.
- Pertāb, Rāī, one of the Maliks of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 401 n 2.
- Perthas, son of Gaz the son of Japhet, 61 n 5.
- Peshawar, 18, 48 n 5, 66 n 6, 128 n 3.
- Philosophers, Four kinds of, 181 n 2.
- Phœnicians, the, 104 n 2.
- Phthisis, 319 and n 4, 320 n.
- Pilband*, a stratagem in the game of Chess, 114 n 2.
- Pind Dādān Khān tahāil, Jhilam District, Panjāb, 437 n 8.
- Pindār Khilji, Malik, called Qadr Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 302.
- Pingal*, the Science of Music, 332 and n 4.
- Pingala,—or
- Pingalanēga, the inventor of Hindū Prosody, 332 n 4.
- Pir Muhammād, Mīrzā, grandson of the great Timūr, King of Khurāsan and Mūwarā-an-Nahr, 352, 353, 355, 358 n 6.
- Pir Muhammād Khān, Governor of Balkh, contemporary of Humāyūn, 581, 582.
- Pir Roshan, name of Bāyazid Anṣārī, founder of a Ṣūfi sect, 58 n 5.
- Pirāhā, a ford on the river Ganges, 877 and n 1.
- Pirān, one of the companions of Afrāsyab, in the Shāh-nāma of Firdausī, 180 n 2.
- Pirey, Governor of Ghaznīn, 14 n 1.
- Pisæus, the Tyrrhenian, inventor of the *rostrum*, 29 n 5.
- Pithora, Rāī, 257 and n 3. See under Rāī Pathūrā of Ajmir.
- Piyāda-i-aqlī or original pawn, at Chess, 114 n 2.
- Plague, bubonic, 524 and n 1.
- Plato, 181 n 2, 520 n 7.
- Platt's *Gulistān*, 187 n 2.
- Platt's *Persian Grammar*, 546 n 1.
- Pleiades, the, 198 and n 2, 367 n 3, 630 and n 4.
- Pliny, 23 n 3, 24 n 6, 394 n 5.
- Polo, game of, 417 n 8.
- Pompeii, 119 n 5.
- Poni, town of, 384 n 1.
- Portugal, 543.
- Portuguese, the, 454 n 7.
- Postin*, a sheepskin coat, 617 and n 4, 618 n 1.
- Prayāg, the ancient name of Allahabad, 415 and n 5.
- Prayer, five stated times of, 147 n 2.
- Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, 18 n 1.
- Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 559 n 5.
- Prœnestē, oracle of, 412 n 1.
- Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldūn*, de Slane's, 151 n 4, 157 n 1, 181 n 2, 191 n 2, 217 n 5, 244 n 6.
- Prolégomènes des Tables Astronomiques d'Oloog Beg*, 198 n 2.
- Prosody*, Ranking's *Elements of Arabic and Persian*, 607 n.
- Proverbia Arabum*, Freytag's, 157 n 1, 458 n 3, 507 n 3, 580 n 1.
- Proverbs*, Roebuck's, 57 n 2, 58 n 1, 218 n 2, 244 n 5, 301 n 3.

- Psalms, Book of, 486 n 4.
 Ptolemy, 364 n 4, 382 n 4.
Pufak or *Tufak*, a long tube for throwing balls, 159 n 2.
 Pūhi, a ford on the Rāvī, 383 and n 10, 384 n 1, 392.
Pūjā of the Hindūs, 484 n 1.
 Punjāb. See under the Panjāb.
 Pulāq-Sūriq, name of a place, 569 and n 8.
 Purānas, the, 293 n 5.
- Pūranmal, son of Silhadī, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 475, 476 and n 3.
 Purifications enjoined by Muham-madan law, 603 n 2.
Puṣhakāl,—or
Puṣhkāl, the rainy season in Turkī, 325 n 2.
 Puttyaly, for the township of Baitālī on the banks of the Ganges, 360 n 3.

Q.

- Qāñ, title originally given to the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, 145 n 2.
 Qāñ-i-Mulk, title of Sultān Muham-mad, son of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 187, 189 and n 1, 217.
 Qāñī, the famous Persian poet, 253 n 6.
 Qabā, a tunic worn by men, 120 n 7.
 Qabū Khān Gang, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 597.
 Qabaq, a gourd in Turkī, 621 n 4, 622 and n 1.
 Qabaq andāzī, the game of, 621 n 5. See the next.
 Qabaq bāzī, a game of the ancient Turkomāns, who used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, 621 n 4. See also the above.
 Qabūl, Malik, Governor of Badāon under Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 335.
 Qabūl Khalifati, Malik, 315.
- Qabūl Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muham-mad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, 315.
 Qabūl Sarbardadār, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tugh-laq, 328 and n 1.
 Qabūl Torāband, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tugh-laq, 328 n 1.
 Qabulpūra, a quarter of Badāon, 335.
 Qadan Khān, or Qadr Khān, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Khilji of Mālwā, 399 n 1.
 Qadar Khān, King of Turkistān, 159 n.
 Qādir Khān, the son of Maḥmūd Khān of Kālpī, one of the Amirs of the Firoz Shāhī and Saiyyid dynasties, 375, 386.
 Qādir bi-lāhi Abu-l-'Abbās, Aḥmad ibn Ishāq ibn al-Muqtadir, Khalifah of the House of 'Abbās, 17 and n 2, 29 and n 2.
 Qādirī, the Persian poet, 485.

- Qadr Khān**, son of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231, **244**, 247 n and n 5.
- Qadr Khān**, son of Sulgān Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwa, 399 and n 1.
- Qadr Khān**, Malik Pindār Khiljī, the ruler of Lakhnautī, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 308.
- Qāf**, Koh-i-, a fabulous mountain round the world, 485.
- Qāfiyah**, the rhyme, a term of Pro-sody, 141 n 3, 607 and n 3.
- Qā'im**, Al—, the promised Mahdi, 571 n 2.
- Qairawān**, the ancient Cyrene, in the province of Tunis, 167 and n 4.
- Qaiṣar** or Cæsar, 145 and n 2.
- Qaizurān**, probably al-Khaizurān, a cemetery at Baghdād, 59 n 1.
- Qalandars**, a sect of dervishes, 234, 235.
- Qālij Khān**, son-in-law of Changīz Khān, 230.
- Qālij**, a sword in Turkī, 230 and n 4.
- Qalj**, modification of the word *qālij* (q. v.), 230 and n 4.
- Qamaru-d-Din Qirān-i-Timūr Khān**, one of the Maliks of the *Shamsiyah* dynasty of Dihli, 125 n 4.
- Qambar Diwāna**, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 597, 598, 599, **600**.
- Qamurgha**, a hunting ground in Turkī, 258 n 5.
- Qāmūs**, the Arabic Dictionary of Firuzabādi, 176 n 1, 182 n 4.
- Qanaj**. Same as the town of Qanauj (q. v.).
- Qanauj** or Qanaj, the Hindū capital of Northern India, 23 and nn 2 and 4, 24, 25 n 4, 70, 114 n 2, 125, 312, 329 n 2, 346, 347, **348**, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 404 and n 5, 409, 413, 431 and n 4, 434, 443, 444, 452, 463, 472, 540, 568 n 6. See Qannauj.
- Qanauj**, river of, 463.
- Qanauj**, Sarkār of, 410 n 4, 538.
- Qandahar**, 16 n 3, 17, 453, 455, 456; 462, 466, 560, 567 and n 9, 568, 569, 573 and n 1, 574, 575, 578, 588 and n 6, 590, 591.
- Qannauj**. See under Qanauj.
- Qānūn**, a Geographical work, 14 n 3, 17 n 4.
- Qānūn fi-t-Tibb**, a work on medicine by the celebrated Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), 533 and n 1.
- Qarābeg**, one of the Amirs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saifiyid dynasty of Dihli, 285, 290.
- Qarācha Beg**, the Governor of Qandahār, contemporary of Humāyūn, 560 and n 2. See also under Qurācha Khān and Qarrācha Khān.
- Qarācha Khān**, 560 n 2. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Qarāchal**, another name of the mountain of Himāchal (q. v.), 307 and n 4. See also the next.
- Qarājal**, the mountain of, 307 n 3, 308 n 1. See the above.
- Qarā Khiṭā** (Cathay), 71 n 7, 103 n 3.
- Qarāmitkah**, heretical sect of the, 22 n 3.
- Qarāqash**, Malik, one of the Amirs of the *Shamsiyah* dynasty, 123.
- Qarā Qürchi**, one of the Amirs of Bēbar, 441.

- Qarghan**, Nāib of the King of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sultān Muham-mad Tughlaq Shāh, 320.
- Qarn**, an uncertain period of time, 442 and n 1.
- Qarrācha Khān**, contemporary of Humāyūn, 586. See under Qarācha Beg and Qurācha Khān.
- Qārūn**, the Korah of the Scriptures, 249.
- Qāshān**, a district and town of Persian Irāq, 30 n 1.
- Qāṣidah**, a form of poem, 608 and n 3.
- Qāsim Ḫusain Sultān Usbeg**, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463.
- Qāsim Kāhi**. Maulānā, otherwise known as Miyān Kāli Kābulī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 517, 584 and nn 1 and 3, 601.
- Qāsim Sanbalī**, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty of Dihlī, 431 n 4, 443.
- Qaṣr Bāgh**, a palace in Dihlī, 126 n 3.
- Qaṣr-i-Safed**, a palace in Dihlī, 82 n 2, 183.
- Qassī**, called also Ṣaqif, founder of the Arab tribe of Ṣaqif, 12 n 1.
- Qaṣarāt-i-Naisān**, converted into pearls, 108 n 4.
- Qazdār**, an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 48 and nn 3 and 4.
- Qāzī**, an officer of justice under the Sadr, 610 n.
- Qāzī-i-Ūsharkh**, the planet Jupiter, 368 and n 3.
- Qāzī of the heavens**, the planet Jupiter, 368 and n 3.
- Qāzī of Nishāpūr** satirised, 633.
- Qāzī 'Abid**, one of the poets of the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq, 341 and n 2.
- Qāzī Asīr**, contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban, 217.
- Qāzī Baiżawī**, author of the *Anwārū-t-Tanzil* and the *Nizāmu-t-Tawārikh*, 6 and n 4, 34, 45, 52, 62, 63. See also under Baiżawī.
- Qāzī Hamīd of Balkh**, a celebrated writer and poet, 76 and n 1.
- Qāzī Khān**, Zīān-d-Din, a court officer of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 288, 289, 290.
- Qāzī Mugħlis of Hānsi**, one of the poets of the reign of Sultān Jalālu-d-Din Khilji, 245.
- Qāzī Urdū**, of Sultān Jalālu-d-Din Khilji, 234.
- Qazwīnī**, author of the *Āṣāru-l-Bilād* and the *'Ajā'ibu-l-Makhlūqāt*, 27 n 4, 28 n, 79 n 2, 178 n 4.
- Qiblah**, the direction in which Mus-lims turn in prayer, 368 n 1, 613 n.
- Qidāḥ**, arrows used for gambling, 369 n 1.
- Qidam**, explanation of the term, 1 n 4, 153 n 7.
- Qirān**, Malik,—or
- Qirān-i-Timūr Khān**, otherwise called Timūr Khān Qarā Beg, one of the Shamsiyah Maliks, 125 and n 4.
- Qirānu-s-Sā'dān**, a celebrated poem by Mir Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 135 n, 221 and n 2, 222 and n 1, 223 and n.
- Qisātu-l-Anbiyā**, Lives of the Prophets, 205 n 3.
- Qisā'a-i-Salāmān wa Absāl of Maulānā Jāmi**, 272 n 1.

- Qif'*, a district, 896 *n* 2.
Qif'ah, a term of Prosody, explanation of, 608 and *n* 3.
Qimir, the thin pellicle which covers the date-stone, 496 *n* 10.
Qitrān, exudation from species of mountain pines, 182 and *n* 4.
Qiwām, the stay or support of anything, 614 *n* 1.
Qiwām Khān, one of the Maliks of *Khiżr Khān*, the first of the Saīyid dynasty, 364, 375, 380.
Qiwāmu-d-Din Khandāwandzāda, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 314.
Qiwamūl-Mulk Malik Qabūl or Maqbūl, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 304, 315.
Qiyāmu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād Balbāni, 220, 224.
Qizil Bāsh, the,—
Qizilbāshees, Red-caps, 48 *n* 2, 480, 570, 572 and *n* 8, 573, 574, 575, 576, 578, 592 *n* 9, 627 *n* 7.
Qoraish, tribe of. See under *Quraish*.
Qubbatu-l-Islām, a title of the city of Multān, 133 *n* 2.
Qabūl Nāib Vazīr, the *Khān-i-Jahān*, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 324.
Qudsī, Mīr Husain of Karbalā, the poet, 623 and *n* 6.
Queen-consort of Humāyūn, 568. See *Hamida Bānū Begam*.
Quetta, 567 *n* 9.
Quicksilver, called *Abu-l-Arwāh*, 340 *n* 2.
Qūl, centre of an army in Turki, 439 *n* 4. Called also *Għul*.
Qälinq or *Colic*, notes on, 49 *n* 2.
Qulzum, the Ocean, 167.
Qurāchā Khān, contemporary of Humāyūn, 681 and *n* 9. See also under *Qarāchā Beg* and *Qarrāchā Khān*.
Quraish or *Qoraish*, tribe of, 2 *n* 5, 110 *n* 4, 287 *n* 2.
Qurān, the, 2 *nn* 2, 3 and 4, 3 *nn* 1 and 7, 4 and *nn* 1 and 2, 5 and *n* 1, 6 *nn* 1, 2 and 4, 18 *n* 1, 28 *n* 1, 30 *n* 1, 51, 58 *n* 4, 63 *n* 2, 102 and *n* 4, 108 *n* 2, 110 *n* 4, 113 *n* 1, 115 *n* 2, 126 *n* 3, 127, 128 *n*, 143 *n* 3, 144 *n* 2, 147 *n* 2, 150 *nn* 1 and 3, 158 *n* and *n* 1, 159 *n* 5, 175 *n* 4, 183 *n* 2, 191 *n* 1, 194 *nn* 1 and 4, 201 *n* 2, 207 *nn* 1 and 4, 212 *n* 7, 216 *n*, 218 *n* 2, 249 *n* 3, 261 *n* 6, 262 *n*, 279 *n*, 288, 292 *n* 6, 311, 319 *n* 1, 321 *n* 5, 331, 339, 356 *n* 4, 368 *n* 1, 369 *n* 1, 372 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 373 *n*, 392 *n* 6, 412 *n* 1, 429 *n* 6, 446 and *n* 5, 449 *n* 7, 450, 481 *n* 9, 485 *nn* 2 and 3, 486 *n* 8, 510 and *n* 6, 511 and *n* 5, 514, 515, 516, 517 *n* 8, 519 *n* 7, 522 *n* 5, 524 *n* 3, 532 *n* 6, 547 *n* 14, 555 *n* 6, 568 *n* 3, 577 *n*, 579 and *n* 5, 596 *n* 1, 603 *n* 6, 615 and *n* 5, 632 *n* 1.
Qurān, seven *manzils* or divisions of the. 6 *n* 1.
Qürchi, armed soldier in Turki, 215 *n* 3.
Qurra Qumār, one of the Maliks of the *Khilji* dynasty, 291, 293, 295.
Qurūna, an armed soldier, 215 and *n* 3.
Qurānu-s-Sumbul, a poison, 172 *n* 2.
Quṭas, the Tibetan *yak*, 543 *n* 1.

- Qutb Khān, one of the Amirs of the Sāyyid dynasty, 401 *n* 2.
- Qutb Khān, one of the Amirs of the Wālī of Bangālā, contemporary of Shīr Khān Sūr (*q. v.*) 470.
- Qutb Khān of Itāwah, one of the Amirs of the Lodi family, 443.
- Qutb Khān Lodi, cousin of Sultan Bahlūl Lodi, 403 *n* 7, 404 and *nn* 2 and 5, 405, 406, 407, 409 and *n* 7, 423 and *n* 2.
- Qutb Khān Nāib, one of the Amirs of Shīr Shāh, 476, 486, 488, 489, 490.
- Qutb Khān, son of Shīr Khān Sūr (*q. v.*), 457, 463, 472.
- Qutb Minār of Dehlī, called after Qutbu-d-Din Ushī (*q. v.*), 123 *n* 5.
- Qutbiyah Amirs, the Maliks of Sultan Qutbu-d-Din Aibak (*q. v.*), 90.
- Qutbu-d-Din Aibak or Ibak, Sultan, slave and adopted son of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din Ghūrī, 70, 72, 77 and *n* 3, 78 and *n* 3, 79 and *n* 3, 80, 81 and *n* 2, 82 and *n* 2, 86, 87, 88 *n* 1, 89, 90.
- Qutbu-d-Din Bakhtyār Ushī, Khwāja-i-Khwājagān, a famous saint, known as Ka'kī, 92 and *n* 2, 123 and *n* 5.
- Qutbu-d-Din Hasan, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 124.
- Qutbu-d-Din Husain ibn 'Ali Ghūrī, one of the Shamsiyah Maliks, 123 *n* 3.
- Qutbu-d-Din Ibak. See under Qutbu-d-Din Aibak.
- Qutbu-d-Din Lak-bakhsh, or bestower of laks, a name of Sultan Qutbu-d-Din Aibak, 77 and *n* 4.
- Qutbu-d-Din Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Rāzī, author of the Sharh-i-Shamsiyah, 427 *n* 1.
- Qutbu-d-Din Mubārak Shāh, Sultan, son of Sultan 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, of the Khiljī dynasty of Dihlī, 273, 274 and *n* 1, 275, 282, 283, 284, 289, 290, 291, 296 and *n* 3, 297.
- Qutbu-d-Din Shāh, the son and successor of Muḥammad Shāh I, son of Ahmad Shāh, Sultan of Gujarāt, 357 *n* 3.
- Qutbu-d-Din, Sāyyid, Shaikhul-Islām of Dihlī under the Shamsiyah Sultāns, 123 and *n* 5, 132.
- Qutbu-d-Din, eldest son of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish, 98.
- Qutbu-d-Din Ushī, Khwāja, the famous saint, 92 and *n* 2, 123 and *n* 5.
- Qutbu-l-'Ālam Shaikh Ruknul-Haqq Quraishi, Shaikhul-Islām under Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304 and *n* 4.
- Qutbu-l-Mashayikhī-l-'Izām, Shaikh Sharafn-d-Din Munīrī, a famous saint, 416 and *n* 13.
- Qutlugh Khān, one of the Amirs of the dynasty of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish, 131, 132 and *n* 4.
- Qutlugh Khān, one of the Maliks of Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309, 311, 312, 313.
- Qutlugh Khān, Malik Fazlul-lah Balkhī, one of the Amirs of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 351 and *n* 2.
- Qutlugh Khān the Vazir, Qāzī Samā'u-d-Din, one of the Amirs of Sultan Husain Sharqi of Jaunpūr, 406, 407.

Qutlugh Khwāja, the Mughul King of Khurāsān, 305. See also under **Qutluq Khwāja**.

Qutluq Khān, brother's son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din Khilji, 269.

Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā, the Mughul King of Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n-Nahr, contemporary of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din Khilji, 250 and n 1, 258, 305.

R.

Races of the North-Western Provinces of India, Elliott's, 122 n 1, 312 n 7, 384 n 3, 408 n 1, 415 n.

Radah, for *Roh*, a name of Afghānīstān, 466 n 5, 493 n 6.

Radhanpur, a city of Gujerāt, 28 n 2, 71 n 3.

Radif, in Persian prosody the name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme, 141 n 3.

Radif, in Prosody a letter of prolongation before the *rawī*, 607 and n 4.

Rafi'u-d-Din Ṣafāwī of Ij, Mīr Saiyid, Hazrat-i-Muqaddas, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 445, 476 and n 5, 479, 513, 514.

Rafīzī, or heretic, a term applied to any of the *Shī'ah* sects, 156 n 1, 604 and n 5, 626 n 6.

Rafīz, heresy, 626 and n 6.

Rahābe, a canal or aqueduct, 459 n 5.

Rahā'e, for *Rahābe*, a canal, 459 n 5.

Rahab river, the, 131 and n 2, 231, 251, 377, 379, 409.

Rahīm Dād, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of the Lodi dynasty, 445 and n 5.

Rahmān, Sūratu-r-, a chapter of the *Qur'ān*, 218 n 2.

Rahmatu-llāhi, a term applied to a weaver, 527, 528 n 1.

Rahmatu-llāhi Iqbāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 527.

Rāhū, a kind of flower, 142 n 3.

Rābu, a Hindū mythological monster and in Astronomy the ascending node, 163 n 2.

Rai, the ancient Rhages, a district and town of Persian 'Irāq, 30 and n 1, 35, 73 n 1.

Rā'i-i-Rāyān, title of Randhol, the uncle of Khusrū Khān Barāwar-bacha, 290.

Rā'i of Bārānāsī, the contemporary of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 329.

Rā'i of Dholpūr, the contemporary of the Lodis, 410, 419.

Rā'i of Gwālīār, the contemporary of the Saiyyids, 381, 384, 398.

Rā'i of Jājnagar, the, 329 n 6.

Rā'i of Satgarh, the contemporary of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, 329 and n 5.

Rā'i of Serinagar, for Rā'i Sīr (q. v.), 360 n 3.

Rā'i of Telingsā, the contemporary of Sultān Qutbu-d-Din Khilji, 286.

Rā'i Bhīm, the chief of Jammoo, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 and n 3.

Rā'i Fīroz of Tilaundī, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382 and nn 1 and 2, 390.

- Rāī Jai Chand, Governor of Qanauj, contemporary of Sultān Shihābu-d-Din Ghūrī, 70.
- Rāī Jaljin Bhatī, Governor of the fort of Bhaṭ at the time of Timūr's invasion, 355 and n 4.
- Rāī Karan of Gujerāt, contemporary of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 255, 256.
- Rāī Lakhmaniya, Lakhmia or Lakhminia, the ruler of Nadiyā, contemporary of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 82 and n 5, 83 n 1.
- Rāī Pathūrā, Governor of Ajmīr, contemporary of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 69, 70. See also Rāī Pithora.
- Rāī Pertub, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 n 2.
- Rāī Pithora, 257 and n 8. See under Rāī Pathūrā.
- Rāī Sanīr, 360 n 3. See Rāī Sir.
- Rāī Sar, the Governor of Chandāwar, contemporary of Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 377.
- Rāī Sen, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 475.
- Rāī Sir, the ruler of Baitālī, contemporary of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 360 and n 3.
- Rāī Unar, contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 332 n 6.
- Rāī Vikramējīt of Ujain, 95.
- Raiseen, for Rāsain or the two towns of Rās, 327 n 1.
- Rājā of Bheerbhoom, 329 n 9.
- Rājā of Dangaya (Bundelkhand), the contemporary of Muḥammad Shāh of the Mughul dynasty, 25 n 5.
- Rājā of Gwāliār, the contemporary of the Lodis, 419, 432.
- Rājā of Jaismīr, the contemporary of Humāyūn, 562.
- Rājās of Jamū, 19 n 2.
- Rājā of Kadba (? Garha-Katanka), the contemporary of Sultān Ibrāhim Lodī, 433 n 3.
- Rājā of Mandrāyal, the contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 420.
- Rājā of Nagarkot, the contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 331.
- Rājā of Qanauj, the contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 26.
- Rājā of Rohtās, the contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 457.
- Rājā of Thatta, the contemporary of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 408.
- Rājā Dāhir, contemporary of Muḥammad Qāsim, the conqueror of Sind, 12 n 2, 13 n.
- Rājā Kansa, of Mathra, the enemy of Krishṇa, 24 n 6.
- Rājā-Turanginī, an historical work in Sanskrit, 8 n 3, 18 n 1.
- Rajab, Malik, the Governor of Depalpur under the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 n 11.
- Rajab Nādira, Malik, the Governor of Multān under the Saiyyid dynasty, 387.
- Rāj Gar, a town on the banks of the Ganges, 404.
- Rajīwa, a canal leading from the Jumna to Hissār, 325 n 3, 326 n.
- Rajputāna, 69 n 2, 298 n 7, 379 n 1, 419 n 3.
- Rājpūts, the, 13 n, 365 n 8, 382 n 4, 384 n 3, 397 n 1, 414 n 13.
- Rājū, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 349.
- Rājūri, town of, 500.

- Rakat Chandan*, the red Sandal, 484 n 1.
- Rām, a Rājā of Hindūstān, contemporary of Sultān Maśūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 37.
- Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhatta, contemporary of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 553, 554.
- Rām Chandra, the Rājā of Deogarh, 271 n 6. Same as Rām Deo (q. v.).
- Rām Deo, Rāi of Deogir, contemporary of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 237, 247 n, 251 n 7, 256, 271 n 6, 283. See the above.
- Ramal-i-muṣamman*, a kind of prosodial metre, 607 n.
- Rāmāyana, the, 8 n 2.
- Ramghar, a fortress in the province of Agra, 70 n 4.
- Rana, village of, 364 n 7.
- Rānā, the Governor of Amarkot, contemporary of Humāyūn, 566.
- Rānā Śukhā, one of the Amirs of the Lodi dynasty, 444, 445, 446, 452, 470.
- Randhol, Rāi-i-Rāiyān, the uncle of Khusrū Khān Barāwar, the favourite of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289, 290.
- Rang, a cluster of globular bells, 621 n 2.
- Ranking's Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody, 607 n.
- Bantambhor,—or
- Bantambhūr, fortress of, in the province of Ajmīr, 92 and n 4, 120 and n 4, 129, 236, 257 and nn 1, 3 and 7, 258, 260, 261, 262, 410, 425, 475, 479, 486, 526, 597.
- Ranthambhūr, fortress of, 92 and n 4. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Rānūn the Black, a slave of Sidh Pāl (q. v.), 395.
- Rāo Khiljī, Governor of the fort of Bhat at the time of Timūr's invasion, 355 and n 4.
- Rāo Zorāwar Singh, also known as Rāpar Sen, founder of the town of Rāparī, 377 n 5.
- Rāpar Sen, 377 n 5. See the above.
- Rāparī,—or
- Rāprī, district and town of, 377 and nn 4 and 5, 387, 404, 407, 413, 430.
- Raqīb, name of the third arrow in the game of *maixir*, 369 n 1.
- Raqqāz-i-falak, or the dancer of the sky, a name of the planet Venus, 138 n 3.
- Rās, town of, 326 n, 327 and n 1.
- Rāsain, the two towns of Rās, 326 n 327 n 1.
- Rashid Vazir, Khwāja, minister of the King of Khurāsān, 605.
- Rashidkot, fortress of, in the northern hill-range of the Panjāb, 498.
- Rashīdu-d-Dīn, author of the *Jāmi-* 'u-t-Tawārikh, 307 n 4, 353 n 1.
- Rata, village of, 364 and n 7.
- Rāthor tribe of Rajpūts, the, 384 nn 2 and 3.
- Rauzatu-ṣ-Safq, an historical work, 62 and n 3, 121 n 1.
- Raverty's Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri, 13 n 1, 14 nn 1 and 2, 16 nn 1 and 2, 19 n 2, 20 n 2, 23 n 1, 29 n 1, 31 n 1, 38 n 2, 35 n 1, 37 n 6, 38 nn 1 and 3, 42 n 3, 43 n 3, 44 nn 6 and 8, 45 n 3, 46 n 2, 47 n 1, 49 n 4, 50 n 1, 55 nn 2 and 4, 60 nn 1 and 2, 62 n

- 4, 65 n 2, 66 nn 1, 2 and 6, 67 nn 1 and 3, 69 nn 2, 3 and 4, 70 nn 1 and 3, 71 nn 1, 5, 6 and 7, 72 nn 1 and 4, 73 n 2, 77 n 2, 78 n 3, 79 n 3, 80 nn 3 and 4, 81 nn 2, 3 and 4, 82 nn 3 and 4, 83 nn 1 and 3, 84 n and nn 1 and 2, 85 nn 1, 2 and 4, 86 n 2, 87 nn 1, 3 and 3, 90 nn 1 and 2, 91 n 1, 92 n 2, 94 n 2, 95 n 8, 98 nn 2 and 5, 120 n 6, 121 nn 5 and 7, 122 nn 1, 2 and 3, 123 nn 2, 3 and 5, 124 n 3, 125 nn 3 and 4, 127 n 2, 128 n 1, 129 n 4, 130 n 1, 131 n 4, 132 n 1, 185 n 1.
- Rāvī, the, one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 23 n 3, 67 n, 128, 188, 190 and n 2, 355 n 1, 383, 384 n, 389 and n 2, 392.
- Rāwāl Pindi, 44 n 6.
- Rāwar, Fort of, in Sind, 12 n 2.
- Rāwi, the essential letter in the *qāfiyah* or rhyme, 607 nn 3 and 4.
- Rāyāt-i-A'lā, title of Saiyyid Khizr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 376 and n 1.
- Rāzī, relative adjective from the town of Rai, 80 n 1.
- Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya, known as Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 n 1.
- Rāzī, Imām, 73. See under Fakhrud-Dīn Rāzī.
- Rāzīyah Khātūn, Sultān, eldest daughter of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98, 119, 120 and n 8, 121 and nn 1 and 5, 122 and nn 1 and 2, 294 and n 5.
- Red-caps, the, a name of the Turkomāns of Garm Sir, 48 and n 2. See also under the Qizil Bāsh.
- Red Palace of Sīrī, at Dihlī, 260 n 7, 261, 269 n 1.
- Red Sea, the, 169 n 1.
- Redhouse, Mr., 89 n 1.
- Redhouse's *Turkish Dictionary*, 575 n 1.
- Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, 27 nn 1 and 2, 30 n and n 1, 34 nn 1, 2 and 3, 86 n 2, 67 n 1, 71 n 8, 147 n 1, 167 n 4, 265 n 5, 307 n 4.
- Rennell, 22 n 5, 69 n 2, 80 n 1, 93 n and n 1, 128 n 3, 129 n 2, 186 n 6, 325 n 3, 326 n, 327 n 3, 344 n 7, 355 n 1, 362 n 3, 364 n 4, 380 n 2, 382 n 2, 415 n 7, 417 n 7, 419 n 6, 420 n 5, 423 n 5, 530 n 3.
- Rewā, town of, 417 n 7.
- Rewa State, 417 n 7.
- Rewārī, a town in the province of Mīwāt, 366 n, 537.
- Reyy, 30 n 1. Same town as Rai (q. v.).
- Rhagō, ancient name of the town of Rai (q. v.), 80 n 1.
- Rhages, capital of the province of Rhagiana, 30 n 1.
- Rhagiana, the province of Rai in Persian 'Irāq, 30 n 1.
- Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 n 1. See under Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya.
- Rhétorique et Prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musulmān*, Garcin de Tassy, 428 n 2, 605 nn 8 and 9, 606 n 2, 607 n 4, 608 n 3.
- Rīāsi, town of, 384 n 1.
- Ribābah, the bag in which the arrows were put in the game of *māsir*, 369 n 1.

- Ribāt, a fortified station on an enemy's frontier, 44 n 5, 106 n 2.
- Ribāt Amīr, name of a place in Seistān, 48 and n 1.
- Richardson's Persian Dictionary, 214 n 2, 215 n 6.
- Rid̄f, a letter of prolongation before the rawī of a rhymo, 607 n 4.
- Rig Veda, the, 293 n 5.
- Rij'at, motion of a star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction, 374 n 7.
- Ring of 'Ali, possessed of magical properties, 505 and n 6.
- Ring of Solomon, 205 n 3, 505 n 6, 559 and n 2.
- Rish̄wati, poetical name of Mir Saifyid Na'matu-llah (q. v.), 533 n 7, 534 n 4.
- Rizwān, the door-keeper of Paradise, 194 and n 3, 281, 601.
- Rocky Citadel, the, or Shahr-i-Nau, on the banks of the Jumna, 231.
- Roebuck's Oriental Proverbs, 57 n 2, 58 n 1, 218 n 2, 244 n 5, 301 n 3.
- Roh, a name of Afghānistān, 406 and n 5, 493 and n 6.
- Rohilkhand,—or
- Rohilkhund, district of, known also as Kaithar, 185 n 2, 359 n 4, 364 n 4.
- Rohri, town of, 559 n 6.
- Rohtak, town of, 72 n 2, 222, 351, 364, 365, 375.
- Rohtās, fortress of,—in the Panjāb, 457, 466 n 6, 468, 472, 474, 493, 498, 501, 503, 592.
- Rohtas Bihār, Sarkār of, 185 n 1.
- Rohtās Sharqī, in the Shāhēbād district of Bengal, 466 n 6.
- Rohtasgarh, in the Shāhēbād district of Bengal, 466 n 6.
- Romans, the, 18 n 1, 76 n, 104 n 2, 494 n 7.
- Romans, Epistle to the, 474 n 1.
- Rome, 119 n 5.
- Rook, the castle at chess, 505 and n 2.
- Roookn Khān, for Akat Khān the nephew of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Din Khilji, 259 n 5.
- Rose, properties of the, 148 n 4.
- Rosenweig-Schwanau's *Diwan Hafis*, 121 n 3.
- Roshan, Pir, founder of the Roshaniyyah Sect (q. v.), 58 n 5.
- Roshan Beg Koka, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 565.
- Roshaniyyah, or the Enlightened, a Sufī sect founded by Büyazid Anṣārī, also called Pir Roshan, 58 n 5.
- Ross. See under Elias and Ross.
- Rostrum, an ancient instrument of war, 29 n 5.
- Roxāna, wife of Alexander the Great, 331 n 10.
- Royal Asiatic Society, *Journal of the*, 16 n 2, 33 n 1, 47 n 2, 59 n 1, 87 n 1, 103 n 1, 109 n 4, 115 n and n 3, 141 n 4, 380 n 7, 479 n 7, 571 n 2.
- Rubāb, a stringed instrument like a guitar, 367 n 5.
- Ruby, Four kinds of, 25 n 2.
- Ruby Palace, at Dihlī, 260.
- Rue, its efficacy in exorcism, 617 n 1.
- Rūb, the vital principle, 144 n 2, 145 n.

- Rūh or Roh, a name of Afghānistān, 466 and *n* 5, 493 and *n* 6, 520.
- Rūhānī, a learned man of the time of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Iyāl-timish, 93 and *n* 2.
- Rūn, a village of the dependencies of Lahore, 54 and *n* 2.
- Rujū-i-kaukab, an astronomical term, 874 *n* 7. See under *Rij'at*.
- Rukh, the cheek and also the castle at chess, 505 *n* 2.
- Rukn Khān Afghān, one of the Amirs of the Sūr dynasty, 598.
- Rukn-i-Yamānī, the south corner of the Ka'bah, 97 and *n* 4.
- Ruknu-d-Din Chanda Wazīr, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 341, 342.
- Ruknu-d-Din Firoz Shāh, Sultān, son of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Iyāl-timish 97, 98, 99, 113.
- Ruknu-d-Din Ibrāhīm, son of Sultān Jalālu-d-Din Khiljī, 244, 247 and *n* and *n* 5. See also under Qadr Khān.
- Ruknu-d-Din Quraishī, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Din ‘Arif and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Din Zukariyā, contemporary of the Sultāns Alāu-d-Din and Quṭbu-d-Din Khiljī, 248 and *n* 2, 284, 304 and *n* 4.
- Ruknu-d-Din Tughral Beg, founder of the Saljuqiyah dynasty of Khorāsān, 42 *n* 3, 61 *n* 5.
- Ruknu-l-Haqq Quraishī, Shāikhul-Islām, 304 and *n* 4. Same as Ruknu-d-Din Quraishī (*q. v.*).
- Rūm, country of, 585 *n* 7, 621.
- Rūm, Sea of,—the Mediterranean, 153 *n* 1.
- Rūm, Sultān of,—title of the Sultāns of Turkey, 480.
- Rūmī Khān, the Artillerist of Humāyūn, 456 and *n* 7.
- Rūn, a place near Lahore, 54 *n* 2.
- Rūna, a village in Nisāpūr of Khurāsān, 54 *n* 1.
- Rūnī, Abu-l-Faraj, a celebrated poet of the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznavī, 53 *n*, 54 and *n* 1.
- Rūpar, town of, 362 and *n* 1, 380 and *n* 2, 382 and *n* 3.
- Ruqaiyyah, daughter of Muḥammad and wife of ‘Uṣmān ibn ‘Affān, 59 *n* 4.
- Rūshāna, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 *n*.
- Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 14 *n* 3, 39, 114, 116 *n* 5, 117, 127, 180 *n* 2, 181 and *n* 1, 199, 207, 294, 548.
- Rustum, one of the Generals of the Great Timūr, 358 *n* 6.
- Rusuldār, Saiyyid, one of the court officers of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 328.
- Rusūlī, poetical name of Mir Saiyyid Na’matu-llāh, one of the poets of the reign of Islem Shāh, 533 and *n* 7, 534 and *n* 4.
- Rusūlpūr, the fortress of Shamsābād, 472.
- Ruswāī, disgraced, 499.
- Ruttunpoor, for the town of Ilāhpūr, 410 *n* 3.
- Rūzbih, Persian name of Salmān al-Fārsī, 572 *n* 1.

S.

- Sā'ādat Khān, commonly known as 'Abdu-r-Rasūlīd Sultānī, one of the Amirs of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 349, 350 and n 3.
- Sā'ādat Khān Bārbak, 350 n 3. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Subb*, reviling on religious grounds, when justifiable, 577 n.
- Sabetzgar, a fortress in the province of Agra, 70 n 4.
- Şabit-bin-Jābir al-Fahmī, commonly known as Ta'abbata Sharran, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, 527 n 3.
- Sab'u-l-Mathāni, the first chapter of the Qur'ān and also the seven manzils or divisions of this book, 6 n 1.
- Sachau's *Alkirānt*, 17 n 4, 22 n 5, 23 n 2, 76 n, 79 n 2, 95 n 5, 104 n 2, 108 n 4, 131 n 2.
- Sacred Books of the East*, 110 n 4.
- Sacy, De, *Anthologie Grammaticale Arabe*, 6 n 4.
- Sa'd*, an auspicious planet, 630 and nn 2 and 3.
- Sa'd Falsafī, the poet,—one of the contemporaries of Mir Khusrū, 298.
- Sa'd ibn Salmān, Khwājā, father of the famous poet Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān Jurjānī, 52 n 5, 55.
- Sa'd-i-Akbar*, name given to Jupiter by astrologers, 79 n 2.
- Sa'd-i-Manjīqī*, one of the poets of the reign of Sultan Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji, 245, 246.
- Sa'dan*, name of Jupiter and Venus as the two auspicious planets, 630 n 2.
- Sadar Mahādeo, Rāī of Arankal, one of the contemporaries of Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297.
- Sadhu Nādir,—or
- Sadhu Nādira, Malik, one of the Amirs of Khizr Khān, first Sultan of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378 and n 3, 379.
- Sa'dī of Shiraz, Shaikh, 187 and n 2.
- Sadīdī, author of *al-Mughnī fi Sharhi-l-Mujāz* (q. v.), 5 n 8, 31 n, 42 n, 49 n 2, 102 n 1, 148 n 4, 319 n 4, 320 n, 532 n 7, 533 n.
- Sadpāl or Sidh Pāl, grandson of Kanjui Khatrī, a *prolégé* of the Mubārak Shāhi family, 393 n 3, 394, 395, 397.
- Sadr, a term of Prosody, explanation of, 606 n 4.
- Sadr, highest officer of justice, 609 n 6.
- Sadr-i-Jahān, Chief Judge, 523 n 5.
- Sadr Jahān Gujrātī, the Historian, 300 n 3.
- Sadr-i-kull, Chief Judge, 523 n 5.
- Sadr-i-mustaqill, Judge-plenipotentiary, 609 and n 6.
- Sadru-d-Dīn 'Arif, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Bahān-d-Dīn Zakariyā, 133 n 2, 248 n 2.
- Sadru-d-Dīn Multānī, the Shaikhu-l-Islām under Sultan Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 324.
- Sadrul-Mulk Najmu-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, the Wazir of Sultan 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ud Shāh of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 124.

- Sadru--Sudūr, Chief Judge, 506, 523 and n 5.
- Sa'du-d-Din at-Taftāzāni, author of the Mu'awwal, 428 n 3.
- Sadūq, Shaikh, author of the Jāmi'u-l-Akhbār, 189 n 5.
- Safā, a hill in the vicinity of Makkah, 279 n.
- Safdar Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 344.
- Safdar Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 419 and n 1.
- Safedar or Safidár, the white Poplar or Abele, 494 and n 6.
- Saffron, notes on, 41 n 2.
- Safidár, the white Poplar. See under Safedar.
- Safīḥ, one of the blank arrows in the game of Maisir, 369 n 1.
- Sug-i-falak, the dog of the sky, 498, and n 5.
- Sāgur, town of, 304 n 1.
- Sahā'i if-ju-l-Kalām, a treatise on Metaphysics, 427 n 1.
- Sahār, Sarkār of, 410 n 4.
- Sahūranpūr, hills of, 334 n 7.
- Šāhibu-z-Zanj, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, of the family of 'Alī, raises a revolt at Baṣra, 358 n 3.
- Sahīhu-l-Bukhāri, the famous collection of authentic traditions by Imām Bukhāri, 6 n 3.
- Sahsārām, a dependency of Rohtās, 466, 468, 471, 484, 533.
- Sahūr, or morning meal on a fast day, 177 n 4.
- Sai, the,—one of the principal streams of Oudh, 222 n 8.
- Sa'id Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 419.
- Sa'id Khān, brother of A'zam Humā-yūn of Lāhor, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 491, 493, 498.
- Sa'id Khān Lodi, one of the Amīrs of the Lodi dynasty, 434.
- Sa'id Ṣarṣārī, Hājī, envoy of the Egyptian Khalifah to Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 310 and n 1.
- Saïdes or Saiyyids, title of the descendants of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, 80 n 5.
- Saifi, author of a treatise on Prosody, 183 n 1.
- Saifu-d-Din Kūjī, feudatory of Hānsī, one of the Maliks of the Shamsiyāh dynasty, 98 and n 2, 120 n 2.
- Saifu-d-Dīn, Malik, son of Malik Niẓāmu-d-Dīn the ruler of Oudh, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 334.
- Saifu-d-Dīn Sūrī, brother of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Ḥasan the king of Ghor, 60.
- Sairu-l-Ibād ilā-l-Ma'ād, one of the works of Hakim Sanā, 56 n 2.
- Saiyyid, application of the term, 80 n 5, 303 n 4.
- Saiyyid Bukhāri, a Muḥammadan saint, 80 n 1.
- Saiyyid Khān, Khān-i-A'zam, son of Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarbhindah, 388, 396.
- Saiyyid Mansūr, one of the Generals of Amir Muḥammad, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawi, 46.
- Saiyyid Rusūldār, one of the Court officers of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 328.
- Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarbhindah, one of the Amīrs of Khizr Khān of the

- Saiyyid dynasty, 388 and *nn* 1 and 2.
- Saiyyid Zādā-i-'Alawī, Shāh Nabsa, grandson by his mother's side of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish, 260 and *n* 7, 261.
- Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah, 388 *n* 1. See under Saiyyid Sālim.
- Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn Sultān Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ud ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 51, 52. See under Ibrāhīm.
- Saiyyids, the descendants of 'Alī, 80 *n* 5.
- Sajdah* or *Sijdah*, a prostration in prayer, 612 *n* 3.
- Sakbā*, a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar, 298 *n* 5.
- Saketh, a township in the Sarkār of Qanaūj, 410 *n* 4.
- Sakib, for the township of Sakīt, 410 *n* 4.
- Sakina, town of, 377 and *n* 4.
- Sakīt, a town in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, 377 *n* 4, 407 *n* 1, 410 and *n* 4.
- Sakīt Singh, the Rāī of Itāwa, contemporary of Sultān Bahlūl Lodi, 410 *n* 4.
- Sakita, town of, 377 *n* 4. See the town of Sakīt.
- Sakkar, fortress of, 422.
- Sakpat, for the town of Sakīt (*q. v.*), 410 *n* 4.
- Saktī, a female deity, 20 *n* 5.
- Sāl wood, 599 and *n* 18.
- Sēl Mastān, for Shāl-o-Mastāng, two villages near Quetta, 567 *n* 9.
- Sēl Wahsanān, for Shāl-o-Mastāng, two villages near Quetta, 567 *n* 9.
- Salāmān and Absāl, Story of, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.
- Salāṭīn-i-haqīqī, true kings, i.e., the prophets, 143 *n* 1.
- Salāṭīn-i-mujāzī, so-called kings, i.e., the kings of the earth, 143 and *n* 1.
- Sālbāhan, the Rājā of Patna, one of the contemporaries of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 416.
- Šaldī, a Mughul commander, attacks Hindūstān in the reign of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249 and *n* 5.
- Sale's *Koran*, Preliminary Discourse, 21 *n* 1, 157 *n* 2, 499 *n* 5.
- Salim Chishtī of Fathpūr, Shaikh, the famous saint, 488, 508, 535, 600.
- Salim Shāh, son of Shīr Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 447, 490 and *n* 4, 494, 495, 497, 500, 502, 525, 526, 527, 588. See under Islem Shāh.
- Sālim of Tabarhindah, Saiyyid, one of the Amirs of Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 388 and *nn* 1 and 2.
- Salima, same as the Sarsutī, a tributary of the Sutlej, 330 and *nn* 4 and 7.
- Sālimpūr, village of, on the south bank of the Gandak, 409 *n* 5.
- Saljūqiyah dynasty of Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n-Nahr, 35 *nn* 1 and 3, 38 *n* 3, 42 *n* 3, 51 *n* 2, 55 *n* 3, 61 *n* 5. See also the next.
- Saljūqs, the, 33 *n* 1, 42 *n* 1, 45 and *n* 2, 51, 167 *n* 3. See the above.
- Salm, one of the sons of Faridūn, of the ancient kings of Persia, 435 and *n* 2.

- Salmān al-Fārsī, called in Persian Rūzbih, one of the Companions, 572 and *n* 1.
- Salmān Sāwajī, a famous poet, panegyrist of Amir Shaikh Hasan and his son Sultān Awais Jalāyer, 571 *n* 9, 605, 633 and *n* 1.
- Salt Range, the, 19 *n* 4, 128 *n* 3.
- Sālū, Shāh Muḥammad Khān, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 618 and *n* 7, 619.
- Sām, one of the heroes of the Shāh-nāma, 72, 178 *n* 2.
- Sām Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 453 and *n* 8, 455.
- Samak, the fish which bears the Earth, 152 and *n* 2.
- Sāmān, ancestor of the Sāmāni Kings of Khurāsān, 72.
- Sāmāna, town of, 132, 186, 221, 243, 305, 310, 328, 330, 334, 338, 342, 343, 352, 355, 360, 362, 364, 365 and *n* 8, 378, 382, 390, 391, 392, 396, 398, 399, 428, 595.
- Sāmānis, the, a dynasty of Kings in Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n-Nahr, 13 *n* 1, 14 *n* 1, 16 *n* 2.
- Samar, the Mughūl, one of the generals of Chingiz Khān, 188 *nn* 1 and 2.
- Samarqand, town of, 6 *n* 3, 27 *n* 1, 59 *n* 1, 159 *n*, 310, 359, 443, 570 *n* 7.
- Samarqandī, author of the Sharh-i-Sahā'if on Metaphysics, 427 *n* 1.
- Sāmarrā, also called Surra-man-raā, a town in 'Irāq on the Eastern bank of the Tigris, 59 *n* 1, 571 *n* 2.
- Sāmā'u-d-Dīn, a protégé of Muham-mad Shāh, son of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 388.
- Sāmā'u-d-Dīn Kanbawī,—or Sāmā'u-d-Dīn Kanbū of Dihlī, Shaikh, one of the greatest of the 'Ulama Shānikhs, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and *n* 9, 430.
- Sāmā'u-d-Dīn Qutlugh Khān the Vazīr, one of the Amirs of Sultān Husain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 406.
- Sambal. See under Sambhal.
- Sambalaka, the town of Sambhal as called by Ptolemy, 364 *n* 4.
- Sambast, town of, 358 *n* 6.
- Sambhal, district and town of, called also Sambal, Sanbal and Sanbhal, 335 and *n* 8, 351, 364, 375, 395, 396, 406, 415, 418, 419, 426, 431 *n* 4, 435 and *n* 6, 443, 444, 451, 495, 525, 545, 547, 548, 590 *n* 5, 597, 598, 604.
- Samīr, Rāī, Governor of Itāwa, con-temporary of Khizr Khān of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 380 *n* 5.
- Sāmirah, otherwise known as Surra-man-raā or Sāmarrā, in 'Irāq, 571 and *n* 2.
- Samnān, town of, 571 *n* 9.
- Sāmothalā, a place twelve *krohs* from Lahore, 349
- Samundar, name of the Bang Matī when it enters Hindustān, 84 *n*.
- Samvat era of Vikramādityā, 95 and *n* 5.
- Šan'a', capital of Yaman in Arabia, 262 *n*.
- Sanī, Hakīm,—the celebrated poet of Ghaznī, 35 *n* 1, 56, 57.
- Sanām or Sannām, town of, 138 *n* 1, 236, 310, 330 *n* 7, 438.
- Sanbal, town of, 375. See Sambhal.
- Sanbal, Sarkār of, 495.

- Sanbal, a tribe of the Afghāns, 500.
 Sanbhal. See under the town of Sambhal.
 Sanbūz hills, the Kumāon hills, 186 n 1.
 Sanchī inscription, the, 18 n 1.
 Sandal wood, notes on, 484 and n 1, 627 and n 2.
 Sandīla, district of, 349.
 Sang Surākh, on the route between Ghaznī and the Panjāb, 78 and n 3.
 Sanīr, Rāī, of Baitālī, contemporary of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 n 3.
 Sānkā, Rānā, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 444, 445, 446, 452, 470.
 Sankāpūr, for the town of Shikārpūr, 487 and n 2.
 Sānkot, for the fortress of Siālkot, 49 and n 1.
 Sannām or Sanām, town of, 138 n 1, 286, 310, 330 n 7, 438.
 Saqīf, called also Qassī, founder of the Arab tribe of Saqīf, 12 n 1.
 Saqīf, a tribe of the Arabs, 12 n 1, 28 n 1.
 Saqīlāt or Siqlat, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 and n 3.
 Sar, Rāī, Governor of Chandawar, contemporary of Khīzr Khān of the dynasty of the Sayyids, 377.
 Saracens, the, 635 n 6.
 Sarakhs, a city of Khurāsān, also called Sarkhas, 43 and nn 1, 2 and 3, 71.
 Sāran, town of, 406 and n 4, 417.
 Sārang Khān, the ruler of Dipālpūr, one of the Maliks of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 349, 352, 353, 355, 358, 362, 380 and n 4.
 Sārang Khān, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Bābar, 444.
 Sārangpūr, town of, 454.
 Sarastu, township of, in the neighbourhood of Sambhal, 525.
 Sarasvatī, the, 330 n 7. See under the Sarsutī river.
 Sardar, town of, 326 n 2.
 Sardārs in front of the throne, 497.
 Sāregh Kotwāl, an officer of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī, 22.
 Sargdawārī, a ford on the Ganges, 377. See also under Sarkdawārī.
 Sārī,—or
 Sāriyah, a town of Tabaristān, 36 and n 3.
 Sarjū river, also called the Sarū (q. v.), 221 n 3, 222 n 3, 223 n.
 Sarkār of Allahabad, 416 n 3.
 Sarkār of Hisṣār Firoza, 439.
 Sarkār of Qānauj, 410 n 4, 538.
 Sarkār of Sahār, 410 n 4.
 Sarkār of Sanbal, 495.
 Sarkārs of Hindūstān, 495, 496.
 Sarkdawārī, town of, 311, 312. See also under Sargdawārī.
 Sarkés, in Gujarāt near to Ahmadābād, 357 n 4.
 Sarkhas, a city of Khurāsān, called also Sarakhs, 43 and nn 1, 2 and 3, 71.
 Sarkhatra, canal, 327 n 3.
 Sarkhech, near Ahmadābād, 357 n 3. See the following.
 Sarkhej,—or
 Sarkhez, in Gujarāt near to Ahmadābād, 357 and nn 3 and 4.
 Sar Manzil, 595.

- Sarmast Khân, the Afghan, one of the Amîrs of Islem Shâh of the Afghân Sûr dynasty of Dihlî, 501, 534.
- Sarmast Khân Sarbanî, one of the Amîrs of 'Adlî, 538.
- Sar Salâpi Kotwâl, an officer of Sultân Quṭbu-d-Din Mubârak Shâh, son of 'Alâu-d-Din Khiljî, 275 and n 1, 277.
- Sarsatî, a fortress in the hills of Kashmîr, called also Sursatî and Sarsutî (q. v.), 36 and n 1.
- Sarsutî river, called also the Saraswatî, and the Salima, 27 n 4, 69, 324, 330 and nn 6 and 7, 382.
- Sarsutî, the country south of the Himâlaya, also called Sarsatî and Sursatî, 70 and n 1, 80.
- Sarsutî, fortress of, 293, 324, 327 and n 3, 355, 404 n 2. See under Sarsatî.
- Sartez 'Imâdu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Sultân Muhammed Tughlaq Shâh, 302, 314 and n 2.
- Sarû river, called also the Sarjû (q. v.), 222 and n 3, 238, 239, 298.
- Sarûd, district of, 495 n 3.
- Sarûr, town and district of, 326 and n and n 2, 495 and n 3.
- Sarwâni, Khân-i-Khânân, Governor of the fort of Rantanbhûr, contemporary of Sher Shâh, 475.
- Sarwari-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Mubârak Shâh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397.
- Sâsân, founder of the Sassanide dynasty of Persian Kings, 72.
- Sassanide dynasty of Persian Kings, 46 n 5.
- Sasseram, town of, 185 n 1.
- Satal Dev, of Sorath, a rebel in the reign of Sultân 'Alâu-d-Din Khiljî, 264.
- Satgâna, country of, 387 and n 3.
- Satgânw, district of, 302.
- Satgârh, town of, 329 and n 4.
- Sâhiyât, superficialities, 504 n 9.
- Satlaj, the, 23 n 3, 70 n 1, 190 and n 2, 325 n 3, 326 and n, 330, 362 and nn 1 and 3, 363 n, 380 n 2, 381, 382 and n 2, 590 n 5, 593. Called also the Satlaz and the Sutlej.
- Satlaz, the river Satlaj (q. v.), 330 and n 5.
- Sâtû, the rcof of a house in Tarkî, 494 n 7.
- Sâtûr, 494 and n 7.
- Saturn, notes on the planet, 217 n 5.
- Saudâ, black bile, 5 n 3.
- Saulajân, from the Persian *Chaugân*, a stick with a curved extremity, 79 n 1.
- Saulajân, origin of the modern game of polo, 417 n 8.
- Saur, Jabal, a mountain near Mecca, 149 n, 158 n 1.
- Sawâdu-l-A'âham, meaning of the expression, 8 n 4.
- Sâwa or Sâwah, a city of Khurâsân, 571 n 9, 633 n 1.
- Sâwajî, Jamâlu-d-Din Salmân, a famous Persian poet, contemporary of Shaikh Hasan Jalâyer and his son Sultân Awais, 571 n 9, 605, 633 and n 1.
- Sawâna, fort of, 264 n 6.
- Sawâs, district of, 475.
- Sazîwal Khân, one of the Amîrs of Shir Shâh, 475, 492, 495.

- Scherpour, town of, 82 n 1, 93 n 1.
- Sédillot's *Tables Astronomiques d'Ooug Beg*, 198 n 2.
- Selwān, in the Karachi district of Sind, 560 n 8.
- Seistān, province of, 19, 47, 50.
- Seljuqs, the. See under the Saljūqs.
- Sepulchre of the Poets in Tabriz, called the *Surkhāb*, 339 n 4.
- Serdi Talawāri, a common name of the town of Tarāyan, 90 and n 1.
- Seven labours of Isfandiyār, in the *Shāh-Nāma*, 103 n 2.
- Seven Places, the seven labours of Isfandiyār, 103 and n 2.
- Seven poems of the Jāhilīyat, called the *Mu'allaqāt*, 99 and n 6.
- Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, 207 n 1.
- Sewand Rāi, or Sūndhī Rāi, the Hindū General of Sultān Muhammād, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī, 34 and n 2.
- Shab-i-Barāt*, the fifteenth of the month of *Sha'bān*, 488 and n 5.
- Shādarwān, fortress of, in Khurāsān, 583 n 4.
- Shaddād ibn 'Ad, a king of the ancient Arabs, 261, 262 n, 263 n, 501 and n 3.
- Shādī, a servant of Muhammād Khān Sūr, Governor of the country of Chaund, 468.
- Shādī Khān, son of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 268, 272, 275, 278, 283.
- Shādī Kath, the Sar Salāhi Kotwāl or chief captain of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 275 n 1, 283 and n 9.
- Shādī Nāib-i-Khāṣṣ, Malik, the *Hājib* of Sultān 'Alā'n-d-Dīn Khiljī, 274, 295.
- Shāfi'i, Imām, founder of the Shāfi'i sect of Sunnī Muslims, 57 n 1.
- Shāfi'ites, the,—one of the four sects of Sunnī Muslims, 57 n 1, 73 n 1, 514. See the above.
- Shāh 'Abdu-l-'Azīz of Dihlī, author of the *Tuhfa-i-Iṣnā-'asharīyah*, 577 n.
- Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 592, 594, 596, 597.
- Shāh 'Alām, one of the Amīrs of Sher Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 477.
- Shāh Hasan, one of Amīrs of Bābar, 446.
- Shāh Hindāl, 587. See under Mīrzā Hindāl.
- Shāh Husain Arghūn, Mīrzā, Governor of Tatta, one of the contemporaries of Humāyūn, 559, 560 and n 8, 561 and n 2, 562, 566, 567, 580.
- Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī Ḫusainī, King of Persia, 449, 570, 572 n 8.
- Shāh Ja'far Khwāndī Dakkāni, a Shī'ah divine, contemporary of Nizām Shāh Bahri, 624, 625.
- Shāh Kāmrān, 584. See under Kāmrān Mīrzā.
- Shāh Mansūr Birlūs, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.
- Shāh Mīr of Agra, Saiyyid, one of the contemporaries of Islem Shāh, 526.
- Shāh Mīrzā, son of Muhammād Zamān Mīrzā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 452, 458.
- Shāh Muhammād of Dihlī, contemporary of Sher Shāh and Islem Shāh, 504, 505, 506.

- Shāh Muḥammad Farmālī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 499 and n 7, 538, **539**, 540.
- Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sälū, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 and n 7, 619.
- Shāh Muḥammad Shāhbādī, Mullā, translator of the *History of Kashmīr*, 8 n 8.
- Shāh Murād, son of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 572, 573 and n 1, 575, 576.
- Shāh Najaf, grandson by his mother's side of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish, 260 n 7.
- Shāh Nāmah. See under the Shāhnāma.
- Shāh Rukh, grandson of the Great Timūr, Sultan of Persia, 618 n 1.
- Shāh Tāhir Junaidī, the poet, 624 n 6. Same as the next (*q. v.*).
- Shāh Tāhir Khondī,—or
- Shāh Tāhir Khwāndī Dakkāni, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624 and n 6, 625 and n 3, 626, **632**, 635, 636.
- Shāh Tahmāsp, King of Persia, contemporary of Humāyūn, 453, 455, 456, 466, 569, 570, 572, 624.
- Shāh Turkān, mother of Sultan Ruknu-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh ibn Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish, 98 n 1.
- Shahāb. See under Shihāb.
- Shahābād, district and town in Bengal, 330 n 7, 334, 439, 466 n 6.
- Shahābu-d-Daulat. See under Shihābu-d-Daulat.
- Shahābu-d-Dīn. See under Shihābu-d-Dīn.
- Shāhanshāh Sayyid Zāda-i-'Alawi a descendant on the mother's side from Sultan Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 260 and n 7.
- Shāhbāz Khān Lūhānī, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 490 and n 4, 592.
- Shāhīk Bārbak, the Khān-i-Jahān, one of the Maliks of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād Balbānī, 221.
- Shāhīk Wazīr Khān, one of the Maliks of the Balbānī dynasty, 220.
- Shāhīn, Malik, known by the title of Wafa Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Khiljī dynasty, 284.
- Shāhīn, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 344.
- Shāhījahānpūr District, N.-W. Provinces, 546 n 3, 598 n 9.
- Shahāna-i-Shahr, City Constable, 401.
- Shāh-nāma of Firdausī, 32 n 1, 88 n 2, 103 n 2, 116 n 5, 178 n 2, 180 n 2, 207 n 7, 321 n 1, 435 n 2.
- Shāh-nāma, Atkinson's, 32 n 1, 116 n 5, 178 n 2, 180 n 2, 321 n 1, 435 n 2.
- Shāh-nāma of Badr Shāshī the poet, 321.
- Shāhnawāz, on the eastern bank of the Rāvī, 355 n 1.
- Shāhpūr, Shāh Muḥammad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 n 7.
- Shahrastānī's *al-Milāl wa-n-Nihāl*, 157 n 2, 158 n.
- Shahr-i-Nau, on the banks of the Jumna, 231.
- Shahr-i-Sabz, in Bokhārā, 570 n 7.
- Shāhrurukhī, a coin first coined by Shāh Rukh the Mughul Sultan of Persia, 618 n 1.

- Shahru-l-Nāh, brother of ‘Aīnū-l-Mulk Moltānī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 311, 312.
- Shāhū Lodi the Afghān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muhammād Tughlaq Shāh, 305 and n 1.
- Shāhzāda Fath Khān. See Fath Khān, son of Sultān Firoz Shāh.
- Shāhzāda Fath Khān of Herāt, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of Jaunpūr, 361.
- Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān. See Mubārak Khān, son of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji.
- Shāhzāda Muhammād Khān. See Muhammād Khān, son of Sultān Firoz Shāh.
- Shaikh, application of the term, 303 n 4, 504.
- Shaikh ‘Alī, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.
- Shaikh ‘Alī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 565 n 1.
- Shaikh ‘Alī Mughul, the ruler of Kābul, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392.
- Shaikh-allahdiyah of Khairābād, 546 and n 1.
- Shaikh Bāyazid, brother of Muṣṭafa Farmali, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Bābar, 444.
- Shaikh Hamid, the commentator of Sanbal, contemporary of Humāyūn, 604.
- Shaikh Hasan Jalayer, King of Khurāsān, 633 n 1.
- Shaikh Khūran, one of the Hindūstāni Amīrs of Bābar, 444, 445.
- Shaikh, son of Malik Marwān Daulat, Governor of Multān under the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 376.
- Shaikh Sa‘di of Shīrāz, author of the *Gulīstān*, 187 and n 2.
- Shaikh Tāhir, one of the Amīrs of the Lodi dynasty, 418.
- Shaikhā Khākar,—or
- Shaikhā Khūkhar, Malik, contemporary of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 347, 349, 358 and n 6, 381 and n 5, 398 and n 2.
- Shaikhān, the,—title of the Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, the first two Khalīfahs, 303 n 4.
- Shaikhs, holy shrines of the, at Multān, 392.
- Shaikhū-l-Hadīyah Jaunpūri, an author, 428, 429.
- Shaikhū-l-Islām, 506.
- Shaikhū-l-Mashāikh Shaikh Hasan Zinjānī, a famous saint of Lāhor, 383 and n 6.
- Shaikhū-l-Nadīyah Jaunpūri, 429.
- Shaikhzāda-i-Bustāmī A’zam Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 328.
- Shaikhzāda Dimishqī, one of the courtiers of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 298.
- Shaikhzāda-i-Jām,—or
- Shaikhzāda-i-Jāmī, one of the learned men of the time of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn Khilji, 284, 318.
- Shakargunj. Shaikh,—or
- Shakkar Ganj, Shaikh, 135 n, 271 n 4. Same as Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganjshākar (q. v.).
- Shāl, village of, in the neighbourhood of Quetta, 567 n 9.

- Shāl Maghān, village of, 567 *n* 9.
Shāl Mastān, village of, 567 and *n* 9.
Shāl-o-Mastān, two villages, 567 *n* 9.
Shāl-o-Mastān, two villages near Quetta, 567 *n* 9.
Shām (Syria), 585 and *n* 7.
Shāmā'ilu-l-Muhammadīyah, name of a book, 625 *n* 6.
Shāmiāna, a kind of marquee, 460 and *n* 4, 497 *n* 1.
Shams Khān, uncle of Tatār Khān, the son of Zafar Khān (*q. v.*), 361.
Shams Khān Auḥādī, son of Auḥād Khān, the ruler of Baiāna under the Firūz Shāhī and Saiyyid dynasties, 359, 360 and *n* 5, 378, 379, 385 and *n* 1.
Shams Khān Lūhānī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 493, 494.
Shams Khātūn, sister of Qutb Khān Lodi (*q. v.*), 404 *n* 2.
Shamsābūd, town of, 232, 311, 377 and *n* 3, 384 and *n* 4, 403 and *nn* 4 and 5, 404 and *n* 2, 407 and *n* 1, 415, 472.
Shamshīr Khān, one of the Amīrs of 'Adlī, 537.
Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, author of the *Tārikh-i-Firūz* Shāhī, 315 *n* 7, 323 *n* 3, 324 *n* 2, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 328 *nn* 1 and 6, 329 *nn* 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 8, 330 *n* 2, 332 *n* 6, 333 *nn* 1 and 4, 337 *n* 7.
Shamsīyah, a famous treatise on Logic, 427 *n* 1.
Shamsīyah Sultāns of Hind,—of the family of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish, 71 *n* 1.
Shamsu-d-Din Altamash, 71. See under Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish.
Shamsu-d-Din of Bharāij, Qāzī, one of the Qāzīs of the Shamsīyah Sultāns, 132.
Shamsu-d-Din Dabīr, one of the poets of the time of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, son of Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish, 134 and *n* 3, 137 and *n* 8, 217.
Shamsu-d-Din Dāmaghānī, Governor of Gujrāt under Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 334.
Shamsu-d-Din of 'Irāq, Mīr Saiyyid, one of the contemporaries of Islem Shāh, 505.
Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish, Sultān, of the Slave dynasty of Dihli, 71 and *n* 1, 79, 80, 86, 87, 88 and *n* 1, 90 and *n* 2, 91, 92, 93, 96, 98, 120, 126 and *n* 3, 184, 187, 260 and *n* 7.
Shamsu-d-Din Kaikāūs, son of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, Sultān of the Shamsīyah dynasty, 227, 229, 230 and *n* 1.
Shamsu-d-Din of Lakhnautī, Sultān, 309, 324, 328. See under Ilyās Hājī.
Shamsu-d-Din of Mārhira, Qāzī, one of the Qāzīs of the Shamsīyah Sultāns, 128 and *n* 2.
Shamsu-d-Din Muḥammad Atka Khān, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī, called the A'zam Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 464 and *n* 5, 568 and *n* 6.
Shamsu-d-Din Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, title of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Ghūrī before his accession, 65 *n* 2.
Shamsu-d-Din Suleimān, son of Malik Marwān, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 335 *n* 4.

- Shamsu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 390, 392.
- Šhuqā'iqū-n-Nū'mān, a red flower, 142 n 3.
- Shar', ash, the sacred canon of the Qur'ān, 4 n 1.
- Sharaf, a poet, 68.
- Sharaf of Baiāna. See under Sultān Sharf.
- Sharafu-d-Dīn Muṇīrī, Quṭbu-l-Mashāikhī-l-‘Izām, a famous saint, 82 n 1, 416 and n 13.
- Sharafu-d-Dīn Muṣliḥ ibn ‘Abdu-l-Ḥāfiẓ, Shaikh, 187 n 2. The famous Shaikh Sa’di of Shīrāz.
- Sharafu-l-Mulk Ash'arī, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsiyah Sultāns, 125.
- Shārān, town of, 406 n 4. [452.]
- Sharbatdār, preparer of beverages, Sharf. See under Sharaf.
- Sharhain-i-Miftāh, two commentaries on the *Miftāhul-Ulūm*, 428 n 2.
- Sharh-i-Manzūma of Hājī Mulla Hādī Sabzwārī, 181 n 2.
- Sharh-i-Nuhju-l-Balāghat of ‘Abdu-l-Hamid bin Abi-l-Hadid al-Mu’tazilī, 458 n 3.
- Sharh-i-Sahāfi, a treatise on Metaphysics, 427 and n 1.
- Sharh-i-Shamsiyah, a treatise on logic, 427 and n 1.
- Sharhu-l-Masābih wa-l-Manāhij, one of the works of Qāzī Baiżāwī, 6 n 4.
- Sharif, Mīr Saiyyid, a well-known author, 560.
- Sharq, Sultān, Governor of Baiāna, son of Sultān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, 414 and nn 6, 11 and 12.
- Sharqī, Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh of Jaunpūr, 386 and nn 2 and 3, 387 and n 4, 403.
- Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpūr, 109 and n 8, 413.
- Šhat galla, surname of the poet Manūchihri Dāmaghānī, 46 n 4.
- Šhatladar, name of the Sutlej in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.
- Šhaula, name of one of the mansions of the moon, 115 n 3.
- Šhayista Khān, son of Qurra Qumār, one of the courtiers of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291, 293, 295 and n 3.
- Šhayista Khān, title of Firoz Khān ibn Yaghbrash the Khiljī, afterwards Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī (q. v.), 226, 227, 228, 229, 230 and n 1.
- Shehr-i-Sabz, in Bokhārā, 570 n 7.
- Shekel, a weight and a coin of the Hebrews, 25 n 1.
- Sher Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muizzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 226 and n 1.
- Sher Khān, one of the Maliks of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 180, 186, 187.
- Sher Khān, son of Islem Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 534.
- Sher Shāh, the first of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihli, 25 n 5, 436. See under Šhir Shāh.
- Šherpūr, town of, 82 n 1, 93 n.
- Sherring's Hindū Tribes and Castes, 312 n 7, 384 n 3, 433 n 4, 557 n 9.
- Sherzād ibn Sultān Maṣ'ud ibn Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, Sultān of the Ghaznivide dynasty, 55 and n 2.
- Šhi'ahs, the, 3 n 6, 22 n 3, 59 n 4,

156 *n* 1, 157 *n*, 420 *n* 8, 571 and *n* 2, 572 and *n* 5, 576 *n* 5, 577 *n*, 604 *n* 5, 625 and *n* 3, 626 *nn* 4 and 6, 636.

Şhiblu, a village in the dependencies of Osrūshna in Transoxiana, 59 *n* 1. Şhiblü, a famous Muhammadan Saint, 59 and *n* 1.

Şihâb, Maulânâ. See under Şihâbu-d-Dîn the Enigmatist.

Şihâb, Mîr, one of the Amîrs of Humâyûn, 598 *n* 5.

Şihâb Khân. See Şihâb Nâhir.

Şihâb Muhamra Badâoni, for Şihâb-i-Mutmara, the poet, 99 and *n* 2.

Şihâb Nâhir, Malik, one of the Amîrs of the Firûz Şâhî dynasty, 351, 359.

Şihâb-i-Mutmara, Maulânâ, one of the poets of the reign of Sultân Ruknu-d-Dîn ibn Şâumsu-d-Dîn Iyal-timîsh, 99 and *n* 2, 100 and *n* 1, 103, 112, 271 and *n* 2.

Şihâbu-d-Daulah Mas'ûd, son of Sultân Mahmud of Ghaznîn, 29, 33, 35. See under Sultân Mas'ûd.

Şihâbu-d-Daulah Maudûd, son of Sultân Mas'ûd Ghaznawî, 43 *n* 7. See under Sultân Maudûd.

Şihâbu-d-Dîn Abu-l-Muzaffar Ghorî, 62, 63 and *n* 1, 64 and *n* 2, 65 and *n* 2, 66, 70, 72, 133 *n*. See under Sultân Mu'izzu-d-Dîn Muhammad Sâm.

Şihâbu-d-Dîn Ahmed Khân, one of the Amîrs of Humâyûn, 598 and *n* 5.

Şihâbu-d-Dîn the Enigmatist, Maulânâ, a learned man in the time of

Bâbar, 449 and *nn* 3 and 9, 450 and *n* 1.

Şihâbu-d-Dîn Hâkim Kirmâni Jaun-pûri, author of the Tabaqât-i-Mâhmûd Şâhî, 230.

Şihâbu-d-Dîn ibn Jamâlu-d-Dîn Mutmara, known as Şihâb-i-Mutmara (*q. v.*).

Şihâbu-d-Dîn Nîshâpûri Bâkîshî, Mîr, one of the Amîrs of Humâyûn, 598 and *n* 5.

Şihâbu-d-Dîn Sulgân, Malik, one of the Amîrs of Sultân Muhammad Tughlaq Şâh, 311.

Şihâbu-d-Dîn 'Umar, son of Sultân 'Alâu-d-Dîn Khiljî, 268, 272, 273 and *n* 4, 274 *n* 1, 284.

Şihâbu-s-Şâqib, a name of Maulânâ Şihâbu-d-Dîn the Enigmatist (*q. v.*), 450 *n* 1.

Şikârpûr, town of, 487 and *n* 2.

Şikebî, Maulânâ, a poet of the time of Humâyûn, 453 *n* 7.

Şiqqu'durân, officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces, 407 *n* 2.

Şîr Khân, son of Hasan Sûr, afterwards Şîr Şâh, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471 and *n* 1, 472, 475, 521, 541. See also under Şîr Şâh.

Şîr Şâh, the first of the Afghân Sûr dynasty of Dihlî, 461 and *n* 5, 472, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481 *n* 5, 482, 483, 484, 490, 492, 495, 496, 500, 502, 504, 526, 527, 535 *n* 7, 538, 542, 563, 594. See the above. The name is also written Sher Şâh.

- Shir-i-sulak, the constellation Leo, 498 n 5.
- Shir-i-Khudā, the Lion of God, a name of ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib, 93 n 4.
- Shir mādar, foster-mother, 580 n 5.
- Shiraz, the city of, 6 n 4, 38 n 4, 187 and n 2, 572 n 1.
- Shirgārḥ, the new name of Qanauj, 472.
- Shirin, the wife of Khusrū King of Persia, 279 n 3.
- Shirin wa Khusrū, a poem of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Diblī, 269 n 5.
- Shirk, polytheism, 183 n 2, 625 n 5.
- Shirwān Shāh Khāqān Manūchihir, King of Persia, patron of the famous poet Khāqānī, 583 n 4.
- Shiwar, town of, 389 and n 8, 391, 392 and n 5.
- Shrines of the Shaikhs at Multān, 392.
- Shujā’u-l-Mulk, son of Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah (*q. v.*), 388.
- Sīālkot, fortress of, 49 and n 1, 66 and n 7, 67 and n, 436, 437, 465.
- Sibi, town of, 425 n 2.
- Sicilians, the, 76 n.
- Sidāran or Sidhāran, son of Kāngū Khatri, a protégé of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 n 3, 395, 396, 397.
- Siddiq, As-, title of Abū Bakr, the first Khalifah, 59 and n 2.
- Sidh Pāl, grandson of Kajwī Khatri, a protégé of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 394, 395, 397.
- Sidhan, Rāi of Satgāṛ, contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 329 n 5.
- Sidhāran Khatri, 395. See under Sidāran.
- Sidi Maulā, Saiyyid, contemporary of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 233 and n 4, 234, 235, 248, 507 and n 2, 525.
- Sidra, the,—or
- Sidratu-l-Muntahā, the lotus tree of Paradise, in the seventh heaven, 58 n 3, 150 and n 2.
- Siffin, a celebrated battle between ‘Alī and Mu‘awiyah, 157 n 2.
- Sihām, arrows used in the game of *maisir*, 369 and n 1.
- Sihind, town of, 330, 331 and n 3, 378, 380, 382, 383 n 11, 406, 437, 438, 486, 498, 548. See also under Sirhind.
- Sihru-l-Halāl, *lawful magic*, 151 n 6.
- Sihūn (Jaxartes), the, 159 n.
- Sihwān, in the Karāchi district of Sind, 560 n 8.
- Sijdah, a prostration in prayer, 612 n 3.
- Sijistān, province of, 15 n, 34 n 4, 70 n 2.
- Sijz, a village in the province of Sijistān, 70 n 2.
- Sikandar, a general of Mīrzā Kāmrān’s army, 463.
- Sikandar, called Zu-l-Qarnain, Alexander the Great, 254, 255, 268, 331, 425, 436, 441, 485.
- Sikandar, Rampart of, 191 and n 2.
- Sikandar-i-Shāhī, title of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 254 and n 6.
- Sikandar Khān Osbak, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 592 and n 1, 594, 595.
- Sikandar Khān, son of Shāh Muham-

- mad Farmalî, one of the Amîrs of the Afghân Sûr dynasty, 538, 539.
- Sikandar Khân, Malik Ya'qûb, one of the Amîrs of Fîroz Shâh Tughlaq, 337, 338.
- Sikandar Lodi, Sultân, son of Sultân Buhîl Lodi, 411, 412, n 2, 413 and n 13, 416, 417, 418, 423 n 11, 424 and n 4, 425, 426, 427, 429, 431 and n 1, 432, 435, 444, 445, 466, 470, 476.
- Sikandar Maliku-sh-Sharq, governor of Lâhor, contemporary of Mubârak Shâh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 389, 390.
- Sikandar, son of Shamsu-d-Dîn, Sultân of Lakhnau, contemporary of Sultan Firoz Shâh, 328 and n 6, 329.
- Sikandar Sûr, one of the cousins of Shîr Shâh, assumes the title of Sultân, 542, 543, 544, 546, 547, 550, 559, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597.
- Sikandar, son of Tâju-l-Mulk Nahv, one of the Maliks of Khîzr Khân, the first of the Saiyyids, 380.
- Sikandar Tuhfâ, Malik, one of the Amîrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 383. See the above.
- Sikandarnâma, one of the poetical works of Mir Khusrû of Dihlî, 269 n 5.
- Sikandarnâma, one of the poetical works of the celebrated poet Nişâni, 174 n 3, 298 n 4, 467.
- Sikkah, currency stamped with name of sovereign, 3 n 3, 15 and n 3.
- Sikkâki, Sirâju-d-Dîn Abû Ya'qûb Yûsuf, author of the *Miftâhu-l-'Ulûm*, 428 n 2.
- Sikrî, another name of the town of Fathpûr, 386, 445 and n 2, 487, 488.
- Sil Hako bridge, over the Brahmaputra, 84 n 1.
- Silsilatu-z-Zahab, one of the works of Maulânâ Jâmi, 272 n 1.
- Simâk, the fourteenth of the houses of the moon, 152 and n 2.
- Simâku-l-A'zal, Spica Virginis, 152 n 2.
- Simâku-r-Râmih, Arcturus, 152 n 2.
- Simurgh, a fabulous bird, 178 nn 2 and 4.
- Sind, 11 n 3, 12, 13 n, 20, 29, 36 and n 10, 80, 88 n 1, 91, 124, 187, 297, 465, 559, 560 n 8, 618 n 6. Called also Sindh.
- Sind, the,—the river Indus, 128 n 3, 422 n 3.
- Sindh, see under Sind.
- Sindhis, the, 130.
- Sindhu, name of the Indus in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.
- Sindus,—the river Indus, 23 n 3.
- Sinjär, town of, in Mesopotamia, 55 n 3, 167 n 3.
- Sinjar, Alp Khân, wife's brother of Sultân 'Alâu-d-Dîn Khilji, 247.
- Sinjar ibn Malik Shâh Saljûqî, the last of the Saljûq dynasty in Khurâsân, 55 and nn 3 and 4, 56, 61 and n 5, 65, 167 and n 3, 170, 291, 602.
- Sinjûri, Abû 'Ali,—contemporary of Sultân Mahmûd of Ghaznîn, 20.
- Sintûr hills, the Kumaon hills, 185, 186 n 1, 334 and n 7.
- Sipâhân, same as Ispahân or İşpahân, 34 and n 1, 35.

- Sipand*, rue, burned to avert the evil eye, 192 n 3, 617 and n 1.
- Sipar*, *Rāi*, Governor of *Itāwa*, contemporary of *Khizr Khān* of the dynasty of the *Saiyyids*, 380 and n 5, 381.
- Siparak*, a herb, 629 and n 2.
- Sipra* river, the,—in *Mālwā*, 95 n 4.
- Siprak*, a herb, 629 n 2.
- Siglāt*, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 n 3.
- Sir*, *Rāi*, ruler of *Baitāli*, contemporary of the *Firūz Shāhī* dynasty, 360 and n 3.
- Sirāj 'Afif*, the Historian. See under *Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif*.
- Sirāju-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī as-Sikkākī*, author of the *Miftāhu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 n 2.
- Sirāt*, bridge across the fire of Hell, 113 n 1. See also the next.
- Sirāt-i-Mustaqim*, the hair-like bridge over Hell, 372 and n 2. See also the above.
- Sirhind*, town of, 331 n 3, 401, 520, 592 and n 6, 594. See also under *Sihhind*.
- Sirhindī*, *Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu-l-lah*, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mutārak Shāhī*, 10 n 2, 67 n 2.
- Sirī*, one of the three cities of Dihlī, 247, 269 n 1, 295 n 10, 311 n 5, 351, 361 n 1, 366 and n 1, 396.
- Sirinor*, mountains of, in the Himalayas, 307 n 4.
- Sir Mūr*,—or
- Sirmūr*, hilly country of, 120 and nn 1 and 8, 131, 251, 324, 337, 338, 341.
- Sirmūr*, town of, 326 n 2.
- Sirmūr Bardār*, hills of, 120 n 1.
- Sissoo* tree, the, *Dalbergia sissoo*, 129 n 2.
- Sistān*, province of, 569. See also under *Seistān*, *Siwistān* and *Sijistān*.
- Siwālik* hill-range, to the north of Hindūstān, 70, 98, 132 n 4, 358 and n 6, 438, 595.
- Siwī Siyūpūr*, province of, 425 and n 2.
- Siwī o Siūpur*, province of, 425 n 2.
- Siwistān*, province of, 91, 249 n 7, 323. See under *Sistān*.
- Siyāhwān*, fortress in the Karāchī district of Sind, 560 and n 8.
- Siyaru-l-'Arifin* of *Shaikh Jamālī Kanbawī* of Dihlī, 430.
- Siyūpūr*, province of, 425 n 2.
- Skeat's *Etyrnological Dictionary of the English Language*, 159 n 2, 244 n 6, 298 n 5, 543 n 3.
- Slane*, *De*, *Ibn Khallikān* or *Prologue d' Ibn Khaldūn*, 6 n 3, 12 n 1, 30 n 1, 35 n 1, 38 n 3, 42 nn 1 and 3, 44 n 5, 51 n 2, 55 n 3, 59 n 1, 74 n 2, 149 n, 151 nn 4 and 6, 152 n 2, 157 n 1, 167 n 3, 181 n 2, 198 n 2, 244 n 6, 287 nn 1 and 2, 352 n 1, 481 n 6.
- Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 19 n, 29 n 5, 76 n, 367 n 3.
- Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, 46 n 5, 332 n.
- Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 23 n 1, 30 n 1, 35 n 2, 394 n 5.
- Soane*, the,—or the Son, a tributary of the Ganges, 82 n 1.

- Sobha Nath, or *Lord of Beauty*, name of the idol of Somnāt, 28.
- Soghdī, the, name of an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 n 1.
- Sohrāb, son of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 499.
- Solimān (Solomon), 148 n 1.
- Solomon, King of Israel, 108, 112, 136, 148 and n 1, 205 and n 3, 206 n, 485, 505 n 6.
- Solomon, ring of, possessed of magical properties, 205 n 3, 505 n 6, 559 and n 2.
- Soma, name of the moon in Sanskrit, 79 n 2.
- Somagraha*, lucky things, 79 n 2.
- Somanāth,—or
- Somanātha, south-west of the Peninsula of Gujarāt on the sea-shore, 17 n 4, 27 n 4. See also the next.
- Somnāt,—or
- Somnāth, in Gujarāt on the coast, 17 and n 4, 27 and n 4, 28 and n 4, 256. See Somanāth.
- Son, the,—or the Soane, a tributary of the Ganges, 82 n 1.
- Sonhār, town of, 407 and n 6.
- Sonipat Bangar, district of Hindūstān, 122 n 1. [and n 6.]
- Sonnengong, same as Sunārgānw, 186
- Sonpat,—or
- Sonpath, a city with a fortress north of Dihlī, 21 n 4, 37 and n 3.
- Sontheimer's *Ibn Baiṭār*, 146 n 6, 172 n 2, 173 n and nn 2 and 3, 182 nn 1 and 4, 484 n 1, 550 n 1.
- Sorath, country of, 264 and n 6, 454 n 7, 455.
- Soreth, peninsula of, 464 n 7. Same as Sorath.
- Sortes Virgilianæ*, 412 n 1.
- Sortilege, different methods of, 412 n 1.
- Sot river, the, in Rohilkund, 464 n 4.
- Southern India, 265 n 2.
- Spider, story of a, 149 n.
- Sprenger's *Life of Muḥammad*, 46 n 5.
- Śrāvana, a Hindū month, 27 n 4.
- Stag, notes on the, 171 n 2.
- Stambhatīrth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar God, 256 n 4, 454 n 6.
- Stateira, wife of Alexander the Great, 832 n.
- Statistical Account of Bengal*, Hunter's, 125 n 3, 299 n 2.
- Stein, Dr., 384 n 1.
- Steingass, *Persian Dictionary*, 142 n 3, 159 n 2, 312 n 7, 321 n 2, 466 n 7, 629 n 2.
- Sthāneswara, the modern Thānesar, 293 n 5.
- Sthānu, a name of Mahādeva, 293 n 5.
- Strabo, the Greek geographer, 23 nn 1 and 3.
- Ṣūbah of Agra, 410 n 4.
- Subhān-Allah, to express surprise or astonishment, 515 n 7.
- Subhātu-l-Abra'r, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.
- Ṣubh-i-Kāzib, the false dawn, 115 n 3.
- Subuktigīn, Nāṣirn-d-Dīn, ruler of Kābul and Ghaznīn, 13 and n 1, 14 and nn 1 and 2, 15, 16 and n 1.
- Suclāt, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 n 8.
- Sudr Khān, Governor of Agra, one of the Amirs of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, 419 n 1.

- Suez, Gulf of, 169 n 1.
- Suez, town of, 169 n 1.
- Şüfi Khân Yûsuf Azlbacha, one of the courtiers of Sultan Quṭbu-d-Dîn Khilji, 291 and n 5, 293.
- Şüfi Wali Sultan Kadâmû, one of the Amirs of the Qizibâsh, 575 n 8.
- Şûfîs, the, 58 n 5, 191 n 4, 374 n 5, 508, 512.
- Sûghma* or *Sûqma*, a Turkî word meaning a pole, 497 n 1.
- Suhâ, a small obscure star in the Lesser Bear, 182 and n 2, 371 and n 5.
- Şuhuf, a collection of pages, 615 n 5.
- Sûh Sûbar, province of, 425 n 2.
- Sûkhpâl Nabsa,—or
Sûkhpâl Naba, Râjâ of Sind, contemporary of Sultan Maḥmûd Ghaznavi, 20 and n 4. See the next.
- Sûkhpâl-Nawîsa Şâh, grandson of Jaipâl, 20 n 4. Same as the above (q.v.).
- Suleimân (Solomon), 186, 559, 595.
- Suleimân Badakhshî, Mirzâ, ruler of Badakhshân, contemporary of Humâyûn, 574, 580, 581, 585.
- Suleimân, son of Hasan Sûr, and brother of Şir Şâh, 468.
- Suleimân Khân Karrânî, one of the Amirs of Islam Şâh Sûr, 525, 540, 541, 554.
- Suleimân Khân, son of Khân-i-Khânân Farmâlî, one of the Amirs of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, 418 and n 11, 424 and n 2.
- Suleimân, adopted son of Malik Marwân-i-Daulat, one of the Maliks of Sultan Firoz Şâh, 335, 352, 376.
- Suleimân Şâh Akât Khân, brother's son to Sultan 'Alâ'u-d-Dîn Khilji, 259 n 5.
- Suleimân Şâh Lodî, Malik, one of the Amirs of Mubârak Şâh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 389.
- Sulindrine, the town of Jâlandhar in Ptolemy, 382 and n 4.
- Sulphur, notes on, 340 n 2.
- Sûlân, title, first assumed by Maḥmûd Ghaznavi, 16 n 2.
- Sûlân of Rûm, the Sultan of Turkey, 480.
- Sûlân 'Âlam, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, 451, 454.
- Sûlân Bahâdur, ruler of Gujrât, contemporary of Humâyûn, 452, 453, 454 and n 4, 455, 456, 458, 635.
- Sûlân Begam, wife of Mirzâ 'Askâri, 569.
- Sûlân Begam, sister of Şâh Tahmâsp of Persia, 570 and n 11.
- Sûlân Hoshang, Alp Khân, the ruler of Mâlwâ, 363 n 2, 384 n 5, 385 n 3.
- Sûlân Junaid Mirzâ Birlâs, one of the Amirs of Bâbar, 439, 446, 468, 489.
- Sûlân Kot, fortress of, in the country of Bhasiyâra, 80 and nn 5 and 6.
- Sûlân Maḥmûd Ghaznavi. See under Maḥmûd of Ghaznîn.
- Sûlân Muhammed Mirzâ, ruler of Khurâsân, elder son of Şâh Tahmâsp of Persia, 569.
- Sûlânpur, town of, formerly called Arankal, 299.
- Sûlânpur, on the river of Lâhor, 465, 472, 503, 506, 518, 534.
- Sûlân Saiyyid Muhammad, same as Muhammad Şâh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 10 n 2.

- Sultān Shāh Khughdil**, the Amir of Sāmānā, one of the Amirs of the Firūz Shāhi dynasty, 342.
- Sultān Shāh Lodī**, called Islām Khān, Governor of Sibrind under Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 380 and n 8.
- Sultān Sharq** or **Sharq**, Governor of Baiānā, 414 and nn 6 and 8. See the next.
- Sultān Sharq**, son of Sultān Ahmād Jilwānī the First, 414 and nn 6, 11 and 12. See the above.
- Sultānam**, sister of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 570 n 11.
- Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l-Auliā**, 266, 301. See under Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliā.
- Sultānu-sh-Sharq**, ruler of Baiānā, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 414 n 8.
- Sultānu-sh-Sharq Khwāja-i-Jahān**, one of the Maliks of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty, 348 and n 9.
- Sultānu-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh Qarānqal**, ruler of Jaunpūr, 360.
- Sumbul**, the spikenard of the ancients, 146 n 6, 373 and n 4.
- Sumbul-i-Hindi**, the perfumed sumbul, 146 n 6.
- Sambul-i-Rāmī**, called also Nārdīn, 146 n 6.
- Sūmrā Rājpūts**, the rulers of Sind, 13 n.
- Sūnārgām**,—or
- Sūnārgānīw**, on a branch of the Brahmaputra S. E. of Dacca, 186 and n 6, 299, 308, 309.
- Sundī Rāī**, the Hindū General of Sultān Muhammād, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 34 and n 2.
- Sunnah**, the practice of the Prophet, 488 n 7, 519 and n 4, 589, 626 and n 1.
- Sunnatun mu'akkadatun**, an authenticated traditional practice, 626 n 2.
- Sunnīs**, the, 3 n 6, 57 and n 1, 59 n 4, 156 n 1, 200 n, 320 n 4, 420 n 8, 576 n 5, 604 n 5, 625 n 3, 626 nn 1, 2 and 6.
- Sūpar**, town of, 424.
- Supārī**, the nut of *Areca catechu*, 302 n 6.
- Sūqmā** or **Sūghmā**, a Turqī word meaning a pole, 497 n 1.
- Sūr Afghāns**, the, 538.
- Sūraiyyā**, the Pleiades, 630 n 4.
- Sūrate**, town of, 454 n 7. See Sorath.
- Sūratu-l-Ikhlās**, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 2 nn 3 and 4.
- Sūratu-l-Kahf**, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 207 n 1.
- Sūratu-r-Rahmān**, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 218 n 2.
- Surgha**, probably for **Sūghma** a Turqī word meaning a pole, 497 n 1.
- Sūrī**, a flower, 142 and n 3.
- Surkhāb** of Tabrīz, called 'the Sepulchre of the Poets,' 339 n 4, 584 n.
- Surkh bud**, or **Red idol**, one of two enormous images in Bāmīān, 46 n 1.
- Surkh Kūlāh**, or **Red-caps**, name of the Turkomāns of the district of Garm Sir, 48 and n 2.
- Surn-man-rū'ā**, or **Sāmarrā**, a town of 'Irāq on the eastern bank of the Tigris, 59 n 1, 571 and n 2.
- Sursatī**, a fortress in the hills of Kashmīr, called also Sarsatī and Sarsutī, 36 n 1.

- Sārtaq, Ilāq, name of a place, 569 n 8.
 Surūr, town of, 326 n.
 Surusty, for the country of Sarsutī (q.v.), 80 n 1.
Surya Sidhānta, Burgess, 163 n 2.
 Susa, a town of Persia, 332 n.
Sūsan, the lily, notes on, 101 n 1.
Sūsan-i-ázād, the white variety of the lily, 101 n 1.
Sūsanī, the syriac origin of the word *Sūsan* or lily, 101 n 1.
- Sutlej, the. See under the Satlaj.
Sū-ul-qinya, description of the disease so called, 30 n 2, 31 n.
 Suyūtī, As., author of the *Tarīkh-i-Khulafā*, 12 n 2, 15 n 4, 17 n 2, 18 n 1.
Sword of Moses, Gaster's, 141 n 4.
 Sydenham Society, the, 30 n 1.
 Syria, 279 n, 585 n 7.
Suyūrghāl, a Turki word meaning gifts of land, 424 n 3.

T

- Ta'abbata-sharran, surname of Sābit-bin Jābir al-Fahimī, the famous Arab athlete and warrior, 527 and n 3.
Tabaqāt-i-Akbar Shāhī, 9 n 2, 52 n 1, 62 n 4. See the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbārī*.
Tabaqāt-i-Akbārī, popular name of the *Tarīkh-i-Nizāmī* of *Khwāja Nizāmu-d-Dīn Ahmād*, 9 n 2, 10 n 3, 29 n, 45 n 1, 62 n 4, 82 n 4, 83 n 1, 121 n 7, 399 nn 1 and 7, 569 n 4, 570 nn 2 and 11, 572 n 7, 574 nn 1 and 9, 575 n 3, 579 n 7, 582 nn 5 and 7, 586 n 5, 592 n 6, 593 nn 3 and 9, 594 n 6.
Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī of *Shihābu-d-Dīn Hakim Kirmānī* Jaunpūrī, 280 and n 3.
Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, Poverty, 13 n 1, 14 nn 1 and 2, 16 nn 1 and 2, 17 n 3, 19 n 2, 20 n 2, 23 n 1, 29 n 1, 31 n 1, 32 n 3, 33 n 2, 35 n 1, 38 n 3, 49 n 4, 50 n 1, 51 n 1, 52 n 4, 55 nn 2 and 4, 56 n 1, 60 nn 1 and 2, 63 n 1, 65 nn 1 and 2, 66 nn 1, 2 and 6, 69 nn 1, 2, 3 and 4, 70 n 3, 71 nn 5, 6 and 7, 72 nn 1, 3 and 4, 73 n 2, 74 n 1, 78 n 3, 79 n 3, 80 nn 3, 4, 5 and 6, 81 nn 2 and 3, 82 nn 3 and 5, 83 nn 1, 4 and 5, 84 n and n 1, 85 n 1, 86 n 1, 87 n 5, 89 n 5, 90 n 2, 91 n 4, 93 n 1, 94 and n 3, 95 nn 1 and 2, 98 n 2, 120 nn 1, 2 and 8, 121 nn 1, 2 and 5, 122 nn 1, 2 and 3, 123 nn 2 and 3, 124 n 1, 125 n 2, 126 nn 1, 2 and 3, 127 and nn 1 and 2, 128 n 1, 129 nn 2, 3 and 4, 130 n 2, 131 nn 1 and 4, 132 nn 1, 4 and 5, 134 n 1, 135 n 1, 592 n 4.
Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī, 95 n 6.
 Tabarhindah, fortress of, in Rājpū-tānā, 19 and n 2, 69 and n 2, 89 and n 3, 121 and n 5, 130, 131, 229, 233, 388 and n 2, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393.
 Tabarī, the celebrated Arab Historian, 36 n 2, 74 n 2.
 Tabaristān, a province of Persia, 36 and nn 2 and 3, 47, 73 n 1.

- Tabariya, Sea of,—the Dead Sea, 153
n 1.
- Tabarrā, or enmity, a technical term in use among the Shī'ahs, 576 and n 5, 577 n.
- Tabarrā, accursed, 577 n. See under Tabarrā.
- Tabl-i-'ulā nawākhtan, meaning of the expression, 498 n 4.
- Tafrīz, town of, in Persia, 72 n 4, 573, 584 n.
- Tafsīr, taking a *fā'l* or omen from the words of a book, 412 n 1.
- Tafsīr-i-Madārik, a work on the sources of law ordinances, 428, 429 and n 1.
- Tafsīru-l-Baiżāwī, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān by Qāzī Baiżāwī, 6 nn 1 and 4. See under the *Anwārū-t-Tanzīl*.
- Taqīzānī, At-, author of the *Muṭawwal*, a commentary on the *Talḥīṣu-l-Miṣtāh*, 428 n 3.
- Tagħana, a falchion, 215 and n 4.
- Tagħi, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultan Muhammad Tugħlaq Şhāh, 314, 319, 320, 324.
- Tagħi Taqħi, 324. See the above.
- Taginābād, one of the chief cities of Garmasir, 65 and n 1. See also under Takinābād.
- Tāhir, Khwāja, Wazir of Sultan Mandūd Għażawwi, 47.
- Tāhir, Shaikh, one of the Amirs of the Lodi dynasty, 418.
- Tāhir Junsaidi, the poet, 624 n 6. Same as the following.
- Tāhir Khondi,—or
- Tāhir Khwāndi Dakkani, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624 and n 6, 625 and n 8, 626, 632, 635, 636.
- Tahmāsp, Şhāh, the King of Persia, contemporary of Humāyūn, 453, 455, 456, 466, 469, 470, 624.
- Tā'i, a town in Hijāz, 12 n 1.
- Tāj or red caps of the Qizilbāsh, 627 n 7.
- Tāj Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodi, 470.
- Tāj Khān Karrānī, one of the Amirs of Islem Şhāh, 525, 529, 540, 541.
- Tāj-i-Khurūs, a red flower without odour, 629 n 1.
- Tājīks, the descendants of Arabs in Persia, 66 n 1.
- Tāju-d-Din, Malik, Secretary of State of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyal-timish, 94, 97.
- Tāju-d-Din, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Tughlaq Şhāhī dynasty, 334.
- Tāju-d-Din, Malik, feudatory of Badāon, one of the Amirs of the Shamsiyah Sultāns, 125.
- Tāju-d-Din Bakħtyār, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Firūz Şhāhī dynasty, 353 and n 8.
- Tāju-d-Din Naħv, Malik, 378 n 6. See Tāju-l-Mulk Naħv.
- Tāju-d-Din Tālaqāni, one of the Amirs of Sultan Qhiyešu-d-Din Tugħlaq Şhāh, 298.
- Tāju-d-Din Yaldkuz,—or
- Tāju-d-Din Yaldūz, one of the Mārizzi Sultāns of Għażin, 77 n 1, 78, 79, 80, 89, 90, 91.
- Tāj-e-l-Arās, a celebrated Arabic Dictionary, 620 n 1.
- Tāju-l-Ma'āṣir, name of an historical work, 73 n 2, 80 n 3.

- Tājū-l-Mulk Malik Hussain, uncle of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji, 281.
- Tājū-l-Mulk Nāhv,—or
- Tājū-l-Mulk Tuhfa, one of the Maliks of Masnad-i-Āli Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 376 and n 2, 377, 378 and n 6, 379, 380.
- Takhalus, poetical name, 633 and n 5.
- Takkāmār, a dart having no point, 215 n 6.
- Takinābād or Taginābād, one of the chief cities of Garmsir, 34 and n 5, 48, 65 and n 1.
- Taklū, a Turki word, meaning of, 569 and n 6.
- Talanbha, a fortress at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenāb, 355 n 1. See under Tulumba.
- Talaundi town of, 352, 362, 382 and n 2, 392.
- Talbagha Nāgor, Malik, 295 and n 2. See under Talbigha Nāgori.
- Talbagha Yaghda, Malik, 286 n 5. See under Talbigha Yaghda.
- Talbigha Nāgori, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn Khilji, 286, 295 and n 2.
- Talbigha Yaghda, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn Khilji, 286 and n 5.
- Talhar, a town in the Kashmīr hill tracts, 383 and n 2, 384 n 1.
- Tal'īmīah, a sect of Muslim heretics, called also the Bātinīah, 22 n 3.
- Talqīṣu-l-Miftāh, at-Taftāzāni's abridgment of the Miftāhu-l-'Ulūm, 428 n 3.
- Talpath, town of, 295.
- Talib, name of a place, 258 n 4.
- Talwāra hills of, 394 and n 1. See the next.
- Talwāra, a village on the right bank of the Chināb, opposite Rīāsi, 384 n 1.
- Tamāchī, brother of Bānbana Rāi, governor of Thathā under Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 383 n 4.
- Tamghāch, Amir, one of the slaves of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 89 and n 2.
- Tamīm, a tribe of the Arabs, 287 n 1.
- Tamīm Ansārī, one of the companions of Muḥammad, 18 n.
- Tammat,—or
- Tammati-l-Kitāb, answering to the word *Finis* at the end of books, 428 and n 4.
- Tammūz, a god of the Phoenicians, 104 n 2.
- Tamūz, the fourth month of the Jewish year, 104 and n 2.
- Tanbūr, a kind of mandolin, 195 n 4.
- Taneshar, 22 n 1. Same as the town of Thānesar (q.v.).
- Tangah, 92 and n 3. See under Tanqah and Tanka.
- Tang-chaghm, or close-eyed, a name of the Turks, 627 n 7.
- Tang-shakar, a sugar jar having a very narrow mouth, 174 n 2.
- Tanka,—or.
- Tanqah, a copper, silver or gold coin, 87 n 1, 92 and n 3, 306 and n 3, 307 and n.
- Tanūra-i-Musaddas, the world, 147 n 2.
- Taqiu-d-Dīn Wāiz Rabbānī, Makhdūm Shaikh, 383.

- Tarāwari, later name of the town of Tarāyan (*q.v.*), 69, 79.
- Tarāyan, on the banks of the Sarsutī, 69 and *n* 4, 79, 90, 98. See under Tarāwari.
- Tarāzū-i-charkh,—or
- Tarāzū-i-falak, a name of the constellation Libra, 142 *n* 2.
- Tardī Beg,—or
- Tardī Beg Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 453, 564 and *n* 6, 566, 568, 591.
- Targī Mughal, invades Hindūstān in the reign of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 250, 251.
- Tārikh, chronogram, 605 and *n* 10.
- Tārikh-i-‘Alāi of Mir Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 247 *n*, 251 *n*, 252 *n* 1. Called also the Tārikh-i-Khazāinu-l-Futūh (*q.v.*).
- Tārikh-i-Alfi, 28 *n* 4, 80 *n* 4.
- Tārikh-i-Badāoni, another name of the Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh of Badāoni, 11 *n* 1.
- Tārikh-i-Firīghta, 205 *n* 2. See under Firīghta.
- Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhī of Shams-i-Sirāj ‘Afīf, 315 *n* 7.
- Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhī of Ziān-d-Dīn Barnī, 184 *n* 1, 185 *n* 2, 186 *nn* 5 and 6, 220 *n* 2, 249, 261 *n* 5, 264 *n* 1, 269 *n* 1, 274 *n* 1, 295 *n* 10, 301, 315 and *n* 7.
- Tārikh-i-Gusida, 32 *n* 1.
- Tārikh-i-Kashmīr, 8 and *n* 3, 500 and *n* 7.
- Tārikh-i-Khazāinu-l-Futūh of Mir Khusrū, known also as the Tārikh-i-‘Alāi (*q. v.*), 252 and *n* 1, 266.
- Tārikh-i-Mas‘ūdi, the history of Sultān Mas‘ūd Ghaznawī, 47 *n* 2.
- Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī of Yāhyā ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Abdu-l-lah Sirhindī, 10 and *n* 2, 67 and *n* 2, 222 and *n* 2, 228 and *nn* 3 and 4, 307, 315 and *n* 7, 316, 366 and *nn* 4 and 5, 396 *n* 1, 400 *n*.
- Tārikh-i-Nizāmī of Khwāja Nizāmu-d-Dīn Ahmad, called also the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 9 and *n* 2, 62 and *n* 4, 63 *n*, 64 and *n* 1, 67, 504.
- Tārikh-i-Rashīdī, Elias and Ross, 69 *n* 5, 103 *n* 3, 145 *n* 2, 232 *n* 5, 236 *n* 1, 305 *n* 3, 353 *n* 1, 464 *n* 8, 572 *n* 8, 574 *n* 6, 575 *n* 1.
- Tārikh-i-Shīr Shāhī, 457 *n* 6.
- Tārikh-i-Subuktigīn, 36 *n* 6.
- Tārikhu-l-Khulūfa of as-Suyūṭī, 12 *n* 2. See under the History of the Caliphs.
- Tariqu-t-Taħqīq, one of the works of Hakīm Sanī, 56 *n* 2.
- Tarjī-band, a kind of poem, 62 and *n* 1, 196 *n* 3.
- Tarkhān, town of 40 *n* 1.
- Tarkīb-band, a kind of poetical composition, 196 *n* 3, 198 *n* 2.
- Tarkila, town of, 186.
- Tarma Shīrin, contemporary of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 316.
- Tartary, Chinese, 145 *n* 2.
- Taryaq or Turtaq the Mughal, of the royal house of Khurāsān, 251 *n*, 252 *n* 2.
- Tashhīr kardan, to expose to public ridicule, 22 *n* 4.
- Tashīf, technical meaning of the expression, 615 *n* 5.

- Tassūj*, one twenty-fourth part of a *Gaz*, 330 n 8.
- Tatār, country of, 161, 171.
- Tatār Khān, Governor of Sambal, contemporary of Sultān Husain Shārqī and Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 406 and n 3.
- Tatār Khān, son of Arsalān Khān, Governor of Lakhnautī under Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban, 185.
- Tatār Khān, adopted son of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Tughlaq Shāh, 299, 823 n 3, 328.
- Tatār Khān Kälpi,—or
- Tatār Khān Kāsi, one of the Amirs of the Afghan Sūr dynasty of Dihli, 542 and n 7, 592, 593.
- Tatār Khān Lodī, one of the Amirs of Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt, 452.
- Tatār Khān, son of Sārang Khān, one of the Amirs of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 364.
- Tatār Khān Sārang Khānī, one of the Amirs of the Lodi dynasty, 413, 445.
- Tatār Khān, son of Zafar Khān, one of the Amirs of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 352, 354 and n 8, 361.
- Tatār Khurd, Malik, Governor of Lāhor under Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309.
- Tatārs, the, 191, 192, 221, 252.
- Tatta, town of, 67 and n 1, 187, 320 and n 5, 322, 332 and n 6, 333 and n 4, 381 and n 6, 408 and n 7, 464, 559, 560, 562, 566. Called also Tatthah and Thathah.
- Tatthah. See under the town of Tatta.
- Tau'ām*, name of the second arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.
- Tauha* (Repentance), formula of, used on occasions of sudden alarm and peril, 551 and n 2.
- Tauhid* (Declaration of Unity), formula of, used on occasions of peril, 551 and n 2.
- Taurāt*, the Mosaic law, 4 n 1.—The Book of the Law, 206 n.
- Taurus, the constellation, 367 nn 3 and 4.
- Taušīḥ*, an acrostic, 606 and n 2.
- Tausūn, Miyān, the famous Hindū musician, 557 and n 1.
- Tawallā*, affection (as opposed to *Tabarrā* q.v.), 576 n 5.
- Tawīz*, an amulet, 115 n 4.
- Tayammum*, ablutional ceremony performed with sand, 201 and n 2.
- Tazkira* (*Book of Memoirs*) of Shaikh Jamīlī Kanbawī of Dihli, 430.
- Tazkira* of Muhammād Ufi of Merv, 33 and n 1. See also under *Tazkīratu-ṣh-Shu'arā*.
- Tazkiratu-l-Muluk*, an historical work, 33 n 2, 99 n 2.
- Tazkiratu-ṣh-Shu'arā* of Muhammād 'Ausi of Merv, 33 and n 1, 221.
- Tedjer, name of the river Tigris in the Zend, 394 n 5.
- Teesta river, the, 84 n 1.
- Teheran, capital of modern Persia, 30 n 1.
- Telinga,—or
- Telingāna, Kingdom of, 265 nn 2 and 4, 286.
- Ten Thousand, Xenophon's account of the retreat of the—, 586 n.
- Thākur of the Hindūs, 484 n 1.
- Thales, the celebrated Greek astronomer, 367 nn 3 and 4.

- Thāna of Bhim, a name of the fortress of Bhimnagar, 21.
- Thānesar, town of, 21 and n 4, 22 n 1, 69 and n 4, 293 and n 5, 326 n, 592.
- Thanessor, 21 n 4. See Thānesar.
- Thaneswar, modern name of Thānesar, 21 n 4
- Thangir, fortress of, 80 n 4. See under Thankir.
- Thankar, or properly Bhankar, fort of, 71 n 2, 425 and n 3. See under Thankir.
- Thankir, fortress of, in the territory of Bhiāna, 80 nn 4 and 5. Called also Thangir and Thankar (q.v.).
- Thar Yāl, nephew of Hīmūn Baqqāl the Hindū General of 'Adlī, 553 and nn 5 and 6.
- Thatha. See under the town of Tatta.
- Theon's commentary on the Almagest, 76 n.
- Thesaurus*, Gesenius', 394 n 5.
- Thessalians, Epistle to the, 278 n 4.
- Thomas, *Coinz of the Kings of Ghazni*, 16 n 2, 47 n 2.
- Thomas, *Pathān Kings of Dehli*, 64 n 3, 77 n 2, 83 n 3, 87 nn 1 and 6, 88 nn 1 and 3, 89 nn 1 and 4, 91 nn 1 and 5, 120 n 1, 126 n 3, 129 n 4, 135 n 1, 254 n 6, 269 nn 1 and 2, 307 n, 310 n 2, 311 n 4, 325 n 1, 326 n, 327 n 6, 337 n 4, 344 n 7, 345 n 4, 346 n 5, 347 n 3, 351 nn 4, 9 and 11, 352 n 2, 359 n 4, 366 nn 1 and 4, 399 n 7, 400 n 1, 556 n 5, 618 n 1.
- Thornton's *Gazetteer of the countries on the North-West of India*, 567 nn 1 and 9.
- Tibat,—or
- Tibbat, country of, 84 n, 125. See also under Tibet.
- Tiberhind,—or
- Tiberhindah, fortress of, 69 n 2. See under Tabarhindah.
- Tibet, 83 and n 4, 84 and n. See under Tibbat.
- Tieffenthaler's *Description of India*, 19 n 2, 20 n 5, 21 n 4, 22 n 5, 23 n 2, 24 nn 3 and 6, 25 n 5, 28 nn 2 and 4, 36 n 10, 37 nn 2 and 3, 66 nn 3 and 7, 67 n 1, 69 nn 2 and 4, 70 nn 3 and 4, 71 nn 2 and 3, 80 nn 1 and 5, 82 n 1, 95 n 4, 121 n 6, 128 n 3, 129 nn 1 and 2, 180 n 1, 147 n 1, 186 n 6, 218 n 3, 223 n, 256 n 4, 257 nn 1 and 2, 265 n 4, 313 n 5, 325 n 3, 327 n 3, 355 n 1, 356 n 1, 357 n 4, 364 nn 4 and 5, 366 n, 380 n 2, 382 n 2, 417 n 7, 420 n 5, 422 n 3, 425 n 4, 454 nn 6 and 7, 486 n 6, 530 n 3, 559 n 5, 560 n 8, 590 n 5.
- Tigīn, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Tughlaq Shāh, 298.
- Tigrā, name of the river Tigris in old Persian, 394 n 5.
- Tigris, the, 59 n 1, 394 n 5, 624 n 8.
- Tihārat, purifications enjoined by Muhammadan law, 603 and n 2.
- Tihārū, one of the Mountain tribes between Lakhnāti and Tibat, 84 n.
- Tijāra, town in the province of Miwāt, 366 n.
- Tilāl, town of, 334 nn 4 and 5.
- Tilak, the Hindū,—a General of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Māhmūd Ghaznavī, 36 n 9.

- Tilang, called also Telingā or Telin-gāna, country of, 261 *n* 5, 265 and *n* 2, 297, 299, 309, 329.
- Tilaundi, or Talaundi, town of, 352, 362, 382 and *n* 2, 392.
- Tilok Chand, Rāī, Governor of Khatra (? Katehr), contemporary of Sultān Husain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 408 *n* 4.
- Tilok, the son of Jye Sein, 36 *n* 9. For Tūlak ibn Ḫusain (*q. v.*).
- Tilūk Chand, Rāī,—Governor of Bak-sar, contemporary of Sultān Husain Sharqī and Buhlūl Lodī, 408 and *n* 4.
- Timour. See under Timūr.
- Timūr the Great, 353 and *n* 1, 355 and *nn* 1 and 3, 356 and *nn* 1 and 5, 357, 358 and *nn* 4 and 6, 360 *n* 3, 361, 366 *n* 1, **448**, 454, 584 *n* 3, 605 *n* 1.
- Timūr Khān, the Mughūl, one of the Generals of Chinguls Khān, 188 *n* 1.
- Timūr Khān Qarā Beg, known also as Malik Qirān, one of the Shamsiyah Maliks, 125 and *n* 4.
- Tippera District, 186 *n* 6.
- Tir, a kind of cambric or lawn and also an arrow, 192 *n* 1.
- Tirhut, 86, 349, 416.
- Tirpauliya mosque of Aḥmadābād, 635 and *n* 6.
- Tiyarah, a bad omen, 412 *n* 1.
- Tora o tūzak, Turki words implying the acknowledging one as rightful king with due formalities, 259 *n* 1.
- Torābānd, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firuz Shāh Tughlaq, 328 *n* 1.
- Tradition, six books of, 628 *n* 1.
- Traditions of the Prophet, 356 *n* 4, 515.
- Trajan, canal of, 169 *n* 1.
- Transoxiana, 14 *n* 1, 15 *n* 5, 20 *n* 3, 27 *n* 2, 38, 59 *n* 1, 357, 358. See Māwarā-an-Nahr.
- Travels of Ibn Baṭūṭah, 67 *n* 1.
- Tribes of the North-West, Elliott's, 312 *n* 7. See Elliott's Races of the N.W. Provinces of India.
- Trübner, the London Publisher, 76 *n*.
- Tschān, a town near Rantanbhor, 257 *n* 1.
- Tūbra, for Tāra (*q. v.*), 440 *n*.
- Tūda Bahādur Khān, the Governor of Sunār Gānw under Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299.
- Tufak, a pea-shooter, 159 and *n* 2.
- Tughā Khān Malik Izzu-d-Dīn of Lakhnāt, one of the Maliks of the Shamsiyah Sultāns, 125.
- Tūr hān, a falcon in Turki, 215 *n* 5.
- Tughān tho Ra'is, one of the Turk-bachas, raises an insurrection in the reign of Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 379, 380.
- Tughānak, a kind of bird in Turki, 215 *n* 5.
- Tughdī Beg, one of the Amirs of Sultān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36, 37 *n* 7, 38, 43.
- Tughlaq Khān, son of Fathī Khān, son of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 338. See under Tughlaq Shāh.
- Tughlaq Khān Ghāzi-i-Mulk, afterwards Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 249, 250, 251, 252. See under Ghāzi Malik.
- Tughlaq Shāh. See under Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh.

- Tughlaq Shâh, son of Fath Khân, son of Sultan Firoz Shâh, of the Tughlaq Shâhi dynasty of Dihli, 324, 338 and n 1, 341, 342.
- Tughlaqâbâd, fortress of, 296, 297, 299, 300, 307.
- Tughlaq-Nâma, one of the poetical works of Mir Khusrû of Dihli, 301.
- Tughral, Governor of Bengal under Sultân Ghiyâshu-d-Dîn Balban, 135 n 1, 186, 216.
- Tughral Beg Abû Tâlib Muhammâd ibn Mikâ'il ibn Saljûq, founder of the Saljûqi dynasty, 42 and n 3, 43, 51 n 2, 61 n 5. See also under Tughril Beg.
- Tughral Hâjîb, an Amîr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 47, 48, 50.
- Tughral, the Turkomân, 42. See Tughral Beg, founder of the Saljûqi dynasty.
- Tughril ibn Arslân the Saljûq, of the Saljûqi dynasty of Khurâsân, 298 n 4.
- Tughril Beg, founder of the Saljûqi dynasty, 35 n 3. See under Tughral Beg.
- Tuhfa, Malik, one of the Amirs of Khîzr Khân of the Saiyyid dynasty, 376 and n 2.
- Tuhfa-i-Ignâ-'ashâriyyah of Shâh 'Abdu-l-'Azîz of Dihli, 577 n.
- Tuhfatu-l-Ahrâr, one of the poetical works of Maulânâ 'Abdu-r-Rahmân Jâmî, 272 n 1.
- Tuhfatu-l-'Irâqain of the celebrated poet Khâqânî, 583 n 4.
- Tûlak ibn Husein, one of the Amirs of Sultân Mas'ûd ibn Mahmûd Ghaznawî, 36 n 9.
- Talûm or Tulloom, a village on the north bank of the Sutlej, 382 n 2.
- Tulumba, town of, at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenâb, 355 and n 1, 389 and n 2, 390, 392, 427.
- Tulûmdî,—or
- Tulûndî, the village of Tulûm q. v., probable origin of the town of Talaundi, 382 n 2.
- Tulloom, a place on the north bank of the Sutlej, 382 n 2.
- Tunis, the province in North Africa, 167 n 4.
- Tûr, one of the sons of Farîdûn, King of ancient Persia, 435 and n 2.
- Tûra, palisades or abattis in Turkî, 440 n.
- Tûrân, name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus, 15 n 5, 86.
- Turk Allâh,—or
- Turk-i-Khudâ, God's champion, a title of Mir Khusrû, the famous poet of Dihli, 270 and n 5.
- Turkân Khâtûn, called also Shâh Turkân, mother of Sultân Ruknu-d-Dîn Fîrûz Shâh ibn Shamsu-d-Dîn Iyal-timish, 98 and n 1.
- Turbacha Sultânî, ruler of Sâmânâ, 360, 362. See under Bahrâm Khân Turbacha.
- Turbachas, the, 378, 388.
- Turkestân. See under Turkistân.
- Turki Dictionary. See De Courteille's Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental.
- Turkîs, the, 20, 572 n 8. See the Turks.
- Turkish Dictionary, Redhouse's, 575 n 1.

- Turkish-Persian Dictionary* of Fazlu-llah Khān, 482 n 2, 575 n 1. See under Fazlu-llah Khān.
- Turkistān or Turkestan, 20, 71, 83, 89, 132, 135 n, 158 n 6, 159 n, 191, 296 n 6, 468 n 2, 584 n 3.
- Turkomāns, the, 30, 35, 36 and n 8, 37, 38, 42, 43, 47, 48, 77 n 1, 590, 621 n 4.
- Turks, the, 61 n 5, 85, 88, 121, 122 n 3, 192, 209, 590, 627 n 7. See the Turkis.
- Termūzī Kotwāl, a kotwāl of Dihlī in the time of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 280.
- Turner Macan's edition of the Shāh-Nāma, 88 n 2, 103 n 2, 116 n 5, 178 n 2, 207 n 7, 435 n 2.
- Turquoise, notes on the gem, 680 and n 8, 631 n.
- Turrār, a city of Turkestān, 159 n.
- Turtāq the Mughul, of the royal house of Khurāsān, invades Hindūstān in the reign of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 250 and n 10, 252 and n 2.
- Tüs, a district and city of Khurāsān, 32 n 1, 42 and n 1, 61 n 5, 71, 75 n.
- Tuzak, a Turkī word meaning 'right' or 'authority,' 259 n 1.
- Tuzak-i-Bābāri, called also Wāqi'at-i-Bābāri, 438 n 7, 448 n 4. See also *Memoirs of Babar*.
- Typho-Malarial fever, 820 n.
- Tyrhenian, Pisæus the, inventor of the rostrum, 29 n 5.

U.

- 'Ubaid Rākātī, the poet, one of the contemporaries of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 298 and n 2.
- 'Ubaidu-llah Khān, the Ozbak King, 582 n 5.
- Uchh, the city of, 66 and nn 3 and 5, 79 n 3, 80 and n 1, 90, 126, 130, 132, 292, 293, 353.
- 'Ud, a musical instrument of the Arabs, 146 n 1.
- Udhāfar, the town of Oodypūr, 13 n.
- Üdītnagar, fortress of, 422 n 2.
- Ufi, author of a *Tazkira*, 78 n 2. See under Muḥammad Ufi of Merv.
- Ujain,—or
- Ujjain, on the Sipra, 95 and n 4, 257 n 1, 294, 384 n 5, 495.
- Ujjainīah Rājas of Bhojpūr, 185 n 1.
- Ülāgh or Ülāq, post-horses in Turkī, 292 n 3.
- 'Ulāmā, application of the term, 303 n 4.
- Ülāq, post-horses, 292 n 3. See under Ülāgh.
- Ulug Beg, the royal astronomer, 152 n 2, 198 n 2.
- Ulugh Beg, Mirzā, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 578. See also under Ulugh Mirzā.
- Ulugh Khān Balban, 132. See under Ulugh Khān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban.
- Ulugh Khān Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297, 298, 299, 300 and n 8, 301.

- See under Sultān Muḥammad Ṭagh-iāq Shāh.
- Ulugh Khān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, who eventually ascends the throne of Dihlī under the title of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn, 124 and *n* 4, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 134 *nn* 1 and 2, 188, 184.
- Ulugh Khān Ilmās Beg, brother of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247, 248 and *n* 2, 249, 250, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261 and *n* 5. See also under Ilmās Beg.
- Ulugh Khān-i-A’zam, Malik Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 131, 134 *n* 1. See Ulugh Khān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn.
- Ulugh Khāni canal, leading from the Sutlej, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*.
- Ulugh Mirzā, son of Muhammad Zamān Mirzā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 452, 458, 574. See also under Ulugh Beg.
- Ulās*, a Turkish word signifying 'a large tribe,' 575 *n* 1.
- Ulāsbegi*, or chief of the tribe,—a title, 575 *n* 1.
- Ulūs-i-Chaghtā*, 575 *n* 1. See also under the Chaghatai tribe.
- Ulwar, district and town of, 134 *n* 1, 365 *n* 8, 366 *n*. See also under Alwar.
- Ulwur. See Ulwar.
- Umām, plural of *ummātun*, the followers of a prophet or a people of one religion, 373 and *n* 3.
- ‘Umar, the second Khalifah, called al-Fārūq, 3 *n* 6, 59 *n* 3, 106, 303 *n* 4, 604 *n* 5, 625 *n* 3.
- ‘Umar Khān, nephew of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259.
- ‘Umar Khān Shīhābu-d-Dīn, son of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 273 *n* 4. See under Shīhābu-d-Dīn ‘Umar.
- ‘Umar Khān Shirwānī, one of the Maliks of Sultān Bahlūl Lodī, 412 *n* 2.
- ‘Umar Khān, son of Sikandar Khān Sūr, 431 *n* 4.
- ‘Umar Šaikh Mirzā, second son of Timūr and the father of Bābār, 605 and *n* 1.
- Umayyah, Dynasty of, the Khalifahs of Damascus, 13 *n* 1, 481 *n* 8.
- Umballa District, 362 *n* 1.
- ‘*Umdatu-l-Mulk*, or Privy Councillor, 401.
- Umm Hānī, daughter of Abū Tālib and sister of ‘Alī, 105 and *n* 2, 150.
- Ummahānī. See the above.
- Ummahāt*, a scientific term, 176 *n* 2.
- Ummu Ghailān, a thorny tree, 550 *n* 1.
- Ummu Kulşüm, daughter of Muhammad and wife of ‘Uşmān, the third Khalifah, 59 *n* 4.
- ‘Umr Khān Shirwānī, one of the Maliks of Sultān Bahlūl Lodī, 412 *n* 2.
- ‘Umr Khān, son of Sikandar Khān Sūr, 431 *n* 4.
- ‘*Umrah*, the lesser pilgrimage, 175, 176 *n*.
- Unāo, town of, 408 *n* 5.
- Unar, Rāi, the ruler of Thathah, contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh Taghlaq, 332 *n* 6.
- United States of America, 586 *n*.
- ‘*Unnāb*, a tree and its fruit, 117 *n* 2.
- ‘*Unṣuri*, the famous Persian poet, 46 *n* 4.

- Üntgarh, fortress of, 422 and n 2, 424.
 'Uqāb, an eagle or kite, 352 n 1.
 'Uqāb, the constellation Eagle, 321 n 3.
 'Uqdatu-l-Junūbiyah, an astronomical term, 162 n 4.
 'Uqdatu-r-Ra's, an astronomical term, 162 n 4.
 'Uqdatu-sh-Shimāliyah, an astronomical term, 162 n 4.
 'Uqdatu-z-Zanab, an astronomical term, 162 n 4.
 'Urūz or 'Arūz, the last foot of the first hemistich, a term of Prosody, 606 n 4.
Useful Plants of India, Drury's, 173 n 2, 303 n, 550 n 1, 627 n 2.
 Ushī, Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn, a famous preacher and learned divine, 78 and n 2.
 Ushī, Khwāja Qutbu-d-Dīn. See under Qutbu-d-Dīn Ushī.
 'Usmān, the third Khalifah, called Zu-n-Nūrain, 3 n 6, 59 n 4, 106 n 4, 158 n, 625 n 3.
 'Usmān, an Afghān of the time of Islem Shāh Sūr, 495.
 Ustā 'Alī Qulī, the Artillerist of Bābār, 439 and n 6.
 Ustād, the,—a title of Firdausī, the celebrated Poet, 461 and n 6.
 Ustād Abu-l-Faraj Rūnī, the Poet, contemporary of Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghuznawī, 53 n, 54 and n 1.
 Ustād 'Alī Qulī, the Artillerist of Bābār, 439 and n 6.
 'Uṭārid, the planet Mercury, 630 and n 3.
 'Uzzā, an idol worshipped by the old Arabs, 110 n 3.

V.

- Valley of the Ants, mentioned in the Qur'ān, 340 n 2.
 Vasudova, one of the deities of the Hindus, 24 n 6.
 Venus, one of the two auspicious planets, 138 n 3, 630 n 2.
 Vihut, name of the Jhelam in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.
 Vikramāditya, the Rājā of Ujjain, 95 n 4.
 Vikramājīt, Rājī, son of Manik Deo, the Rājā of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and n 11.
 Vikramājīt, Rājī, son of Rājī Mān Singh, Governor of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 432.
 Vine, a shelter under which to approach the walls of a fortress, 494 n 7.
 Vipāsa, name of the Biāh in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.
 Virgil, Georg., 75 n 2.
 Virgin, the,—once the title of the fort of Hānsī, 37 n 2.
 Vitastā, name of the Jhelam in Sanskrit, called also Vihut and Viyatta, 23 n 3.

Viyatta, the river Jhelam, 23 n 3.
See the above.

Voyages d'Ibn Batūta, 67 n 1. See under Ibn Baṭūṭah.

Vrindāvana, town of, 24 n 6.

Vritras, the, slain by Indra with his thunderbolt, 294 n 4.

Vüller's *Persico-Latinum Lexicon*, 30 n 2, 109 n 4, 162 n 4, 173 nn 2 and 3, 192 n 3, 213 n 3.

W.

Wādi, a valley or desert, used in the sense of *art*, 557 and n 2.

Wafā Malik, title of Malik Shāhīn, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn Khiljī, 284.

Wafā'i, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 600.

Waghād, name of one of the blank arrows in the game of *māsir*, 369 n 1.

Wahhābīs, the, 183 n 2.

Wahīdu-d-Dīn Quraishī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn Khiljī, 285 and n 4, 286 n 1, 290.

Waihind, on the western bank of the Indus, 19 n 2, 20 n 1.

Wais Sirwānī, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 493 and n 7, 497.

Waisī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 584 and n 4, 585.

Wajīhu-d-Dīn, Shaikh, son of Kamālū-d-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Quraishī and father of Shaikh Bahā'u-d-Dīn Zakariyyā, 133 n 2.

Wajīha-d-Dīn Quraishī, one of the Maliks of Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn Khiljī, 285 n 4.

Wālā Muḥammad Balban, 161. Same as Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban (q. v.).

Walīj, fort of, called also Bajj, 34 and n 7.

Wālī, one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being, 52 and n 3.

Wālī of Bangālā, the contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 469.

Wālī Qizil, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Walid ibn 'Abdn-l-Malik Marwānī, one of the Umayyad Khalifahs of Damascus, 11 n 3, 12 and nn 1 and 2, 13 n.

Walid ibnn-r-Raiyyān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn 'Ād (q. v.), 262 n.

Walid ibn Tarīf ash-Shaibānī, one of the Khwārij in the reign of Hārūn-r-Rashīd, 74 n 2.

Walīs, holy men, 627 n 3. See Wālī

Wāmiq, hero of a Turkish romance, 40 and n 1. See the next.

Wāmiq and 'Azra, a Turkish romance by Mahmūd bin Aṣmān Lamāī, 40 n 1.

Wāmiq and 'Azra, a Turkish romance by Mu'īd of Tarkhān, 40 n 1.

Waqī'at-i-Bābārī, called also Tuzak-i-Bābārī, 421 and n 8, 448 and n 4. See also under the *Memoirs of Bābar*.

- Warangal, ancient capital of Telin-gāna, 265 n 4.
- Wardī*, a kind of beverage, 31 n.
- Wars*, a herb used for dyeing clothes, 173 n 2.
- Wāṣil, Malik, adopted son of Malik Mubārak Qaranqal of Jaunpūr, 360 n 1.
- Wāsiṭ, a town of 'Irāq between Baṣra and Kūfah, 12 n 1.
- Waṣṣaf, the Historian, 265 n 5.
- Wazīr, at chess, 103 and n 1.
- Wazīr Khān Malik Shāhik, one of the Amirs of the Balbanī dynasty, 220.
- Western Jumna Canal, the, 325 n 3.
- Western Rohtās, 493.
- Whinfield's *Omar Khaiyyām*, 144 n 1.
- Wilāyat-i-Panna, 417 and n 6. See under Panna.
- Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary*, 535 n 2.
- Works of Sir William Jones, 76 n.
- Wuzū', ceremonial washings before prayer, 602 and n 7, 603 n.

X.

Xenophon's *Account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, 586 n.

Y.

- Yadava Kingdom of Deogiri in the Deccan, 271 n 6.
- Yādavas of Hindū Mythology, 27 n 4.
- Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 462, 463, 464, 465, 560, 561, 562, 574, 577 n, 578, 580.
- Yāfiṣ, (Japhet), son of Nūḥ (Noah), 231. See under Japhet.
- Yaghraṣh Khān, of the royal family of the Khiljis, 283.
- Yaghraṣh Khiljī, father of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 230.
- Yahmūt, name of the fish upon which the world is said to rest, 148 n 2.
- Yā huwā, an invocation to the Most High, 146 and n 2.
- Yahyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf Qazwīnī Dimishqī, author of the *Lubbu-t-Tawārikh*, 34 n 9, 49 n 3, 64 and n 1, 624 and n 9.
- Yahyā ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abdu-l-lah Sirhindī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, 10 n 2, 67 n 2, 222 n 2, 315 n 7.
- Yahyā ibn Bukayr, a traditionist, 18 n 1.
- Yahyā ibn Isrā'īl, the head of the Chishtis, father of Shaikh Sharafudd-Dīn Munīrī, 416 n 13.
- Yahyā Paran, Miyān, one of the Amirs of Sikandar Sūr (q. v.), 547.
- Yahyā Qazwīnī, Qāzī, 64 and n 1. See under Yahyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf.
- Yahyā Tūran, Miyān, Governor of Sambhal, one of the Amirs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 545, 546, 547.
- Yak of Tibet, 543 n 1.
- Yaklakhī, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn ibn 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283, 284, 286 and n 1.

- Yaksar, for Baksar, on the left bank of the Ganges, 408 n 5.
- Yāqūt. See under Yāqūt, the Arab Geographer.
- Yālāū, a standard or ensign in Turkī, 483 n 2.
- Yamak, name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its people, 158, 159 n.
- Yaman, country of,—in Arabia, 74 n 2, 262 n.
- Yamīn, Sultān Muhammad, king of Khurāsān, 99 n 4, 138 n 1.
- Yamīnah, wife of Solomon, 205 n 3.
- Yamīn-i-Amīrī-l-Mu'minīn, title of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 88.
- Yamīnu-d-Danlah Sultān Maḥmūd ibn Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Ghaznawī, 15, 16, 17. See Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn.
- Yamīnu-d-Danlah Ruknū-d-Dīn Firūz Shāh, son of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 97.
- Yamīnu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥasan, full name of Mir Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 96 n 2.
- Yamīnu-l-Khilafat, title of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 254 n 6.
- Yamuna, the river Jumna which is also called Jamuna and Jaun, 23 n 3, 24 n 4.
- Ya'qūb, Sikandar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 337.
- Ya'qūbu-l-Manjanīqī, an Arab writer, 149 n.
- Yāqūt or ruby, Four kinds of, 25 n 2.
- Yāqūt, the celebrated Arab Geographer, 14 n 3, 15 n 4, 22 n 2, 66 n 1, 159 n, 166 n 1, 263 n, 476 n 5, 570 n 7.
- Yāqūt the Abyssinian, Chief Amir under Sultān Razzīyah bint Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 120, 121 and n 2.
- Yārhāla, town, 583 n 2.
- Yasūrī ibn Iyamghūr, the Diwān of Ghaznīn under Sultān Maḍūd Ghaznawī, 47.
- Yatmīyān of Bukhāra, father of the poet Jāhī (q. v.), 618 n 5.
- Yazdī, author of the Zafarnāma, 347 n 3, 358 n 6.
- Yazid ibn Mazyad, one of the Generals of Hārūn-r-Rashīd, 74 n 2.
- Yazid ibn Mu'āwiyah, second Khalifah of the house of Umayyah, 205 n 1, 481 and n 8.
- Yemen, country of,—in Arabia, 74 n 2, 262 n.
- Yezdezbah,—or
- Yezdibah, the magian ancestor of Imām Bukhārī, 6 n 3.
- Yār 'Alī, a common name among the Shī'ah, 604.
- Yule and Burnett's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, 495 n, 543 n 3.
- Yulma, a Turkī word meaning 'that which has lost its hair,' 482 n 2.
- Yūnas 'Alī, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.
- Yūsuf, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308.
- Yūsuf and Zulaikha of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 32 n 2, 272 n 1, 588, 589.
- Yūsuf and Zuleikha, Griffith's, 272 n 1.

Yūsuf 'Ażdu-d-Daulah, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 29, 45 n 2.
 Yūsuf Khān Auħadī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 395.
 Yūsuf Sarūr, Malik,—or
 Yūsuf Surūrū-l-Mulk, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 388 and n 3, 391, 392. See also the next.

Yūsuf, son of Sarwārū-l-Mulk, Malik, 396. See the above.
 Yūsuf Qadr Khān, king of Turkistān, 27.
 Yūsuf Ṣūfī Azlbacha, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291 and n 5.
 Yūzbašī, an Amīr of a hundred, 313 and n 3.

Z.

Zābul, a name for the town of Ghaznīn, 16 and n 3.
 Zabūl, the second degree of the fever called *dīqq*, 319 n 4, 320 n.
 Zābul, grandfather of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 14 n 3.
 Zābulī, a name of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 17.
 Zābulistān, 14 n 3, 51.
 Zafar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 337 n 2.
 Zafar Khān, Governor of Gujrāt under Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 333 and n 11, 334.
 Zafar Khān 'Alāī, 311. See Zafar Khān Badru-d-Dīn.
 Zafar Khān Badru-d-Dīn, called Zafar Khān 'Alāī, one of the Maliks of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 and n 2, 250 and n 5, 254, 258, 261, 311.
 Zafar Khān Malik Dīnār Ḥaramī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283, 284, 285.
 Zafar Khān Fārsī, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 336 n 5.
 Zafar Khān, son of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297.

Zafar Khān Hizabru-d-Dīn, one of the Maliks of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 n 2.
 Zafar Khān Khiljī, brother of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 239.
 Zafar Khān ibn Wajīhu-l-Mulk, Governor of Gujrāt, one of the Maliks of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 346, 354 n 8, 361, 364.
 Zafarābād, town of, 299, 312, 328.
 Zafar-Nāma of Yazdī, an historical work, 347 n 3, 358 n 6.
 Zaffur Khān Farsī. See Zafar Khān Fārsī.
 Zahāb, water oozing from the ground, 459 n 5.
 Zahbāk ibn 'Ulwān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn 'Ad (q. v.), 262 n.
 Zahir, *nom-de-plume* of Zahiru-d-Dīn Tāhir ibn Muḥammad the Poet, 339 and n 4.
 Zahir Dihlavī, Qāzī, one of the poets of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 367 and n 2, 375.
 Zahiru-d-Dīn Bābar Pādīghāh, 435, 436. See under Bābar.

- Zahīru-d-Dīn Lāhorī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 338.
- Zahīru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Bābar, 436, 448. See under Bābar.
- Zahīru-d-Dīn Tāhir ibn Muḥammad Fāryābī, a celebrated poet, contemporary of Khāsqānī, 339 and n 4.
- Zahīru-l-Juyūsh, Inspector of the forces, 302.
- Zaid ibn ‘Alī, one of the Imāms of the Shī‘ah, 604 n 5.
- Zain Khāfi, Shaikh, a learned man of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 448 and n 3, 609 and n 5, 610, 617, 618.
- Zain Khān Niyāzī, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh Sūr, 491.
- Zain Khānī, Shaikh, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 448 and n 3. See Zain Khāfī.
- Zainu-d-Dīn, author of a commentary on the *Mubaiyyin*, 450 and n 8.
- Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfi, Khwūja, a famous saint, 609 n 5.
- Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfi, Shaikh, one of the learned men and poets of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 609 and n 5, 610, 617, 618.
- Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamiāngar, Maulānā, one of the Naqshbandī Shaikhs, contemporary of Humāyūn, 588 and n 4.
- Zainu-l-Ābidīn bin Najīm, author of *al-Asħbāħ wa-n-Nazāir*, 5 n 4.
- Zāīrgah, sortilege by, 412 n 1.
- Zakāt or almsgiving, one of the foundations of practical religion, 175 n 4.
- Zakkāratu-l-Qawāniñ, an historical work, 9 n 2.
- Zakhma, the plectrum with which the *chang* was played, 146 n 1.
- Zāl, father of Rustam, one of the heroes of the *Shāh-Nāma*, 178 n 2.
- Zāl, the son of Afrāsyāb, king of Tūrān, 410.
- Zamākhshārī, the celebrated author of the *Kashshāf*, a commentary on the Qur’ān, 28 n 1.
- Zamīndāwar, country of, 591.
- Zandkhān, a fortified town near Sarākhs, 43 n 3.
- Zang, a cluster of globular bells carried by dāk-runners, 621 n 2.
- Zang-bastan, to acquire importance, 621 n 2.
- Zangbār, Shāh of,—the Moon, 621.
- Zangi, Abū Mansūr, brother of Abu-l-Fazl of Bust, contemporary of Sultān Maundūd Ghaznawī, 47 and n 7.
- Zangi, Sultān Mu’izzu-d-Dīn Muham-mad Sām Ghūrī, 65 n 2.
- Zanzibār,—the Night, 621.
- Zanzibār, Sultān of, adopts *Saiyyid* as his regal title, 303 n 4.
- Zaradrns, the river Sutlej, 23 n 3.
- Zarb, in Prosody, the last foot of the second hemistich, 606 n 4.
- Zard choba, turmeric, 173 n 2.
- Zarīf, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Isfahān, the Poet, 582 n.
- Zariya herb used in dyeing clothes, 179 and n 2.
- Zebā, mother of Sultān Sikandar ibn Sultān Bahlūl Lodi, 412 n 2.
- Zend, of the Zoroastrians, 394

- Ziā Barnī. See under Ziāu-d-Din Barnī.
- Ziā-i-Barnī. See under Ziāu-d-Din Barnī.
- Ziā, the Persian poet, contemporary and panegyrist of Sultān Malik Shāh Saljūqī, 38 and n 4.
- Ziāu-d-Din, a court-servant of Sultān Jalālu-d-Din Khiljī, 239.
- Ziāu-d-Din Baranī,—or
- Ziāu-d-Din Barnī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, 184 n 1, 186 n 3, 188 nn 1, 4 and 5, 219 n 3, 220 n 2, 221 n 1, 227 n 7, 230 n 1, 247 n and nn 2 and 4, 248 nn 2, 6 and 8, 310 n 1, 311 n 5, 312 n 7, 314 n 2, 315 n 7, 316 n 6, 320 n 5.
- Ziāu-d-Din Khajandī al-Fārsī, the Poet Ziā, 38 n 4. See under Ziā.
- Ziāu-d-Din Qāzī Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Quṣbu-d-Din Khiljī, 288, 289, 290.
- Ziāu-d-Din Tukillī,—or
- Ziāu-d-Din Tūlakī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Ghorī dynasty, 69 and n 3.
- Ziāu-l-Mulk Shamsu-d-Din Abū Rijā, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 329 and n 13, 331.
- Zikr, a religious ceremony, 510 and n 4.
- Zinjānī, Shaikh Hasan, a famous saint of Lāhor, 383 and n 6.
- Zirak, a name of 'Uṭārid (the planet Mercury), 630 and n 8.
- Zirak Khān, the Amīr of Sāmāna, one of the Maliks of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378, 379, 382, 384, 391, 396.
- Zirqān, name of a place in Khurāsān, 43 and n 3.
- Zodiac, signs of the, 75 n 2, 76.
- Zorāwar Singh, Rāo, also known as Rāpar Sen, founder of the old city of Rāparī, 377 n 5.
- Zū-bahrain, in prosody a line of two metres, 245 n 2.
- Zubaideh Khātūn, wife of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 286, 287.
- Zuhrah, the planet Venus, 198 n 3.
- Zu-l-Faqār,—or
- Zu-l-Fiqār, famous sword of 'Alī ibn-Abī Tālib, 74 and n 2, 75 n, 106 n 5.
- Zu-l-Fiqār Shirwānī, Mīr Saiyyid, a famous poet of Persia, 605.
- Zunnār, the belt or girdle worn by Christians or Magians, also the Brahmanical thread, 509 and n 5.
- Zu-n-Nūrain, title of 'Uṣmān the third Khalifah, 59 and n 4.

